The Silk Road and Cultural Exchanges between East and West

East and West

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The Silk Road and Cultural Exchanges between East and West

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Preface

Translated by Sally K. Church

China is bordered by ocean on its southern and eastern sides, desert and high mountains to its west, and the Gobi desert and Siberian forests in the north. This geographical setting, so enclosed by its environment, would not seem conducive to contact with the outside world. Surprisingly, however, China did not isolate itself from the rest of humanity, even in ancient times. Instead, there has been contact with other regions of the world via both the land-based and maritime silk routes. Through such extensive connections with the outside world, China has both made contributions to other civilisations and received influences from them. The Silk Road has unquestionably played an important role in the history of cultural interaction between the East and the West.

Below I shall discuss briefly, from five perspectives, several questions concerning the study of the Silk Road and East-West cultural exchange that have arisen during the course of my research.

1 The Silk Road as a Living Road

The Silk Road is the name given by the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905) to the communications route, primarily based on the silk trade between Han 漢 dynasty China (206 BCE–220 CE), southern and western Central Asia, and India. However, the term "Silk Road" has widened in its connotations and enlarged in scope, as academic studies have delved deeper into the subject in modern times and as progress has been made in archaeological excavation. As a matter of fact, the Silk Road between China and the West existed even before the Han dynasty, nor was it limited only to the exchanges between China and Central and South Asia. It also included Western Asia (i.e. the Middle East and the Caucasus), the Mediterranean world, and the regions connected by the Maritime Silk Road, such as the Korean peninsula, Japan and Southeast Asia. Moreover, silk was not the only trade good that travelled along these routes. Many other items, such as handicrafts, plants, animals, artwork, and even people were carried as commodities along it. Because China's fine silk products played such an important role in the history of the Silk Road for such a long time, the term "Silk Road" has been adopted to refer to the entire set of ancient exchange routes between the East and the West that originated in China. Like silk itself, the Silk Roads are perhaps best thought

of in the plural, sometimes consisting of single, separate threads of varying lengths, elongating across large distances. Some threads are clear and lucid and others are short and irregular. Sometimes they seem like a vast network spread over a large area, while at other times they appear to weave a splendid, intricate brocade. This is why we cannot look at the Silk Roads with a closed mind. Each era had its own unique set of Silk Roads.

During the period from the Han through the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907), the Silk Roads primarily extended in the direction of the overland route, beginning at Chang'an 長安 or Luoyang 洛陽, passing through the Hexi 河西 corridor and the Tarim basin, crossing the Pamir plateau, and entering into Central Asia, Iran, Arabia and the Mediterranean world. The maritime routes began on the south-eastern coast of China, crossed the South China Sea, passed through the Melaka (Malacca) Strait, and reached the eastern and western coasts of India. It then proceeded to the Persian Gulf, the Arabian peninsula, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean and all the way to the eastern coast of northern Africa. However, the Silk Road was a living road. Because of influences from political, religious, natural and other factors, it took different directions in different historical periods. For example, during the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 (420–589), the northern part of Central China was occupied by northern nomadic rulers of the Xianbei 鮮卑 people who not only saw the dynasties of South China as their enemies but also frequently fought against their northern neighbour the Rouran Qaghanate 柔然汗國.

We have discovered a document from 474–475 among the excavated texts at Turfan 吐魯番 recording that the Gaochang 高昌 kingdom ruled by the Kan 闞 family escorted ambassadors from various regimes outside its borders. From this short text, merely a few lines long, we learn that ambassadors from various places, including the Liu-Song 劉宋 dynasty (420–479) in South China, the Tarim basin states of Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr) and Zihe 子合, Wuchang 烏萇 in north-western India, and the Poluomen 婆羅門 state of Central India, had to pass through Gaochang (Turfan) if they wanted to go to the Rouran court on the Mongolian plateau. This document thus delineates the exchange routes that flourished in the second half of the 5th century, from north to south and east to west. It also tells us that, despite the military chaos of this period, the Silk Road communications routes connecting East Asia, North Asia, Central Asia and even South Asia were still unobstructed.[1]

1 See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Kanshi Gaochang wangguo yu Rouran Xiyu de guanxi" 闞氏高昌王國與柔然、西域的關係 (The Gaochang Kingdom under the Kan Family, and its Relations with the Rouran and the Western Regions), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Studies), No. 2, 2007, pp. 4–14.

The relay trade provided some regions along the main route of the Silk Road with significant income, even if they were not totally dependent on it. This was particularly true of the places located in the so-called "Western Regions" 西域 in the narrow sense of the term, i.e. the Tarim basin and Turfan depression, and especially the oasis kingdoms in these regions. Their cultural prosperity also relied on the spread and mutual permeation of Eastern and Western civilisations. For this reason, these oasis kingdoms expended massive efforts to protect the Silk Road and keep it open; the route had to be convenient for commerce, trade and cultural exchange to take place along the Silk Road, and they hoped to keep it firmly under their own control.[2]

The great powers along the main routes of the Silk Road also aspired to control this important communications route, which could bring both economic benefit and military advantage. This was true for all the Central Asian regimes, from the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the Han to the Han empire itself, and further to the Rouran, Hephthalites, Turks, the Tang empire, Uighurs and others. After the Tang secured their control of Central China, from the year 640, when they advanced their troops to Gaochang, to the year 658, when they destroyed the Western Turkic Qaghanate 西突厥汗國 (581–658), Chinese emperors held sovereignty over all the kingdoms of the Western Regions and Central Asia until the middle of the 8th century, establishing the protectorates of Anxi 安西 and Beiting 北庭 to control the Western Regions north and south of the Tianshan 天山 mountains. They also extended the communications system of Central China to these regions, establishing post houses and inns in various outposts, and operating the beacon tower alert system to guarantee unhindered movement along the Silk Road.[3] The documents excavated in Turfan contain records of commercial travel on these routes, and also record

2 Rong Xinjiang, "Sichou zhi lu yu gudai Xinjiang" 絲綢之路與古代新疆 (The Silk Road and Ancient Xinjiang), in Qi Xiaoshan 祁小山 and Wang Bo 王博, eds., *Sichou zhi lu: Xinjiang gudai wenhua* 絲綢之路: 新疆古代文化 (The Silk Road: The Ancient Culture of Xinjiang) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp. 298–303.

3 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Anxi duhufu yu sichou zhi lu: Yi Tulufan chutu wenshu wei zhongxin" 唐代安西都護府與絲綢之路 – 以吐魯番出土文書為中心 (The Anxi Protectorate in the Tang Dynasty and the Silk Road: A Manuscript Excavated in Turfan), *Qiucixue yanjiu* 龜茲學研究 (Kuchean Studies), No. 5, 2002, pp. 154–166; Rong Xinjiang, "7–10 shiji sichou zhi lu shang de Beiting" 7–10 世紀絲綢之路上的北庭 (Beiting on the Silk Road in the 7th to 10th Centuries), in Chen Chunsheng 陳春聲, ed., *Hailu jiaotong yu shijie wenming* 海陸交通與世界文明 (Maritime and Overland Communications and World Civilisation) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2013), pp. 64–73.

the extensive efforts expended by the most powerful states to maintain and preserve the routes.[4]

At various times in history, many cities and garrisons along the route took part in maintaining the Silk Road and contributed to cultural communication between East and West. These include such places as Khotan (Yutian 于闐) and Loulan 樓蘭 on the southern Silk Route, Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), Yanqi and Gaochang on the northern road, and Dunhuang 敦煌 and Wuwei 武威 in the Hexi corridor. Even in Central Chinese regions, such key places as Guyuan 固原, Chang'an and Luoyang played important roles. Some cities that seem remote to us today performed extremely important functions at certain periods in the history of Sino-Western communications. Take, for example, Tongwancheng 統萬城, in Jingbian 靖邊 county in the northern part of modern Shaanxi 陝西 province. In 439, the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–535) forces destroyed the Northern Liang 北涼 dynasty (397–439) in Hexi and fought their way from there to Bogulü 薄骨律 (Lingzhou 靈州) and Xiazhou 夏州 (Tongwancheng), following along the southern edge of the Ordos desert, which was a shortcut to the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng 平城. In this way, Tongwancheng became an important point of exchange and contact between Pingcheng and the Western world.[5]

Thus the Silk Road was a living road. As long as the Silk Road flourished, the states and cities along it also came to life. The route itself experienced changes according to political and religious fluctuations in different periods. For this reason, the various cities and towns along this route rose to prominent positions during certain periods and played important historical roles.

2 The Silk Road as a Locus of Dynamic Cultural Exchange

The greatest contribution of the Silk Road to human civilisation was to promote contact and establish connections between different states and peoples.

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4 See Cheng Xilin 程喜霖, *Tangdai guosuo yanjiu* 唐代過所研究 (Passports of the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000).

5 See Qiantian Zhengming [Maeda Masana] 前田正名, *Pingcheng lishi dilixue yanjiu* 平城歷史地理學研究 (Study of the Historical Geography of Pingcheng), trans. by Li Ping 李憑 et al. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), pp. 134–161; Rong Xinjiang, "Zhonggu Zhong-Xi jiaotong shi shang de Tongwancheng" 中古中西交通史上的統萬城 (Tongwancheng in the History of Sino-Western Communications in the Medieval Period), Shaanxi shifan daxue Xibei huanfa zhongxin 陝西師範大學西北環發中心, ed., *Tongwancheng yizhi zonghe yanjiu* 統萬城遺址綜合研究 (Comprehensive Study of the Site of Tongwancheng) (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2004), pp. 29–33.

It also fostered cultural exchange between East and West. When relations between states and peoples were favourable, there was no obstacle to cultural exchange, either official or private. At times, such relations broke down for political or other reasons, but since culture is dynamic in nature, contact does not completely break down in the face of political standoffs. Cultural elements will find other ways to enter and spread, to come and go. History provides us with many examples of such ups and downs.

From the Northern Dynasties period through the Sui 隋 (579–618) and Tang periods, China maintained good relations with the Sasanian Empire of Persia (224–651), and ambassadors were sent back and forth without interruption. Apart from these diplomatic contacts, there were also many other types of cultural exchange, not only on the level of material culture, as in the exchange of gold and silver objects, but also on the intangible, spiritual level. Such religions as Zoroastrianism 祆教, Jingjiao 景教 (Church of the East) and Manichaeism 摩尼教 spread to China via Persia, thereby enriching China's traditional culture.[6] Persian and Chinese cultural elements intermingled during the Tang period, resulting in, for example, Tang craftspeople using Persian patterns to decorate their objects, and imitating their gold and silver vessels in their manufactures. These new ideas spread from Chang'an to Silla 新羅 and Japan.

The extent of cultural exchange that took place often exceeds our imagination. We frequently think of the great feat accomplished by Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–ca. 1433) on his maritime expeditions (1405–1433) in the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644), but we should not forget that there was another "Zheng He" in the Tang period, named Yang Liangyao 楊良瑤 (736–806). In the first year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (785) Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805) appointed Yang as ambassador to the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258). Departing from Guangzhou 廣州, he travelled on the maritime Silk Route, and in three years (785–788) he completed his political mission of allying with the Arabs to isolate the Tibetans (Tubo 吐蕃) before returning to the Tang court. A more important result of Yang's ambassadorial mission was that he brought back a work of great value to the Tang court: a complete navigation diary of the maritime Silk Road. This diary must have been Jia Dan's 賈耽 (730–805) *Huang hua sida ji* 皇華四達記 (Record of Imperial China's Four Reaches), a record of the route Yang took from Guangzhou to Fuda 縛達 (Baghdad). The collection of Islamic style glass vessels deposited in the underground chamber of the Famen

6 Rong Xinjiang, "Bosi yu Zhongguo: Liangzhong wenhua zai Tangchao de jiaorong" 波斯與中國：兩種文化在唐朝的交融 (Persia and China: The Merging of Two Cultures in the Tang Dynasty), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 (China Scholarship), No. 4, 2002, pp. 56–76.

Monastery 法門寺 during the late Tang was probably also connected with Yang Liangyao's embassy to the Arabs.[7]

The reason why Yang Liangyao took the maritime route on his embassy to the Arabs is that the Tibetans had taken advantage of the disorder following the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–763). They had attacked and occupied the Tang territories in Hexi, and advanced troops toward the Western Regions. This military conflict between Tibetan and Tang forces made it difficult for diplomatic envoys like Yang Liangyao to take the overland Silk Route to the West. In the past, it has been commonly recognised in academic circles that after the monk Wukong 悟空 (b. 730) returned to Chang'an from India in the 6th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (790), contacts between China and India were completely blocked. During the late Tang and Five Dynasties 五代 periods (907–960), there are no records of contact or exchange on the north-western land route due to military activity in the region. Actually, much of the history has never been recorded in the transmitted literature, but we can learn about them from texts that have emerged in archaeological excavations. The Chinese and Tibetan texts discovered in Dunhuang tell us that through the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods and the beginning of the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279), there was no interruption in the transit of monks to and from India, nor in the transmission of texts into China, as well as other Buddhist cultural exchanges. Because the Tibetan Kingdom was also an area of Buddhist prevalence, these monks were unobstructed in their activities. They continued to carry out missions of cultural exchange, travelling back and forth on the overland Silk Road.[8]

The cultural dynamic was so strong that exchanges occurred not only between China and the West, but also with the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago in the east, via the Maritime Silk Road. Thanks to the

7 Zhang Shimin 張世民, "Yang Liangyao: Zhongguo zuizao hanghai xia xiyang de waijiao shijie" 楊良瑤: 中國最早航海下西洋的外交使節 (Yang Liangyao: The Earliest Chinese Envoy to Sail to the Western Seas), *Xianyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 咸陽師範學院學報 (Journal of Xianyang Normal College) No. 3, 2005, pp. 4–8; Rong Xinjiang, "Tang chao yu Heiyi Dashi guanxi shi xinzheng: Ji Zhenyuan chunian Yang Liangyao de pinshi Dashi" 唐朝與黑衣大食關係史新證 – 記貞元初年楊良瑤的聘使大食 (New Evidence of Relations between the Tang Dynasty and the Abbasids: A Record of Yang Liangyao's Mission to the Arabs in the Zhenyuan Period), *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature and History) No. 3, 2012, (Centeniary edition), pp. 231–243.

8 Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang wenxian suojian Wantang, Wudai, Song chu Zhong-Yin wenhua jiaowang" 敦煌文獻所見晚唐五代宋初中印文化交往 (Sino-Indian Cultural Contact in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song Periods as seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), in *Ji Xianlin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian lunwenji* 季羨林教授八十華誕紀念論文集 (Papers in Honour of Professor Ji Xianlin's 80th Birthday) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 955–968.

superb collections in the Shōsōin in Nara, Japan, and in the ancient temples in Korea and Japan, objects of exchange have been preserved in large quantities. There are many examples of this. We also continue to find further confirmation of such exchanges from extant historical sources as well as newly discovered stone inscriptions.[9]

3 The Spread of Chinese Culture to the West

Cultural exchange on the Silk Road therefore faces in two directions. However, because of their distinct academic training and background, Chinese scholars tend to concentrate on the foreign cultural elements that have come into China. I have spent years investigating and collecting the materials excavated in the Western Regions, in an effort to explore the reification of spiritual culture – the spread of the Chinese classics to the Western Regions is one important aspect of Silk Road studies that has been somewhat neglected in former scholarship.

When Tang power extended into the Western Regions, the Buddhist monastic systems in existence there also became sinicised. As far away as the archaeological site of Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab, near Tokmok) at Ak-beshim in present-day Kyrgyzstan, the Dayun Monastery 大雲寺 was constructed by imperial edict at the time of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705).[10] Some of the leaders of monasteries in the Western Regions even came from the large monasteries

9 For some examples, see Rong Xinjiang, "Tang yu Xinluo wenhua jiaowang shi zheng: Yi 'Haizhou Dayunsi chanyuan bei' wei zhongxin" 唐與新羅文化交往史證 – 以（海州大雲寺禪院碑）為中心 (Evidence of Cultural Interaction between Tang and Silla: Focusing on the "Stele in the Chan Cloister of the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou"), *Hanguo yanjiu* 韓國研究 (Korean Studies), No. 3, 1996, pp. 14–34; Rong Xinjiang, "Cong 'Jing Zhencheng (I no Manari) muzhi' kan Tangchao dui Riben qiantangshi de liyu" 從《井真成墓誌》看唐朝對日本遣唐使的禮遇 (The Tang Dynasty's Reception of the Japanese Embassies to the Tang in the Light of the Epitaph of I no Manari), *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 (Journal of Northwest University), 2005, pp. 108–111; Concerning the background behind Jing Zhencheng's arrival in China, see Ei Shinkyō [Rong Xinjiang], "Hasseiki ni okeru Higashi Ajia gaikō jōsei to kentōshi ni yoru Chūnichi kōryū" 八世紀における東アジア外交情勢と遣唐使による中日交流 (East Asian Foreign Relations in the Eighth Century: Envoys to the Tang and Sino-Japanese Exchange), in Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 and Asahi shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, eds., *Kentōshi to Tō no bijutsu* 遣唐使と唐の美術 (Japanese Envoys to the Tang and Tang Art) (Tokyo: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan and Asahi Shinbunsha, 2005), pp. 134–137.

10 Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Suiye cheng jindi kao" 碎葉城今地考 (The Present Site of the Ancient City of Suiye), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Journal of Peking University), No. 5, 1979, pp. 70–82.

of Chang'an.[11] Along with them came the Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts. At that time, the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom), *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (Diamond Sutra), *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Lotus Garland Sutra of the Wondrous Dharma), *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Great Parinirvāṇa Sutra), and *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (Sutra Spoken by Vimalakīrti), which were popular in Central China, also circulated in the Western Regions. Even some of the texts of Chan 禪 Buddhism, such as the *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Shenhui) from Central China, and some Chinese apocryphal scriptures were also transmitted to the distant Western Regions. Such representative Confucian texts, like the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Orthodox Meanings of the Book of History), *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Explanations of the Classics), *Qieyun* 切韻 (The Rhymes), the Daoist text *Liuzi* 劉子 (Master Liu), and the historical works *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian) and *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty) also spread to the desert oases.[12] Tang Chinese calligraphy model books for students with Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (ca. 303–361) "Lanting xu" 蘭亭序 (Preface to the Orchid Pavilion) and "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" 尚想黃綺帖 (In Admiration of Huang and Qi) were

11 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Xiyu de Hanhua fosi xitong" 唐代西域的漢化佛寺系統 (The Network of Sinicised Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions during the Tang Dynasty), Xinjiang Qiuci xuehui 新疆龜茲學會, ed., *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu* 龜茲文化研究 (Research on the Culture of Kucha), No. 1 (Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2005), pp. 130–137.

12 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Qiuci diqu liuchuan de Hanwen dianji: Yi De cang Tulufan shoujipin wei zhongxin" 唐代龜茲地區流傳的漢文典籍 – 以德藏"吐魯番收集品"為中心 (Chinese Texts Circulating in the Region of Kucha during the Tang: The German Turfan Collection), *Guoxue xuekan* 國學學刊 (Research in the Tradition of Chinese Culture) No. 4, 2010, pp. 77–83; Lin Shitian 林世田 and Liu Bo 劉波, "Guotu cang Xiyu chutu *Guanshiyin pusa quan rangzai jing* yanjiu" 國圖藏西域出土《觀世音菩薩勸攘災經》研究 (Study of the *Sutra of Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva Encouraging Resistance to Disaster* Excavated in the Western Regions, from the Collection of the National Library of China), in Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩, Rong Xinjiang and Lin Shitian 林世田, eds., *Dunhuang wenxian, kaogu, yishu zonghe yanjiu: Jinian Xiang Da jiaoshou danchen 110 zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌文獻考古藝術綜合研究 – 紀念向達教授誕辰 110 周年國際學術研討會論文集 (Comprehensive Study of the Texts, Archaeology and Art of Dunhuang: Papers from the International Conference in Honor of Professor Xiang Da's 110th Birthday) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), pp. 306–318; Rong Xinjiang, "Jieshou yu paichi: Tangchao shiqi Hanji de Xiyu liubu" 接受與排斥 – 唐朝時期漢籍的西域流布 (Reception and Rejection: The Spread of Chinese Texts in the Western Regions during the Tang Dynasty), Guojia tushuguan Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin 國家圖書館漢學研究中心, ed., *Tushu zhishi jiangou yu wenhua chuanbo* 圖書、知識建構與文化傳播 (Construction of Books and Knowledge and the Transmission of Culture) (Taibei: Taiwan Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 2015), pp. 1–23.

also popular for teaching children in the Western Regions to write Chinese characters.[13] Thus we can see the extent to which works of specifically Chinese cultural background spread to the Western Regions.

Although so far no documents of the kind found at archaeological sites in Xinjiang 新疆 have been discovered in the even more remote areas of Central Asia or Western Asia, the wall paintings in Samarkand, depicting Tang ambassadors presenting silk, the records in Persian and Arabic sources of Chinese objects and handicrafts coming into their regimes, and the archaeological discoveries of large quantities of porcelain and silk,[14] all show how deeply and widely Chinese culture penetrated westward over time.

4 The Contribution of Material Culture from Abroad

In the wake of the large number of new archaeological discoveries, the excavation and publication of grave objects and texts, and the digitisation of existing documents, we now have a much clearer understanding than our predecessors of the spread of material culture and religious beliefs from Central Asia, Western Asia and even Europe eastward along the Silk Road. We have a much richer and more colourful picture of the past, especially concerning the importance of the lively activities of Sogdian merchants on the Silk Road in the Middle Ages. The ancient letters found in the beacon tower of the Great Wall at Dunhuang record information written in the Sogdian language about

13 Rong Xinjiang, "Lanting xu zai Xiyu" 蘭亭序在西域 (The "Lanting xu" in the Western Regions), *Guoxue xuekan*, No. 1, 2011, pp. 65–71; Ei Shinkyō [Rong Xinjiang], "'Ranteijo' oyobi 'Shang xiang Huang Qi' jō no Saiiki ni okeru ryūden" 《蘭亭序》および《尚想黄綺》帖の西域における流傳 (The Circulation of "Lanting xu" and "Shang xiang Huang Qi" Calligraphy Models in the Western Regions), trans. by Murai Kyōko 村井恭子, in Tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū kankōkai 東方學研究論集刊行會, ed., *Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū* 高田時雄教授退職記念東方學研究論集 (Collection of Papers on Oriental Studies in Commemoration of the Retirement of Professor Takata Tokio) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2014), pp. 89–104.

14 Aly Mazahéri 阿里·瑪札海里, *La Route de la soie* (Paris: S.P.A.G. [Papyrus], 1983). Chinese edition: "Sichou zhi lu: Zhongguo Bosi wenhua jiaoliu shi" 絲綢之路 – 中國波斯文化交流史 (The Silk Road: The History of Sino-Persian Cultural Exchange), trans. by *Geng Sheng* 耿昇 (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2006), pp. 371–461; Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Haibo lai Tianfang, silu tong Dashi, Zhongguo yu Alabo shijie de lishi lianxi huigu" 海舶來天方，絲路通大食 – 中國與阿拉伯世界的歷史聯繫的回顧 (Seagoing Ships Arrive at Makkah and the Silk Road Reaches Arabia: Reflections on the Historical Connections between China and the Arab World), Zhang Guangda, *Wenben, tuxiang yu wenhua liuchuan* 文本，圖像與文化流傳 (The Circulation of Texts, Images and Culture) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 150–174.

the trade networks and commercial practices of Sogdian merchants along the Silk Road.[15] The scale-fee documents excavated at Turfan from the Gaochang kingdom show that the Sogdian merchants used relay trade to carry out the exchange of valuable products on the Silk Road.[16] The excavated grave inscriptions and images of the Sogdian leaders An Jia 安伽 (d. 579) and Shi Jun 史君 (494–579) at the end of the Northern Dynasties period show the conditions of the daily life of the *sabao* 薩保, leaders of Sogdian merchants, the vessels they used, their songs and dances, and their drinking and banqueting customs.[17] This evidence helps us understand more deeply the activities of the Sogdian merchants on the Silk Road, and the Sogdian and Persian culture they brought with them. It also provides first-hand material that helps us assess the scattered excavations of Sogdian and Persian objects and related historical records.[18] The Sogdian merchants not only monopolised the overland silk trade of the medieval period, but also used Sasanian silver coins to monopolise the circulation of currency on the Silk Road, which allowed them to control commodities and to set the price of the objects they traded.[19]

15 Bi Bo 畢波, "Sutewen gu xinzha Hanyi yu zhushi" 粟特文古信箚漢譯與注釋 (Annotated Translation of the Sogdian Ancient Letters), *Wenshi*, No. 2, 2004, pp. 73–97.

16 Zhu Lei 朱雷, "Qushi Gaochang wangguo de cheng jiaqian" 麴氏高昌王國的稱價錢 (Scale-fee Records in the Gaochang Kingdom ruled by the Qu Family), *Wei Jin Nanbei chao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Historical Sources of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), No. 4, 1982, pp. 17–24.

17 Rong Xinjiang, "Youguan Bei Zhou Tongzhou Sabao An Jia mu de jige wenti" 有關北周同州薩保安伽墓的幾個問題 (Some Questions Concerning the Graves of the *Sabao* An Jia of Tongzhou in the Northern Zhou Dynasty), Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, et al., eds., *4–6 shiji de bei Zhongguo yu Ouya dalu* 4–6 世紀的北中國與歐亞大陸 (North China and the Eurasian Continent in the 4th–6th Centuries) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 126–139; Rong Xinjiang, "Yiwei Sute shouling de silu shengya: Shi Jun shi guo tuxiang sumiao" 一位粟特首領的絲路生涯 – 史君石槨圖像素描 (A Sogdian Leader's Life on the Silk Road: The Images on Shi Jun's Stone Sarcophagus), in Guojia wenwuju 國家文物局, ed., *Sichou zhi lu* 絲綢之路 (The Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014), pp. 45–50.

18 See Rong Xinjiang, "Sichou zhi lu shang de Sute shangren yu Sute wenhua" 絲綢之路上的粟特商人與粟特文化 (Sogdian Merchants and Sogdian Culture on the Silk Road), in Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, ed., *Xiyu: Zhongwai wenming jiaoliu de zhongzhuanzhan* 西域：中外文明交流的中轉站 (The Western Regions and their Role in Contacts between Chinese and Foreign Civilisations) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong City University Press, 2009), pp. 75–89.

19 Rong Xinjiang, "Silu qianbi yu Sute shangren" 絲路錢幣與粟特商人 (Coins Used on the Silk Road and Sogdian Merchants), Shanghai bowuguan 上海博物館, ed., *Sichou zhi lu guguo qianbi ji silu wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 絲綢之路古國錢幣暨絲路文化國際學術研討會論文集 (Proceedings of the International Symposium on Coins in the Ancient States of the Silk Road and Silk Road Culture) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2011), pp. 1–7.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, after the Sogdians gradually lost their monopoly on the Silk Road trade, some of the oasis kingdoms and local powers on the Silk Road began to operate the traditional relay trade. From the documents discovered at Dunhuang, we can see that during the Tibetan (786–848) and Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit, 851–1036) periods, Khotan, Dunhuang, the Ganzhou 甘州 Uighurs, the Xizhou 西州 Uighurs and other local powers carried out the relay trade between smaller kingdoms using silk from Central China and local products such as Khotanese jade. Records found among the Dunhuang documents show that silk produced in Central China and even in the kingdoms of the Western Regions was, as before, one of the commodities most in demand on the Silk Road.[20] Hence "Silk Road" is a fitting name for these trade routes.

5 The Transmission of the Three Foreign Religions

As for the spread of ideas eastward to China along the Silk Road during the Han-Tang period, Buddhism doubtlessly had the greatest influence. Through the process of reception and absorption, Buddhism gradually became a Chinese religion in its own right. By the Sui and Tang periods, Chinese type Buddhist sects had appeared, in particular, the Chan sect, which is rich in Chinese cultural characteristics. In comparison, the so-called "three foreign religions" also spread to China from Persia and Central Asia via Sogdiana and Tokharistan

20 Rong Xinjiang, "Yutian huazhan yu Sute yinpan: Jiu, shi shiji Dunhuang siyuan de wailai gongyang" 于闐花氈與粟特銀盤 – 九、十世紀敦煌寺院的外來供養 (Khotanese Felt and Sogdian Silver: Foreign Gifts to Buddhist Monasteries in 9th- and 10th-Century Dunhuang), Hu Suxin 胡素馨 [Sarah E. Fraser], ed., *Fojiao wuzhi wenhua: Siyuan caifu yu shisu gongyang guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 佛教物質文化：寺院財富與世俗供養國際學術研討會論文集 (Buddhist Material Culture: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Temple Wealth and Secular Donations) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2003), pp. 246–260; Rong Xinjiang, "Mianling jiajia zongman: Tan shi shiji Dunhuang Yutian jian de sizhipin jiaoliu" 綿綾家家總滿：談十世紀敦煌于闐間的絲織品交流 ("Full of Silk Floss and Damask in Every Household": The Exchange of Silk Textiles between Dunhuang and Khotan in the 10th Century), in Bao Mingxin 包銘新, ed., *Sichou zhi lu: Tuxiang yu lishi* 絲綢之路: 圖像與歷史 (The Silk Road: Image and History) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp. 35–46; Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 朱麗雙, "Cong jingong dao siyi, 10–11 shiji Yutian yu de dongjian Dunhuang yu Zhongyuan" 從進貢到私易: 10–11 世紀于闐玉的東漸敦煌與中原 (From Tribute to Private Trade: The Gradual Eastward Movement of Khotanese Jade to Dunhuang and Central China in the 10th and 11th Centuries), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 3, 2014, pp. 190–200.

during this period. These were Zoroastrianism, Jingjiao and Manichaeism, which have even greater research interest.

Zoroastrianism was a traditional religious belief among the Iranian people, and came into China with the Sogdian merchants. These merchants established colonial settlements in the cities and garrisons along the Silk Road, and often established Zoroastrian temples where they could worship their god. These temples became centres of their religious beliefs. The Sogdian ancient letters discovered at Dunhuang reveal that by the beginning of the 4th century Zoroastrianism had already spread to the Hexi corridor. Moreover, the colophon of a copy of *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden Light Sutra), discovered in Turfan, proves that as early as 430, in the eastern part of Gaochang there was a Zoroastrian temple where the Zoroastrian god was worshipped.[21]

Zoroastrianism continued to spread primarily through Hu 胡 (foreign, Iranian) settlements into the mid- and late-Tang periods. The rituals of sacrifice in the Hu settlements of Yingzhou 營州 and Youzhou 幽州 under An Lushan's rule were not much different from those in the 4th and 5th century Hu communities of Gaochang and Hexi.

In contrast to the Zoroastrian form of religious proselytisation, in which the religion was brought in by people with relatively strong ethnic characteristics who accompanied caravans of merchants, Jingjiao and Manichaeism were transmitted by a group of brave, devoted missionaries. After having travelled long distances, these missionaries reached Chang'an and Luoyang in the beginning of the Tang, in the 9th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (635) and the first year of the Yanzai 延載 reign period of Empress Wu (694) respectively, these dates thus symbolise the formal introduction of these two religions in China. However, from the point of view of Buddhism and Daoism, which were firmly established in China, both Jingjiao and Manichaeism were so-called "heretical ways", which should be destroyed.[22] Yet the Jingjiao leaders who did well in China came in on a high road, interacting primarily with the upper social strata. By taking advantage of their special skills, astronomical calculations and other technological methods, they were able to plant their feet firmly

21 Rong Xinjiang, "Tulufan chutu *Jin guangming jing* xieben tiji yu Xianjiao chuchuan Gaochang wenti" 吐魯番出土'金光明經'寫本題記與祆教初傳高昌問題 (The Colophon of the *Golden Light Sutra* from Turfan and the Introduction of Zoroastrianism into Gaochang), in Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒, ed. *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 1–13.

22 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai fodao erjiao yanzhong de waidao: Jingjiaotu" 唐代佛道二教眼中的外道 – 景教徒 (Jingjiao Believers as Heretics in the Eyes of Buddhists and Daoists of the Tang Dynasty), in Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓, ed., *Tianwen* (*dinghai juan*) 天問（丁亥卷）(Heavenly Questions) (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp. 107–121.

in Chang'an. Also, because they helped the Northern Army put down the An Lushan rebellion, they were able, after the war was over, to set up the famous "Stele Commemorating the Propagation of the Da Qin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom" 大秦景教流行中國碑 in Chang'an.[23]

The Manichaeans, on the other hand, used the strategy of relying on Buddhism for their entry into China. They used Buddhist terminology to translate their religious texts, for the most part. However, their philosophy harboured a denial of the material world. For this reason, the only time the official establishment permitted Manichaeism to be transmitted was from the reign of Empress Wu to the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741). This was probably because, in the eyes of Empress Wu, the white religious robes of the Manichaean disciples resembled those of the Buddhists who believed in Maitreya, of which she was one. However, when in the 19th year of the Kaiyuan era (731) Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756) read the *Moni guang fo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (Compendium on the True Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light), edited and translated by a Manichaean priest, and finally understood the true teachings of Manichaeism, he banned it the following year. The Manichaean faith then went underground. When the Uighur Qaghan came to Luoyang to help the Tang suppress the An Lushan rebellion, the Manichaeans converted him and spread the religion among the Uighurs north of the Gobi, where it became established as the state religion of the Uighur Qaghanate (744–840). In 840, when the Uighur Qaghanate was destroyed, the tribes moved westward to the region east of the Tianshan mountains. Manichaeism also became the state religion of the Xizhou Uighurs who were established subsequently. For this reason we can call Gaochang and its environs the last paradise of the Manichaean religion on earth.[24]

The Silk Road was a route along which many religions spread. In some of the cities and garrisons along this route, the three religions, in addition to Buddhism and Daoism, all operated parallel to each other. Although today we often see two religions, as in the case of Jerusalem, violently struggling against each other in the same city, in the history of the cities and towns along the Silk Road, different religions occupying the same space often co-existed peacefully, even sometimes merging together, to the point that some of the

23 Rong Xinjiang, "Yige ru shi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu" 一個入仕唐朝的波斯景教家族 (A Persian Jingjiao Clan Serving the Tang), in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwenji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Papers on Iranian Studies in China), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 82–90.

24 Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu: Monijiao zuihou de leyuan" 西域 – 摩尼教最後的樂園 (The Western Regions: The Last Paradise of Manichaeism on Earth), *Xungen* 尋根 (Tracing the Roots), No. 1, 2006, pp. 4–9.

paintings and texts included the teachings of other religions. We often see this in Buddhist temples in Khotan: the place of honour is occupied by the image of the Buddha, and the thousand buddhas are featured on the right and left sides of the Buddha on the upper register, but below this, local gods are often depicted, some of them very similar to Zoroastrian deities. If any Sogdian merchants travelling through this area came to this place, they would see at one glance their resemblance to Zoroastrian deities. Actually, those deities had long before been included among the many gods of the Buddhist pantheon.[25] In fact, throughout history, the norm was for more than one religious culture to operate on the Silk Road at the same time.

Above I have briefly discussed, from five perspectives, the contributions made by the Silk Road to the interaction between the civilisations of the East and West, especially the important roles it played in the contact between China and the rest of the world.

June 22, 2015.

25 Rong Xinjiang, "Foxiang haishi Xianshen? Cong Yutian kan silu zongjiao de huntong xingtai" 佛像還是祆神？從于闐看絲路宗教的混同形態 (Buddhist Images or Zoroastrian Deities? The Fusion of Religions on the Silk Road as Seen from Khotan), *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 (Chinese Culture Quarterly), Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 2003, pp. 93–115 [translated in Chapter 17 below]; Rong Xinjiang, "Zaitan sichou zhi lu shang zongjiao de huntong xingtai: Yutian fosi bihua de xin tansuo" 再談絲綢之路上宗教的混同形態 – 于闐佛寺壁畫的新探索 (Revisiting the Fusion of Religions on the Silk Road: A New Study of the Murals in Khotanese Buddhist Monasteries), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Xinjiang Cultural Relics), No. 1–2, 2008, pp. 29–34.

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PART 1

The Silk Road

CHAPTER 1

The Silk Road and Ancient Xinjiang

Translated by Sally K. Church

1 Xinjiang as the Core Part of the Silk Road

Geographically speaking, modern Xinjiang 新疆 was approximately coterminous with what was referred to as the "Western Regions" 西域 in ancient times. The term Western Regions has both a narrow meaning and a broad meaning. In its narrow meaning it refers to the area south of the Tianshan 天山 mountains, north of the Kunlun 昆侖 mountains, east of the Congling 蔥嶺 or "Snowy" mountains (i.e. the Pamir plateau), and west of the Jade Gate Pass 玉門關 for the most part. In its broad meaning, it refers to a much larger region, including everywhere west of the western border of the Chinese empire at the time. In addition to its narrow meaning, the term Western Regions can therefore include South Asia, West Asia, and even North Africa and Europe. In its narrow meaning, the Western Regions takes Xinjiang as its core. The broad meaning of the term is for the most part also within the geographical scope of Xinjiang. Therefore, in the Chinese academic world the Western Regions and Xinjiang are often understood as the same thing. In this work, we shall usually use the term Western Regions in its narrow sense.

Before the region was Islamicised, the history of the expansion of contact between East and West through ancient Xinjiang was inseparable from the so-called "Silk Road".

The Silk Road is the name we use today for the routes through Central Asia along which trade and cultural exchange took place between ancient China and South Asia, West Asia, and even Europe and North Africa. Because large quantities of Chinese silk passed along this route to the West, it is called the Silk Road. However, whether it was silk, jade objects, precious stones, incense, *materia medica*, ceramics, rare birds and unusual animals and other materials, or such religious beliefs or philosophical concepts as Buddhism, Zoroastrianism 祆教, Manichaeism 摩尼教, Jingjiao 景教, Islam, Confucian thought, Daoism, or astrology, these objects and ideas were all exchanged along this east-west route in both directions. Although the objects and ideas that came east or went west along these routes were not the same, and had different influences on the societies of the East and the West, this east-west trade and cultural exchange

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undoubtedly had a substantial effect on the way in which both Eastern and Western civilisations progressed.

The historical Silk Road was not a single, unchanging path. Because of geographical and environmental changes, as well as changes in ethnic groups, political circumstances and religious forms, the peoples of each period had different choices of route to take, and also opened many new roads in the regions through which it passed.

Before the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), the western portion of present-day Gansu 甘肅, especially Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連, constituted the region's centre of activity. It was occupied by the Yuezhi 月氏 people, also written Yuezhi 月支 or Yushi 禺氏. These people were so powerful in the north-west of China at that time that even the Xiongnu 匈奴, who lived on the Mongolian plateau, became their vassals and sent tribute to them. Ever since the Shang 商 and Zhou 周 periods (ca. 18th to 3rd centuries BCE), beautiful jade objects were continuously sent as gifts to Central China from the region of Khotan (Yutian 于闐, present-day Hetian 和田). These jade pieces are referred to as "jade from the mountains near the Yushi 禺氏 people" in the Han documents.[1] Thus we know that these pieces of jade, transported via the Yuezhi to Central China, were luxury, decorative objects that became indispensable to the rulers and nobles of the ancient Chinese kingdoms. Later, when the Xiongnu rose to power in the northern part of the Gobi desert, they forced the Yuezhi to move westward. They thus occupied the Hexi 河西 corridor, also ruling indirectly over the various oasis kingdoms of the Tarim basin. Therefore the Silk Road shifted somewhat to the north, and the route that went from the northern foot of the Tianshan mountains to the Mongolian plateau began to flourish at this time. Large quantities of artefacts from both East and West have been discovered in the two burial grounds at Pazyryk, at the northern foot of the Altai range, and Noin-ula, on the Mongolian plateau, which show the prominent position of the Silk Road across the steppe at the time.

In the second half of the 2nd century BCE, the Han dynasty gradually gained power in Central China. Han Emperor Wu 武 (r. 141–87 BCE), a man of great intellect and bold vision, sent Zhang Qian 張騫 (fl. 138–126 BCE) as ambassador to the Western Regions to make contact with the Yuezhi people who had been expelled from the Hexi area by the Xiongnu and had settled in the region of the Amu Darya. Later, Zhang Qian, leading another diplomatic embassy of

1 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Gūshi henzan no gyoku" 禺氏邊山之玉 (Jade from the Yushi bianshan), in *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko) 66, Nos. 1–4, 1985, pp. 109–132. Also in *Enoki Kazuo chosakushū* 榎一雄著作集 (The Collected Works of Enoki Kazuo), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1992), pp. 265–285.

over 300 members, travelled as ambassador to the Western Regions for the second time, reaching as far as Dayuan 大宛 (Ferghana), Kangju 康居 (Sogdiana, a nomadic kingdom with Tashkent as its centre), Greater Yuezhi 大月氏, Anxi 安息 (Arsaces, Parthia), and Shendu 身毒 (India).

Zhang Qian's two westward expeditions broke up the trade monopoly of the nomadic peoples on the Silk Road, allowing China to establish direct trading relations with the various kingdoms of Central Asia, South Asia and Western Asia. China's basic westward orientation through the Silk Road also took shape at this point. The route began in the east from the Western Han capital Chang'an 長安 (present-day Xi'an 西安), or the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) capital Luoyang 洛陽, and passed through Longxi 隴西 or Guyuan 固原, then proceeded westward to Jincheng 金城 (present-day Lanzhou 蘭州), and then through the four commanderies of the Hexi corridor: Wuwei 武威, Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan 酒泉 and Dunhuang. The route emerged from the Jade Gate Pass, or the Yang Pass 陽關, and threaded through Bailongdui 白龍堆 desert to Loulan 樓蘭 in the Lop Nor region, then it divided into southern and northern routes through the Western Regions. Going west on the northern route, it went through the settlements of Quli 渠犁 (Korla), Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲, present-day Kuche 庫車), Gumo 姑墨 (Aksu), to Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar). The southern route went from Shanshan 鄯善 (Charkliq), through Qiemo 且末 (Charchan), Jingjue 精絕 (the site of Niya 尼雅 in Minfeng 民豐 county), Khotan, Pishan 皮山 and Shache 莎車 (Yarkand) to Shule. From Shule proceeding westward, it crossed the Congling mountains (the Pamirs), to Dayuan, and then further west to Daxia 大夏 (present-day Afghanistan), Sogdiana (in Uzbekistan) and Anxi. The furthest it reached was Liqian 犁軒 in Da Qin 大秦 (the eastern part of the Roman Empire), which is Alexandria in Egypt. Another route was from Pishan south-west across Xuandu 懸渡 (in Pakistan) through Jibin 罽賓, Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 (Sīstān), south-west to Tiaozhi 條支 at the Persian Gulf. If one goes from Jibin south to the mouth of the Indus river (at Karachi), and changes to the sea route, one can reach Persia, the Roman Empire and other places.

Because the Bailongdui desert between Dunhuang and Lop Nor is flat yardang terrain, travellers often lose their way. When the Eastern Han defeated the northern branch of the Xiongnu in the Mongolian plateau, the latter were forced to move westward. Once the Chinese empire gained firm control over Yiwu 伊吾 (present-day Hami 哈密), it opened the 'New Northern Route' from Dunhuang north to Yiwu, and then from Yiwu through Gaochang 高昌 (present-day Turfan 吐魯番) and Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr) to Kucha joining with the original northern Silk Road. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, North and South China stood opposite each other, while the eastern and western regions of the North were also now fragmented, now

united. In these circumstances, the four Southern Dynasties, the Liu-Song 劉宋 (420–479), Southern Qi 南齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557) and Chen 陳 (557–589), had exchanges with the Western Regions, mostly following the Yangtze river up as far as Yizhou 益州 (present-day Chengdu 成都), and further north to Longhe 龍涸 (Songfan 松潘), through to the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 capital on the shore of Qinghai Lake, westward through the Chaidam basin to Dunhuang, joining with the main trunk of the Silk Road. Or it may have gone even further west, crossing the mouth of the A'erjin pass 阿爾金山口, into the vicinity of Shanshan in the Western Regions, joining with the southern Silk Road. This route was called the Tuyuhun Route 吐谷渾道, or the Henan Route 河南道. Today it is also called the Qinghai Route 青海道. A document recently discovered in Turfan about ambassadors sent by the Gaochang kingdom under the Kan 闞 ruling family provides excellent evidence of the Henan Route.[2] There is also another route from the northern part of Central China, or the Hexi corridor, northward to the Mongolian plateau, which then goes west to the northern foot of the Tianshan mountains, crosses the Ili river and arrives at Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab, near Tokmok), thus entering Central Asia. This route was later called the New Northern Route. It flourished most prosperously under the Mongol Empire and in the Yuan 元 period (1260–1368).

These main routes of the Silk Road, which were formed after Zhang Qian's missions to the Western Regions, could not help going through Xinjiang no matter which route they took. North and south of the Tianshan mountains, around the edge of the Tarim basin, they provided the geographical network of the Silk Road and laid the foundations for contact between the East and West.

2 Ancient Xinjiang Provides a Setting for Trade along the Silk Road

The value of the Silk Road was embodied in the economic and cultural exchange that took place along these routes. In ancient times, whether it was the exchange of material goods or spiritual culture, it was difficult to go uninterruptedly from one place to another, which is why a more common scenario was what is called "indirect transmission". In this type of east-west indirect exchange, Xinjiang naturally became a hub on the Silk Road. The large and small cities, garrison posts, fortifications, and hostels along the Silk Road

2 See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Kanshi Gaochang wangguo yu Rouran Xiyu de guanxi" 闞氏高昌王國與柔然、西域的關係 (The Gaochang Kingdom under the Kan Family, and its Relations with the Rouran and the Western Regions), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Studies), No. 2, 2007, pp. 4–14.

became temporary rest stations for the various merchants, monks, officials and envoys who travelled between the East and West, and also provided them with the opportunity to engage in trade transactions. The oasis kingdoms distributed along the Silk Road also profited from this type of transit trade and, therefore, had an ideal system in place for sending off and welcoming travellers and envoys passing through here.

Because large quantities of official and private documents, which date from the period of the Gaochang kingdom to the Xizhou 西州 period in the Tang, have been unearthed from the tombs around Turfan, we have a relatively detailed understanding of the infrastructure used in the Silk Road kingdom of Gaochang for providing travellers with what they needed. In order to look after the travellers who passed through here, the officials had a complete management system. From welcoming them to arranging their accommodation, to providing their food, to finally sending them off, there were certain procedures to follow. From the documents of the Gaochang kingdom ruled by the Qu 麴 family that concern provisions for envoys, we know that when envoys stayed in guesthouses provided by the Gaochang authorities, officials from the central and local governments had the responsibility of transmitting orders from the Gaochang king, explaining how to treat certain travellers and diplomats. Commoners or messengers from the monasteries would attend to their needs, preparing and delivering food and other items to the guests. These tasks were often given to Sogdians resident in Gaochang, who could speak such languages as Turkic and Sogdian with which the travellers and envoys from the north and the west were familiar. Some of the financial accounts show that the travellers and envoys were divided into upper, middle and lower categories, and were given different food accordingly. This shows that Gaochang entertained travellers of different rank according to different categories. The Gaochang government provided travellers with special accounts, which were tallied up once a fortnight.[3]

Two works that record the journey of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) to the West, the *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang) and the biography of Xuanzang in Daoxuan's 道宣 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks), give us some concrete details about the treatment of envoys in Gaochang. Xuanzang's departure from Central China to the Western Regions in search of scriptures coincided with the time when the

3 See Rong Xinjiang, "Gaochang wangguo yu Zhong-Xi jiaotong" 高昌王國與中西交通 (The Gaochang Kingdom and Communications between China and the West), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), No. 2, 2000, pp. 73–83.

Tang dynasty had just been established and was not yet stable. At this time there were prohibitions against people from the Tang travelling in or out of the boundaries of the empire. Xuanzang was only an itinerant monk, travelling on foot, without any official status, so he crossed the border secretly. However, the King of Gaochang, Qu Wentai 麴文泰 (r. 623–640), received him as an official guest of the state and provided him with better treatment than ordinary travellers. According to his biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, "When Xuanzang first gave lectures on the sutras at Liangzhou 涼州, the merchants and travellers spread the word, thus people in the other foreign regions began to know about him. The King of Gaochang set up postal stations along his route to welcome him from the frontier". This shows that in the kingdom of Gaochang there were postal stations where travellers and envoys could be welcomed and accommodated. The first *juan* in *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* records the process of receiving Xuanzang in detail. After Xuanzang arrived in Yiwu, an envoy from Gaochang, who was there at the time, returned and told his King about him. Qu Wentai immediately sent messengers to tell his high officials to prepare a welcome for him. Accompanied by the Gaochang envoy, Xuanzang entered Gaochang and was given special accommodation in a compound at the back of the King's palace. When he was about to leave, the King of Gaochang

> had four *śrāmaṇera*s ordained so that they could serve the Master as his attendants. They sewed thirty sets of monk's robes and, as the climate in Western lands was often cold, also made a number of face covers, gloves, boots and stockings. In addition, the King gave Xuanzang 100 *liang* of gold, 30,000 silver coins, 500 bolts of silk and satin, enough resources for him to use for 20 years on his journey to and from [the West]. He was provided with 30 horses and 25 servants. The King also sent Palace Censor 殿中侍御史 Huanxin 歡信 to Yehu (Yabghu) Qaghan 葉護可汗.[4]

The warm treatment Xuanzang received in Gaochang shows us how generous the Gaochang kingdom was to passing monks, travellers and even merchants. In reality, the Gaochang kingdom not only expended a great deal on this hospitality, they also reaped benefits from it as well. From the eminent monks they received spiritual inspiration; from the travellers they received political and military intelligence; and from the merchants they received economic benefits. One of the texts excavated at Turfan, a register of scale-fees

4 Huili 慧立 and Yanzong 彥悰, *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 18 and 21.

obtained by the Gaochang treasury 高昌內藏奏得稱價錢帳, records the amount of scale-fees paid by both sides to the authorities from the exchange of goods in the Gaochang market from the first day to the last day of an entire year. Gaochang was then ruled by the Qu family; this was the revenue of the Gaochang royal family from the tax charged on imported and exported goods.[5]

In the 14th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (640), the Tang destroyed Gaochang and established the prefecture of Xizhou. In the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (658), the Tang destroyed the Qaghanate of the Western Turks (581–658), and the entire Western Regions were subsumed under Tang jurisdiction. After this, there were fewer obstacles on the east-west routes than before, which made it very convenient for the Sogdian merchants to carry out their lively business and trade activities along the Silk Road. The excavation in Turfan of such documents as the passport 過所 issued by the Guazhou Area Command 瓜州都督府 to the Sogdian merchant Shi Randian 石染典 of Xizhou 西州 in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (732) [see Chapter 2], allow us to see that such a merchant, who was registered in Xizhou, was permitted to carry out his business freely on the official route, which was protected by Tang military guards, between the Iron Gate Pass 鐵門關 of Yanqi and Guazhou of Hexi.[6]

In the Tang period, because of the centralised, unified management of communications, the system of postal stations was run with efficiency. With the capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang at the centre, the system connected with the Western Regions and other peripheral locations smoothly without obstruction. While the Sogdian merchants used the trade networks composed of the colonial settlements they had set up themselves, they also made extensive use of the communications system provided by the Tang empire, which made it very easy and safe for them to carry out their long-distance commercial activities. Chang'an, which was the capital at the time, had a large residential population; it can be said that it was one of the world's largest consumer cities at the time. The Sogdian merchants travelled along the Silk Road in ancient Xinjiang one postal station at a time, transporting young Hu 胡 women, hunting leopards,

5 See Zhu Lei 朱雷, "Qushi Gaochang wangguo de 'chengjiaqian'" 麴氏高昌王國的"稱價錢" ("Scale-fees" in Gaochang under the Rule of the Qu Clan), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources for the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang), No. 4, 1982, pp. 17–24; Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 138–139, and 175.

6 See Arakawa Masaharu 荒川正晴, "Tō teikoku to Sogudo jin no kōeki katsudō" 唐帝国 とソグド人の 交易活動 (The Tang Empire and the Trading Activities of the Sogdians), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Oriental History), Vol. 56, No. 3, 1997, pp. 171–204.

incense, medicines, gold and silver utensils and grape wine to the capital in order to satisfy the needs of the consumers.

3 Ancient Xinjiang as a Place Where Silk Road Cultures Merged

From early on, while such exchanges of material culture were taking place, the Silk Road was also a network of sites where intangible culture was also exchanged. We can see from the spread of so many different religions the contribution that ancient Xinjiang made to the blending of Eastern and Western cultures.

Buddhism, one of the world's three great religions, left its clearest traces in ancient Xinjiang. At present we can still see a long chain of Buddhist caves along the Silk Road, Sanxian grottoes 三仙洞 at Kashgar; the Kizil caves, Kumtura caves, Simsim caves and the Kizilgaha caves at Kucha; Shikshin in Yanqi; Bezeklik and Toyuq caves in Turfan; and further east, the Mogao caves 莫高窟 at Dunhuang, Yulin caves 榆林窟 at Anxi 安西, Tiantishan 天梯山 at Wuwei, Bingling Monastery 炳靈寺 at Yongjing 永靖, Maijishan 麥積山 at Tianshui 天水, Yungang 雲崗 at Datong 大同, Longmen 龍門 at Luoyang, and so forth. These stone caves contain a mixture of Eastern and Western artistic styles, which are in large part blended together. Based primarily on Buddhist ideas and art, they harbour abundant evidence of East-West cultural contacts stretching like a string of precious pearls and represent an important cultural heritage of the Silk Road.

Actually, many Buddhist monasteries are buried under the drifting sands in the regions of Khotan, Shanshan and Loulan. Chinese and foreign explorers and archaeologists have already recovered some rather beautiful, precious Buddhist art works from these regions, as well as a large quantity of Buddhist scriptures written in Kharoṣṭhī and Khotanese, in addition to Buddhist scriptures in Tokharian, Sogdian, and Old Uighur from Kucha, Yanqi and Turfan on the northern route. Only now can we understand why among Chinese translations of Buddhist texts there are so many that do not correspond to Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit. These Hu versions from the Western Regions are actually works edited or translated by the eminent monks and great minds from ancient Xinjiang. They originally belonged to the same tradition as the Sanskrit texts from India, and have become the classics of Buddhist faith in Central China. Thus they have greatly influenced the ideological framework of the Chinese people.

Ancient Xinjiang was a place where Buddhism flourished. Almost all the oasis kingdoms accepted Buddhism as their state religion, and for this reason

they produced a number of eminent great monks, such as Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413) of Kucha, and Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (652–710) of Khotan. They were both great Buddhist scholars of the Tripitaka. When these monks came to China, they expended great efforts on translating Buddhist texts and had a significant influence on Chinese thought and society. Today Buddhism is not as prevalent as it was in ancient times, but people still use the concepts of karma and retribution, and the Chinese language retains numerous Buddhist technical terms. One can also find Buddhist monasteries and stone caves in various locations, and the common people enjoy novels, popular literature and other literary art forms that contain direct or indirect influences of ancient Buddhism from Xinjiang.

Although Buddhism was a state religion in each of the oasis kingdoms of ancient Xinjiang, in this part of the Western Regions, with so many different ethnic groups concentrated together, cultural ideas could not be forced into a unity. Other religions also spread to these oasis kingdoms in different periods and coexisted with Buddhism. We have learned from the colophon of *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden Light Sutra) unearthed from the destroyed Buddhist stupa in Anle City 安樂城, Turfan, that as early as the period of the Gaochang commandery (430), Zoroastrianism had already been introduced in Gaochang, and in the eastern part of Gaochang, a Zoroastrian shrine 祆祠 for worshipping "the foreign god" 胡天 was established. This Zoroastrian shrine must have been famous in that region; it must be why when the colophon of the Buddhist scripture mentions the Taihou shrine 太后祠, it uses this shrine as a landmark.[7] Because a large number of Sogdians had immigrated to the region of Gaochang, the Gaochang commandery, and later the Gaochang kingdom, preserved the Zoroastrian religion in which they believed, giving the people who lived there a centre where they could worship and make sacrifices, and allowing them to live peacefully in happiness.

Buddhism was not the only religion in the ancient Gaochang region. Manichaeism also flourished for a period of time. In 840, the Uighur Qaghanate (744–840) was destroyed by the Kyrgyz, and the remaining Uighurs scattered everywhere and fled. Among them, fifteen tribes moved west to the eastern Tianshan region. Later they established the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom (also called the Xizhou Uighur Kingdom). It was just like the mid-4th century, when

7 See Rong Xinjiang, "Tulufan chutu *Jin guangming jing* xieben tiji yu Xianjiao chu chuan Gaochang wenti" 吐魯番出土 '金光明經' 寫本題記與祆教初傳高昌問題 (The Colophon of the *Golden Light Sutra* from Turfan and the Introduction of Zoroastrianism into Gaochang), in Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒, ed., *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 1–13.

the eminent monks of Hexi followed the imperial family of the Northern Liang, who were fleeing for their lives, and entered Gaochang. Among the large numbers of tribes that moved west, many of the Uighurs must have been Manichaeans; some were even extremely capable missionaries. Not only did they bring the Manichaean influence from the Gobi into Gaochang, but they also, in a relatively short time and with the support of the Uighur Qaghan of Gaochang, induced the people of Gaochang to convert to this religion. Within the scope of the Gaochang Uighur kingdom, the Manichaean disciples included those from the Qaghan down to the common people, both male and female, and belonging to different ethnic groups. The large numbers of Manichaean documents unearthed in Turfan since the beginning of the 20th century are evidence that Manichaeism was prospering among the Uighurs in Gaochang in the 9th and 10th centuries. In this abundance of documents, there were many hymns in the Persian and Parthian languages. There were also many confessions, prayers, and poems for various religious holidays, as well as religious parables, cautionary tales and evangelical texts, church histories, tables of technical terms, talismans and spells, astrological texts, calendars, funerary texts, and so forth.[8] One group of unusually valuable Manichaean texts includes three Sogdian letters excavated in 1980 at the Bezeklik caves. Among them were two sent by a *fuduodan* 拂多誕 (bishop) from somewhere within the Gaochang Uighur kingdom to the možak, a leader of the congregation who was one level higher.[9] This možak, named Mār Aryāmān Puhr (early 11th century), must have been the highest leader of the Manichaean monastic community in the Gaochang Uighur kingdom at the time.

Apart from this, Jingjiao, which originated in Western Asia, was transmitted in the same way to Xinjiang. The site of Shuipang 水盤 in Putaogou 葡萄溝, present-day Turfan, belonged to quite a large Jingjiao monastery. A large number of Christian documents have been unearthed there,[10] showing that

8 Mary Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung Nr. 45) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960).

9 Jitian Feng [Yoshida Yutaka] 吉田豊, "Sutewen kao shi" 粟特文考釋 (Study of Sogdian Texts), in Liu Hongliang 柳洪亮, ed., *Tulufan xinchu Monijiao wenxian yanjiu* 吐魯番新出摩尼教文獻研究 (Study of the Manichaean Texts Recently Excavated in Turfan) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 3–199.

10 Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Die christlich-sogdischen Handschriften von Bulayiq", Horst Klengel and Werner Sundermann, eds., *Ägypten, Vorderasien, Turfan: Probleme der Edition und Bearbeitung altorientalischer Handschriften* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 119–125.

this was a place where Christian devotees gathered in retreat,[11] separate from the Jingjiao Church on the edge of the city of Gaochang.

From the past to the present, different religions, or different sects of the same religion, have branched off from each other, and set themselves up in opposition to each other, often experiencing conflict, to the point of war. For this reason, religious differences tend to make a deep impression on people, causing them to take the mistaken view that different religious beliefs are as incompatible as fire and water. However, in fact, if we look at the way in which different religions became popular and spread in the ancient world, the mainstream position was not the opposition and conflict between religions but their blending and coexistence. In Xinjiang, which is a crossroad of civilisations, such instances of cultural merging appear most clearly, and constitute the most classical examples.[12] The phenomenon of different religions mixing together and coexisting was a mainstream historical phenomenon on the Silk Road in ancient times.

4 Ancient Xinjiang's Rise and Fall and the Silk Road

Ancient Xinjiang provided the material basis for the existence of the Silk Road. The distribution of the cities and towns of the oasis kingdoms, and the postal stations system, ensured that the Silk Road trade could continue unobstructed, and provided the arena where merchants could carry out their business and trade. At the same time, ancient Xinjiang was also a region where all kinds of Silk Road religions, ideas and cultures flourished. It also produced many eminent, well-educated monks who translated and edited large quantities of Buddhist scriptures. Manichaeism flourished for a time in the Gaochang region. Ancient Xinjiang made great contributions to East-West economic and cultural exchange on the Silk Road.

Hardly anything has only a single cause. Ancient Xinjiang also reaped many rewards for its contributions to the Silk Road. From the income that the oasis kingdoms earned by engaging in the relay trade to the spiritual ideas transmitted by eminent monks who were passing through, the benefits received by the

11 Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, "Gaochang Huihu Jingjiao yanjiu" 高昌回鶻景教研究 (Jingjiao in the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 4, 1999, pp. 165–214.

12 Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, "Synkretismus in Zentralasien – eine Zwischenbilanz", in Walther Heissig and Klimkeit, eds., *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 207–216.

region are difficult to estimate. One can even say that ancient Xinjiang's rise and fall were intimately bound up with the fate of the Silk Road.

We can continue to take the Gaochang kingdom as an example. The Gaochang kingdom provided travellers with what they needed, and generously tolerated the practices of each religion, greatly promoting exchange and contact between Gaochang and all the kingdoms in the East and West. Gaochang reaped great benefit from this. Large numbers of Hu people came in and filled gaps in the Gaochang work force; they transported products from east to west, promoted production and improved the economy of this region. These arrangements also allowed the oasis kingdoms to receive large quantities of commercial tax revenue from them. In the period when the Tiele 鐵勒 controlled Gaochang, "Important officials were constantly sent out from the Gaochang kingdom, Hu merchants were coming and going, and the tax was sent to Tiele" ("Gaochang", *Suishu* 隋書 [History of the Sui], *juan* 83, p. 1848). Thus we can imagine the high levels of income that came in from Gaochang's commercial taxes. Gaochang often relied on the Turkic Qaghanate as backing, forming family relations with them for generations. With the help of Turkic influence they had contact with various Western regimes. When Xuanzang went on his travels to the West, Qu Wentai wrote 24 letters to Kucha and other kingdoms, thus showing the close relationship that existed between Gaochang and the western kingdoms. At the same time, the historical records observe that in the 4th year of the Zhenguan reign period (630), "the various kingdoms of the Western Regions all wanted to send tribute on account of Wentai", so we can see that Gaochang occupied a leading position in Western Regions trading missions and the trade with the East. However, after conflict broke out between the Tang and the Turks, Gaochang became a focal point for the struggle between the two powers. Gaochang sided with the Turks, and cut off the route of the envoys from the Western Regions to the Tang court. In order to benefit from transit trade, the kingdom of Yanqi asked the Tang state to bypass Gaochang and open a new route to allow the merchants through. However, to retain its own commercial benefits from the Silk Road, Gaochang joined with the Turks and combined forces to attack Yanqi. These actions of stopping the exchange of envoys and attacking Yanqi became Tang Emperor Taizong's 太宗 (r. 626–649) main reason for sending troops to attack Gaochang in the 14th year of the Zhenguan reign period (640). When Qu Wentai was unable to obtain support from the Turks, he became ill and died, and from this point Gaochang was finished.

From the close relationship there was between the founding of the Gaochang kingdom and the Silk Road, we can see that when the Silk Road was unobstructed, Gaochang flourished, and when the Silk Road was closed, Gaochang

declined. We can draw an even wider conclusion: when the Silk Road was open and flourishing, Xinjiang inevitably flourished, and when the Silk Road was blocked for any reason, Xinjiang unavoidably declined. From ancient times to the present, history tells us that opening Xinjiang leads inevitably to a bright future.

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CHAPTER 2

The Anxi Protectorate and the Silk Road in the Tang Period, with a Focus on the Documents Excavated at Turfan

Translated by Sally K. Church

Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲) was a large kingdom in the Western Regions 西域 that existed from the Han to the Tang periods. North of it were the Tianshan 天山 mountains, and to its south it bordered on the Great Desert 大漠 (the Taklamakan). It was the place through which all east-west communications along the northern edge of the Tarim basin had to pass. According to travellers and historians of the time, "the city wall of the capital is 17–18 *li* in circumference";[1] it "consists of three rings; the outer city is about the same size as Chang'an 長安, with beautifully decorated buildings, adorned with *langgan* 琅玕 gemstones, gold and jade";[2] "the king's palace is so beautifully decorated, it sparkles like a home for the divine".[3]

Heading north from Kucha, one threads through several passes in the Tianshan mountains to reach the nomadic grasslands on the steppe at the northern foot of the Tianshan. In the first half of the 7th century, Kucha belonged to the Qaghanate of the Western Turks at the northern foot of the Tianshan mountains. This Qaghanate was destroyed by Tang troops in the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (658), who moved the Anxi Protectorate 安西都護府 from the city of Jiaohe 交河 (Yarkhoto) in Xizhou 西州, to the royal city of Kucha, placing under its jurisdiction the Four Garrisons of Anxi 安西 (Kucha), Khotan (Yutian 于闐), Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar), and Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr). Under Tang rule, Kucha became a military administrative centre from which the Tang controlled the Western Regions. Later on, the Western Regions became the setting for a tug of war between the Tang and the Tibetans, along with the remaining tribes of the Western Turks, and the Anxi Protectorate

1 Xuanzang 玄奘 and Bianji 辯機, *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Annotated Edition of the Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang), ed. by Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 54.

2 "Zhu yi: Qiuci guo zhuan" 諸夷：龜茲國傳 (The Barbarians: Chapter on the Kingdom of Kucha), *Liangshu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 54, p. 813.

3 "Siyi zhuan" 四夷傳 (The Four Barbarians), *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 97, p. 2543.

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withdrew to Xizhou. However, in the 2nd year of the Changshou 長壽 reign period (692), the Tang general Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 (d. 697) and his troops seized back the Four Garrisons of Anxi from the hands of the Tibetans and restored them. The Tang court then sent out an expedition of 30,000 Chinese troops to strengthen their hold on the Western Regions. In the 15th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (727), the monk Hyecho 慧超 (704–787) from Silla 新羅 wrote the following words in his travel account, *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) after passing through the Anxi region on the way back from India:

> From Shule [we] travelled eastward for one month and arrived at the kingdom of Kucha, that is, the Anxi Protectorate. It was a large centre where Chinese troops congregated.... Everything east of here is within the boundaries of the great Tang empire. This is common knowledge; it goes without saying.

With the Tang military stationed here, this region not only resisted the advance of the Tibetans and the remaining tribes of the Western Turks, but also maintained long-term stability in the Western Regions, and kept communications open along the Silk Road.

The transfer of the Anxi Protectorate back to Kucha provided crucial protection for the Silk Road, both in keeping communications open and allowing trade to flourish. These two aspects of Kucha's role – enhanced communication and trade – are the focus of this article.

1 The Establishment of the Postal Stations System

The entry for the Anxi Protectorate in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 73, records,

> In the 11th month of the 2nd year of the Xianqing reign period (657–658), Su Dingfang 蘇定方, Army Commander-in-Chief 行軍大總管 of the Yili 伊麗 route, inflicted a significant defeat on Helu 賀魯 at Jinyashan 金牙山 and took possession of his land, bringing peace to the Western Regions. Su Dingfang ordered all the Turkic troops to return to their homes, opened the routes and set up a chain of postal stations and hostels.[4]

4 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), *juan* 73, p. 1567. From the sense of the passage, it seems that the character *bie* 別

Though this region was inhabited by the various tribes of Ashina Helu of the Western Turks, in reality, it was the Tang regime that opened the routes throughout the entire Anxi region and dotted them with postal stations. In the 1st year of the Diaolu 調露 reign period (679), Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab) took Yanqi's place as one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The work of opening routes and establishing postal stations even extended to the northern foot of the Tianshan mountains after the Beiting Protectorate 北庭都護府 was established in the 2nd year of the Chang'an 長安 reign period (702). Records of these endeavours are preserved in the "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Geography Treatise) of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) in the entries entitled "Anxi ru Xiyu dao" 安西入西域道 (Anxi Incorporated into the Route through the Western Regions) in *juan* 43 and those regarding Xizhou and Beiting in *juan* 40. Here we quote from these records according to the direction of the route, taking Anxi as the geographical starting point:

> 1. From [Xi]zhou to the south-west are the two cities of Nanping 南平 and Anchang 安昌. After 120 *li*, one reaches the Tianshan mountains. To the south-west, one enters a valley and passes through the Leishi 礌石 desert. In 220 *li* one reaches the Yinshan 銀山 desert. After another 40 *li* one reaches Lüguang hostel 呂光館 on the border of Yanqi. Then one passes through 100 *li* of rocky landscape to Zhangsan city defence detachment 張三城守捉. Further south-west 145 *li* one passes the Xincheng hostel 新城館, crosses the Dan 淡 river and reaches Yanqi garrison 焉耆鎮.[5]
>
> 2. From Yanqi westward [1]50 *li* one passes through the Iron Gate Pass 鐵門關. After another 20 *li* one reaches Wushu defence detachment 于術守捉; after another 200 *li* one reaches Yulin defence detachment 榆林守捉, after another 50 *li*, Longquan defence detachment 龍泉守捉, and after 60 *li*, Dongyipi defence detachment 東夷僻守捉. Another 70 *li* and one reaches Xiyipi defence detachment 西夷僻守捉, after 60 *li*, Chi'an defence detachment 赤岸守捉, and after 120 *li* one reaches the Anxi Protectorate.[6]
>
> 3. From Anxi going west one emerges through Zheque Pass 柘厥關, crosses the Baima 白馬 river, and after 180 *li* heads west and enters the Jupiluo 俱毗羅 desert. One then passes Kujing 苦井, and after 120 *li*

should be understood as *lie* 列 ("as a chain"), which would read better. The two characters are written very similarly but the original was probably *lie*.

5 Entry on Xizhou in "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on Geography), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 40, p. 1046.

6 Entry on "Anxi ru Xiyu dao" 安西入西域道 (Anxi Incorporated into the Route through the Western Regions), "Dili zhi", *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 43, p. 1151.

reaches the city of Jupiluo. After another 60 *li* one reaches the city of Axiyan 阿悉言; after 60 *li* one reaches the city of Bohuan 撥換, also called Weirong 威戎 or Gumozhou 姑墨州. Then one is just south of the Sihun 思渾 river.

4. To the north-west one crosses the Bohuan 撥換 river and the Zhong 中 river. When one is 120 *li* from the Sihun river, one reaches the city of Xiaoshi 小石. After another 20 *li* one reaches the Hulu 葫蘆 river on the border of Yuzhu 于祝 (written in the *Xin Tangshu* as Khotan 于闐 by mistake). After another 60 *li* one reaches the city of Dashi 大石, also known as Yuzhu or Wensuzhou 溫肅州. Then another 30 *li* north-west one reaches Sulou beacon tower 粟樓烽, and after another 40 *li* one crosses Badaling 拔達嶺 mountain. After another 50 *li* one reaches the city of Dunduo 頓多, which is the city of Chishan 赤山, ruled by the Wusun 烏孫. After another 30 *li* one crosses the Zhenzhu 真珠 river, then toward the north-west one crosses the Fayiling 乏驛嶺 mountain. After 50 *li* one crosses Xuehai 雪海; after another 30 *li* one reaches Suibu frontier outpost 碎卜戍; and following the Suibu river for 50 *li* one reaches Rehai 熱海. After another 40 *li* one reaches Dongcheng 凍城; after another 110 *li* one reaches the city of Helie 賀獵; and after another 30 *li* one reaches the city of Yezhi 葉支. When one comes out of the valley, one reaches the mouth of the Suiye 碎葉 river. After 80 *li* one reaches the city of Peiluo jiangjun 裴羅將軍, and after another 20 *li* to the west one reaches the city of Suiye. North of the city is the Suiye river, and 40 *li* north of the river one reaches Jiedan 羯丹 mountain. The "qaghans of the ten surnames" always choose their rulers here. From Suiye toward the west for 10 *li*, one reaches the city of Miguo 米國; after another 30 *li* one reaches Xincheng 新城; after another 60 *li* one reaches the city of Dunjian 頓建; after another 50 *li* one reaches the city of Ashibulai 阿史不來; after another 70 *li* one reaches the city of Julan 俱蘭; after another 10 *li* one reaches the city of Shuijian 稅建; and after another 50 *li* one reaches the city of Daluosi 怛羅斯 (Talas).

5. From Bohuan (the text adds Suiye here by mistake), to the south-west one crosses the [Si]hun river, then after 180 *li* there is the Jizhuo hostel 濟濁館, formerly called Heping customs house 和平鋪. Then one passes through what was formerly called the city of Dagan 達干. After 120 *li* one reaches Yezhe hostel 謁者館; after 60 *li* one reaches the city of Jushide 據史德 [east of present-day Barchuq 巴楚] within the boundaries of Kucha, also called Yutouzhou 郁頭州, on Gushi 孤石 mountain, which is on the northern shore of the Chi 赤 river. Having crossed the Chi river, one passes through the Qishan 岐山 mountains, and after 340 *li*

one reaches the Jialu hostel 葭蘆館. Then one passes through the city of Daman 達漫, and after 140 *li* one reaches Shule garrison 疏勒鎮.

6. From Bohuan one goes south and then east, passes through Kungang 昆崗, crosses the Chi river, then goes south-west through the Shenshan 神山 mountain, Suiyang 睢陽 and Xianpo 咸泊, then south through Shushu 疎樹, and after 930 *li* one reaches Khotan garrison-city 于闐鎮城.

7. To the west of Khotan 50 *li* one finds the Wei Pass 葦關, further west one goes through Boye 勃野 to the north-west across the Xiguan 繫館 river. After 620 *li* one reaches the city of Zhizhiman 郅支滿, also called Qinanzhou 磧南州. Then to the north-west one goes through Kujing and Huangqu 黃渠. After 320 *li* one reaches Shuangqu 雙渠, formerly Jiefan hostel 羯飯館, then to the north-west one goes through the city of Bancheng 半城. After 160 *li* one reaches Yanduzhou 演渡州, then one heads north 80 *li* and reaches Shule garrison. From Shule to the south-west, one enters Jianmogu 劍末谷 valley, Qingshanling 青山嶺 mountain, Qingling 青嶺 mountain and Burenling 不忍嶺 mountain, altogether amounting to 600 *li*, to arrive at the Congling defence detachment 葱嶺守捉, formerly the kingdom of Jiepantuo 羯盤陀. In the Kaiyuan era, a defence detachment was established here, among the border guards at the extreme edge of Anxi.

8. Three hundred *li* east of Khotan is Kancheng garrison 坎城鎮, then further east 600 *li* one arrives at Lancheng garrison 蘭城鎮. Khotan is 1,600 *li* east of Qiemo (Charchan) garrison 且末鎮.

9. Another route is from Shouchang 壽昌 county in Shazhou 沙州 prefecture, 10 *li* to the west to the former city of Yang Pass 陽關. Further west, one reaches a thousand *li* west of the southern shore of lake Puchanghai 蒲昌海. From this shore westward one goes through the city of Qitun 七屯, which in the Han period was called the city of Yixiu 伊修. Eighty *li* further west one reaches Shicheng garrison 石城鎮, which was the Han kingdom of Loulan 樓蘭, also called Shanshan 鄯善 (Charkliq); it is 300 *li* south of Puchanghai. Kang Yandian 康艷典, who was sent to make contact with the Western Regions, was the governor of this garrison. Further west 200 *li* one reaches Xincheng, also called the city of Nuzhi 弩支, built by [Kang] Yandian. Still further west one goes through Telejing 特勒井, across the Qiemo river. After 500 *li* one reaches Boxian garrison 播仙鎮, formerly the city of Qiemo. Its name was changed in the Shangyuan 上元 reign period (674–676) of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683). Further west, one goes through Xilizhi jing 悉利支井, Xianjing 祆井, Wuzhe shui 勿遮水, and after 500 *li* one reaches the Lancheng defence detachment 蘭城守捉 east of Khotan. Still further west one goes through Yidu fort 移

杜堡, Penghuai fort 彭懷堡, and Kancheng defence detachment 坎城守捉, and after 300 *li* one reaches Khotan.[7]

10. From the city of Xiyan 西延 in Tingzhou 庭州 one goes west 60 *li* and comes to Shabo cheng defence detachment 沙鉢城守捉, and also Fengluo defence detachment 馮洛守捉. Another 80 *li* and one comes to Yele cheng defence detachment 耶勒城守捉, and a further 80 *li* brings one to Juliu cheng defence detachment 俱六城守捉. After a further 100 *li* one comes to Luntai 輪臺 county, and after another 150 *li* one comes to Zhangbao cheng defence detachment 張堡城守捉. Then one crosses the Liyidejian 里移得建 river, and after 70 *li* there is the Wuzai defence detachment 烏宰守捉. Then one crosses the Baiyang 白楊 river, and in 70 *li* one comes to the military city of Qingzhen 清鎮. Then one crosses the Yeye 葉葉 river, and after 70 *li* one comes to the Ye river defence detachment 葉河守捉. Then one crosses the Heishui 黑水, and after 70 *li* there is the Heishui defence detachment 黑水守捉. After another 70 *li* there is Donglin defence detachment 東林守捉, and then, after another 70 *li*, the Xilin defence detachment 西林守捉. Then one passes through Huangcao po 黃草泊, the great desert, and Xiaoqi 小磧, crosses the Shiqi 石漆 river and the Cheling 車嶺 range, and reaches the city of Gongyue 弓月. One crosses the Sihun river, the city of Zheshimi 蟄失蜜, and the Yili river, also called the Didi 帝帝 river, and reaches the boundary of Suiye. One heads west for 1,000 *li* and reaches the city of Suiye. The waters all flow north into the desert and enter lake Yibohai 夷播海.[8]

The passages quoted above from the "Dili zhi" in the *Xin Tangshu* seem, according to the latest research, to have been written by the Grand Councilor 宰相 Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805) in his *Huang hua sida ji* 皇華四達記 (Record of Imperial China's Four Reaches) in the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (785–805). This work must have been based on documents preserved in the Tang central government archives. Here I have rearranged them according to the sequence of travel. We can clearly distinguish several sections based on the direction of travel:

1. Xizhou to Yanqi
2. Yanqi to Anxi (Kucha)

7 Entry on "Anxi ru Xiyu dao", "Dili zhi", *Xin Tangshu, juan* 43, pp. 1149–1151.

8 Entry on "Beiting daduhufu" 北庭大都護府 (The Large Protectorate of Beiting), "Dili zhi", *Xin Tangshu, juan* 40, p. 1047.

3. Anxi to Bohuan
4. Bohuan to Suiye, and further west reaching the city of Daluosi
5. Bohuan to Shule
6. Bohuan to Khotan
7. Khotan to Shule, and Shule to the Congling mountains
8. Khotan to Lancheng and Qiemo
9. Shazhou to Lancheng, and then to Khotan
10. Beiting to Suiye.[9]

The route from Shazhou through Yizhou 伊州 to Xizhou and the route from Xizhou to Beiting ran between prefectures under direct Tang jurisdiction, and thus were not within the scope of the *Huang hua sida ji*. We can see the course of these two routes clearly from two Dunhuang 敦煌 texts: the *Shazhou tujing* 沙州圖經 (The Routes and Maps of Shazhou) and the *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經 (The Routes and Maps of Xizhou). These texts show that the routes recorded in the *Huang hua sida ji* overlap with what was directly under the jurisdiction of the Anxi and Beiting protectorates in the Tang period.

For the most part, the major "cities" 城 on the routes recorded in the passages quoted above from *Huang hua sida ji* are not traditional Chinese place names. Some are names of the loose-rein prefectures 羈縻州 of the Tang, while others are names of units in the Tang military network, such as garrison 鎮, defence detachment 守捉, frontier outpost 戍, fort 堡, beacon tower 烽 and customs house 鋪. There are also names of some of the hostels in the postal station network. The fact that these Tang administrative units are identified here by such proper nouns shows that these names go back to the establishment of the loose-rein prefectures in the 3rd year of the Xianqing reign period (658), as well as the establishment in the Western Regions of such military defence units as garrisons and defence detachments. It also shows that the routes connecting these garrisons and prefectures resulted from the so-called "opening of the routes". These were no longer ordinary routes, but Tang "official routes" in the statutory sense, also called "postal roads".

The practice of "[setting] up a chain of postal stations and hostels" was also an important measure adopted by the Tang after it destroyed the Western

9 On these routes, see Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Suiye cheng jindi kao" 碎葉城今地考 (The Present Site of the Ancient City of Suiye), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Journal of Peking University), No. 5, 1979, pp. 70–82; Chen Ge 陳戈, "Xinjiang gudai jiaotong luxian zongshu" 新疆古代交通路線綜述 (A General Description of Ancient Communications Routes in Xinjiang), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Xinjiang Artefacts), No. 3, 1990, pp. 55–92; Wang Binghua 王炳華, "Tang zhi Luntai xian, yu sichou zhi lu beidao jiaotong" 唐置輪台縣與絲綢之路北道交通 (Luntai xian in the Tang Administration and the Traffic along the Northern Route of the Silk Road), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 16, 2010, pp. 151–168.

Turkic Qaghanate and moved the Anxi Protectorate to Kucha. According to the Tang system, a postal station 驛 was built every 30 *li* on the official route. If it was not on a main route, it would be a hostel 館. In the *Huang hua sida ji*, quoted above, we saw that six hostels were mentioned: between Xizhou and Yanqi there were the Lüguang and Xincheng hostels, between Bohuan and Shule there were the Jizhuo, Yezhe and Jialu hostels, and between Shule and Khotan there was the Jiefan hostel. There are no postal stations recorded here. One of the reasons for this may be that most of the routes through the Western Regions were not level roads, therefore there were many hostels and few postal stations. Another reason may be that the *Huang hua sida ji* relies mostly on sources dating from the Kaiyuan and Tianbao 天寶 eras (i.e. 713–756). From the documents unearthed in Turfan 吐魯番, we find that the facilities of the postal stations and hostels 館驛 system in Xizhou were usually called postal stations during the reigns of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705), while most of them were renamed as hostels in Emperor Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 713–756) reign.[10] However, this is not to say that there were no postal stations in the Western Regions at that time. The *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), *juan* 209, records that in the 2nd year of the Jinglong 景龍 reign period (708), Suoge 娑葛, chief of the Tuqishi 突騎施 tribes attacked the Four Garrisons, "captured [Quechuo 闕啜] Zhongjie 忠節 alive, killed [the Tang Vice Censor-in-chief 御史中丞 Feng 馮] Jiabin 嘉賓, captured censor 侍御史 Lü Shousu 吕守素 at Picheng 僻城, tied him to a pillar at the postal station and flayed him alive".[11] Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 suspects that Picheng may be the Dongyipi or Xiyipi defence detachment between Yanqi and Kucha.[12] This is certainly a possibility. However, no matter how it is explained, this event, which happened in the Western Regions, shows that there were postal stations in Picheng in the Western Regions.

The hostels and postal stations are the smallest administrative units indicated on the routes in the *Huang hua sida ji*. Therefore it is completely understandable that there are very few records about them. The above-mentioned six

10 See Chen Guocan 陳國燦, "Tang Xizhou Puchang fu fangqu nei de zhen shu yu guanyi" 唐西州蒲昌府防區內的鎮戍與館驛 (Frontier Outposts and Postal Stations in the Puchang Prefecture Defense Area in Tang Dynasty Xizhou), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources for the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang), No. 17, 2000, p. 95.

11 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 209, p. 6628.

12 Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Xi Tuque shiliao buque ji kaozheng* 西突厥史料補闕及考証 (Supplementary Information and Textual Criticism on the Historical Materials concerning the Western Turks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), p. 78.

postal stations were actually not the only ones in the Western Regions. Among the texts excavated from Astana 阿斯塔納 grave No. 506 in Turfan, two mention hostels that are on the route from Xizhou to Yanqi:

> 1. Report on horse provision and administration at the Leishi hostel 礌石館 from the 7th month to the intercalary 11th month of the 13th year of the Tianbao era (754) in the Tang period, submitted to the Department for Long-Distance Depots in the Commandery Government 唐天寶十三載礌石館具七至閏十一月帖馬食歷上郡長行坊狀.
> 2. Report on horse provision and administration at the Yinshan hostel in Tianshan county from the 7th month to the intercalary 11th month of the 13th year of the Tianbao era (754) in the Tang period, submitted to the Department for Long-Distance Depots in the Commandery Government 唐天寶十三載天山縣具銀山館閏十一月郡坊帖馬食歷上郡長行坊狀.[13]

Within the Tang administrative system, these hostels must have belonged to Tianshan county in Xizhou. Two poems by Cen Shen 岑參 (715–770), entitled "Yinshan Qixi guan" 銀山磧西館 (The Hostel west of Yinshan Desert) and "Su tieguanxi guan" 宿鐵關西館 (Staying at the Hostel west of the Iron Gate Pass),[14] mention hostels within the boundaries of Yanqi. The Japanese Ōtani 大谷 (1902–1904) expedition obtained a document (Ōtani 1508) from Duldur-aqur, west of Kucha, containing the name Dajing hostel 大井館,[15] which must have been a hostel or postal station in the Anxi region. In the same location, Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) discovered a document, numbered D.a.41, containing a record of three horses from a hostel being supplied to the army.[16] Although the name of this hostel is not mentioned, we at least know that it existed. Another similar document, discovered by the Ōtani expedition in Kucha (Ōtani 8071), is a report by the beacon tower guard Yan Jingyuan 閻敬元

13 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), Vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 447 and 462.

14 Liu Kaiyang 劉開揚, *Cen Shen shiji biannian jianzhu* 岑參詩集編年箋注 (Cen Shen's Poetry Arranged in Chronological Order with Commentaries) (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), pp. 179, and 181–182.

15 Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久, et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei* 大谷文書集成 (Compendium of the Ōtani Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1984), p. 73.

16 Éric Trombert, Ikeda On and Zhang Guangda, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha. Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises de College de France, 2000), p. 66.

who was in charge of the hostel at the beacon tower.[17] From the documents found in Dunhuang and Turfan, we can see that in the Tang dynasty, beacon towers and customs houses were often located in the same place as hostels and postal stations, thus serving the dual functions of defence and communication. The above-mentioned *Huang hua sida ji*, speaks of Shenshan and other places between Bohuan and Khotan, without mentioning their administrative units. However, among the Chinese documents excavated at Khotan held at the Berlin Museum of Asian Art, there is a list of provisions for guests and horses in hostels at Khotan during the Tang dynasty (MIK III-7587), which mentions the names of four hostels: Caoze hostel 草澤館, Xinheng hostel 欣衡館, Lianheng hostel 連衡館 and Mouchang hostel 謀常館. Together they are called "the four hostels north of Shenshan" [Fig. 2.1].[18] According to the document Hedin 24, Shenshan was a fort.[19] This was a fortified point guarding the Khotan river route. Apart from being a military fortification, there must also have been a hostel there. The hostel called Mouchang hostel also appears in document M.T.0628, which M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) excavated at Mazar Tagh. It contains the phrase "food for two people at Mouchang hostel".[20] Thus from Bohuan to Khotan, there were hostels all along the Khotan river route. Two other documents show that hostels were common in the Khotan region. The first is a draft note on a commoner of Khotan, dated the 5th day of the 1st month of the 3rd year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign period (767), obtained by Sven Hedin's (1865–1952) expedition in the region of Laodamagou 老達瑪溝, Cele 策勒 county in Khotan.[21] The second is a record of rents and taxes paid by

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17 *Shazhou wenlu, fulu* 沙州文錄·附錄 (Shazhou Manuscripts: Appendix), privately printed by Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, 1924, p. 2, Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 3 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2003), p. 227.

18 See Asahi shinbunsha 朝日新聞社. *Torufan koshahonten* トゥルファン古写本展 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient Manuscripts from Turfan) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbun sha, 1991), Fig. 7 and an explanation (written by Ikeda On 池田温).

19 See Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Ba shiji xiaban zhi jiu shiji chu de Yutian" 八世紀下半至九世紀初的于闐 (Khotan in the Second Half of the 8th Century to the Beginning of the 9th Century), in their *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*) 于闐史叢考(增訂本) (Studies on the History of Khotan [enlarged edition]) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008), p. 242.

20 Sha Zhi 沙知, Wu Fangsi 吳芳思 [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*) 斯坦因第三次中亞考古所獲漢文文獻（非佛經部分）(Archaeological Finds of Chinese Documents from Stein's Third Expedition to Central Asia [Non-Buddhist Texts]), *juan* 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005), p. 187.

21 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, *Kōtan shutsudo 8–9 seiki no Kōtango sezoku monjo ni kansuru oboegaki* コータン出土 8–9 世紀のコータン語世俗文書に関する覚え書き (Notes on Khotanese Secular Documents from the 8th–9th Centuries), transcribed

commoners of Shanzheng 善政 and other administrative districts in Khotan, dated the 4th day of the 10th month of the 6th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (790), obtained by Stein (M.T.0634).[22] The former document came from the Six Cities region of the kingdom of Khotan, while the latter was probably from the capital region of Khotan.

These names of hostels and postal stations in locally excavated documents and tax records constitute proof of their widespread existence in the region of the Four Garrisons of Anxi in the Tang period. They also show that, after the 3rd year of the Xianqing reign period, the Tang administration indeed carried out a policy of establishing a chain of hostels and postal stations in the Western Regions. The establishment of the Anxi Protectorate in Kucha is a sign of the direct penetration of Tang political, military, communications and transport systems into this region. Among them was the Tang hostel and postal station system, which was adopted wholesale with its complete set of functions: promoting communication in all directions, and providing accommodation, food, horses, and other communication and transport needs. We can deduce such details hidden in the names of the hostels and postal stations based on our knowledge of the Tang system.

The Tang developed this postal route system with Anxi in the centre, and the establishment of the hostel and postal station system in the Western Regions provided the infrastructure and support for the exchange of military and political personnel, documents, and materials in these areas.[23] At the same time, these facilities also provided merchants with safe, unobstructed routes on which they could conduct trade along the Silk Road.[24] By contrast, in

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and translated by Kumamoto Hiroshi 熊本裕, (Kobe: Kōbe shi gaikokugo daigaku Gaikokugaku kenkyūjo, 2006), p. 27.

22 Sha Zhi, Wu Fangsi [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*), *juan* 1, p. 188.

23 Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望 said that the road from Chang'an via the Hexi corridor, crossing Xizhou, Yanqi and Kucha was "the Tang dynasty's great passageway connecting Chang'an with the Western Regions and Central Asia. There were postal stations along the entire route … allowing horsemen to transmit documents quickly, reaching their destination in about one month". See Yan Gengwang, *Tangdai jiaotong tukao* 唐代交通圖考 (Maps of the Communications Routes of the Tang Period), *juan* 2 (Taibei: Zhongyan yanjiuyuan Shiyusuo, 1985), p. 488.

24 See Cheng Xilin 程喜霖, "Cong Tangdai guosuo wenshu suojian tong 'Xiyu' de zhongdao" 從唐代過所文書所見通"西域"的中道 (The Middle Route through the "Western Regions" as seen from Tang Dynasty Passports), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 1, 1988, pp. 58–67; also Cheng Xilin, "Tangdai guosuo yu Hu Han shangren maoyi" 唐代過所與胡漢商人貿易 (Tang Passports and the Trade between Chinese and Hu Merchants), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Studies on the Western Regions), No. 1, 1995, pp. 97–103; and Cheng Xilin, "Tangdai gongyan guosuo yu jiaotong maoyi" 唐代公驗過所與交通貿

previous periods, when the kingdoms in the Western Regions operated separately from each other, commercial travellers were greatly inconvenienced during their journeys, particularly when struggles for control over commercial routes between Gaochang 高昌 (present-day Turfan) and Yanqi reached the point of military conflict.

The establishment of the Tang Anxi Protectorate and stable rule over the region of the Four Garrisons, combined with the establishment of the Beiting Protectorate, helped to unite the separate oasis kingdoms of the Western Regions and the nomadic tribes of the steppe on the northern Tianshan route, thus keeping the roads open and unobstructed, and protecting communications on the postal routes. As a result, East-West communications flourished during the prosperous Kaiyuan and Tianbao eras.

2 The Management of Commerce and Trade

The location of Kucha on the main communications route of the Silk Road determined the important role it would play in East-West trade. The Kucha region has a warm climate, and produces abundant quantities of hemp, wheat, grapes, pears, peaches, and other products. Located near the mountains, it was easy to raise animals there and export good horses and humped cattle. There were mines in the mountains, and the region was famous for gold, copper, iron and other metals. The historical records also show that the kingdom of Kucha presented tribute to the states in Central China. For example, in the 7th month of the 2nd year of the Taihe 太和 reign period (478) in the Northern Wei period, seventy good-quality camels were presented as tribute, and in the 9th month the tribute included large horses, good camels and precious stones.[25] In the Daye 大業 reign period (605–617) of the Sui dynasty, Kucha presented local products as tribute.[26] In the 2nd year of the Shangyuan reign period (675) under Tang Emperor Gaozong, Kucha presented a silver *poluo* 頗羅 winecup.[27] Some of these objects were products from Kucha itself, and

易 (Tang Official Passports and Communications and Trade), in his *Tangdai guosuo yanjiu* 唐代過所研究 (Passports of the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 219–265.

25 "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 (Annals of Emperor Gaozu), *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 7, p. 146.

26 "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (The Western Regions), *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 83, p. 1852.

27 "Gaozong benji" 高宗本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Gaozong), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 5, p. 100.

others were from areas outside, which reached China by way of Kucha. There is a document excavated in Turfan, dated the 8th year of the Chengping 承平 reign period (450) of the Northern Liang dynasty, which mentions a kind of brocade made in Kucha.[28] The *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang) observes that there was wine made from grapes in Kucha.[29] These are very simple indications that there were in Kucha and other oasis cities on the Silk Road products produced locally, as well as large quantities of trade goods transported from outside. When the Anxi Protectorate was moved to Kucha, this shortened the distance between Chang'an and Kucha. This breakthrough in communications brought significant changes to the Silk Road trade conducted through the Kucha region.

However, because of the lack of records in transmitted sources, and the relative scarcity of documents excavated from the Kucha region, the importance of the Anxi Protectorate in the Tang period for commerce and trade on the Silk Road does not seem to have been understood as well in modern scholarship as that of Gaochang and Dunhuang. Thanks to the abundance of documents excavated in Turfan, we have some records concerning the movements of Chinese and Hu 胡 merchants across the Anxi region, which provide material for the current discussion.

Scholars have investigated one document unearthed at Turfan in some detail, including its date, geographical setting, information on the trade with the Hu people and other such issues. Only eight fragments of this document survive, sorted by the Turfan Documents Organizing Team under the leadership of Tang Zhangru 唐長孺. It is a petition from Gaochang county of Xizhou to the Anxi Protectorate concerning the legal case of a man named Cao Lushan 曹祿山 against another named Li Shaojin 李紹謹. It constitutes the results of an official investigation and records the testimonies of both sides.[30] The contents are quite clear, though there are some aspects where there is still disagreement.[31] Below we shall summarise the contents, proceeding through

28 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 92–93.

29 "Xi Rong zhuan" 西戎傳 (The Western Rong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 198, p. 5305.

30 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 240–247.

31 Some important studies on this subject are: Wang Mingzhe 王明哲, "Tulufan chutu youguan Gongyue cheng wenshu chuxi" 吐魯番出土有關弓月城文書初析 (Preliminary Investigation of Turfan Documents concerning Gongyue City), *Xiyu shi luncong* 西域史論叢 (Studies on the History of the Western Regions), No. 1, 1985, pp. 171–181; Huang Huixian 黃惠賢, "Tang Xizhou Gaochang xian shang Anxi duhufu diegao wei lushang xunwen Cao Lushan su Li Shaojin liang zao bianci shi" 唐西州高昌縣上安西都護府牒稿為錄上訊問曹祿山訴李紹謹兩造辯辭事 (Petition of Gaochang County of Xizhou of the Tang to the Anxi Protectorate concerning the Record of Testimonies in Cao Lushan's Legal Case against Li Shaojin), in Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan*

the arguments on both sides, which are for the most part in chronological order. (Each section is followed by a reference to the fragment number and line number in the fragment):

In a certain month of the 2nd year of the Xianheng 咸亨 reign period (671), a Sogdian named Cao Lushan made an accusation in Gaochang county against the Chinese individual Li Shaojin, alias Li San 李三, a merchant from the capital. The plaintiff claimed that in the 2nd year of the Qianfeng 乾封 reign period (667) his elder brother Cao Yanyan 曹炎延 and the merchant Li Shaojin left from the capital, passed through Anxi and arrived in the city of Gongyue to do business. Travelling with them were the Hu merchants Cao Guoyi 曹果毅, Cao Er 曹二 (also called Cao Bisuo 曹毕娑), as well as Yanyan's nephew Juzhe 居者. (II/2–4) Li Shaojin admitted, "When I was going toward Gongyue city, from An[xi I was followed by some] Hu traders [who were also] going to Gongyue city" (III/12–14). In the beginning of the 3rd year of the Zongzhang 總章 reign period (670), Li Shaojin borrowed "275 bolts" of raw silk in Gongyue city from Cao Yanyan (I/6–7). "On the day when he delivered it, the transaction was witnessed by Cao Bisuo and Cao Guoyi" (VII/2–3). In the 2nd month or a little before, Li Shaojin and Cao Yanyan "left together from Gongyue city and headed toward Kucha" (I/8–12). "After travelling about 100 *li* from Gongyue city, they met four people from Anxi who were sent as envoys" to Yuhejun 玉河軍 (IV/2–3). But Cao Yanyan did not reach Kucha. Afterwards, Cao Lushan and the nephew went to Kucha to find Li Shaojin (II/8–10), while Cao Guoyi and Cao Er stayed at Gongyue city (II/2–4). Later these two went further west and it is not known where they went. (VII/3–4). In the 3rd month of the 3rd year of the Zongzhang reign period, the reign name changed and it was

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wenshu chutan 敦煌吐魯番文書初探 (Preliminary Investigation into the Dunhuang and Turfan Documents) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 344–363; Zhu Yingrong 朱英榮, "Qiuci jingji yu Qiuci wen hua" 龜茲經濟與龜茲文化 (The Economy and Culture of Kucha), *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 新疆大學學報 (Journal of Xinjiang University), No. 3, 1990; Wang Xiaofu 王小甫, *Tang Tubo Dashi zhengzhi guanxi shi* 唐吐蕃大食政治關係史 (History of the Political Relations among the Tang, Tibetans and Arabs) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 72–73; Arakawa Masaharu 荒川正晴, "Tō teikoku to Sogudo jin no kōeki katsudō" 唐帝國 とソグド人の 交易活動 (The Tang Empire and the Trading Activities of the Sogdians), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Oriental History), Vol. 56, No. 3, 1997, pp. 185–188; also Arakawa Masaharu, "The Transit Permit System of the Tang Empire and the Passage of Merchants", *The Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 59, 2002, pp. 7–18; also, Huangchuan Zhengqing [Arakawa Masaharu] 荒川正晴, "Tang dai Sute shangren yu Hanzu shangren" 唐代粟特商人與漢族商人 (Sogdian and Han Chinese Merchants in the Tang Period), in Rong Xinjiang et al., eds., *Suteren zai Zhongguo: Lishi, kaogu, yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中國 – 歷史、考古、語言的新探索 (Sogdians in China: New Research on History, Archaeology and Language) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 101–109.

the 1st year of the Xianheng reign period (670). Anxi fell to the Tibetans in the 4th month. Cao Lushan and others, together with Li Shaojin accompanied the Anxi Protectorate as it withdrew from Kucha and moved back to Gaochang. (III/1–2) In the 2nd year of the Xianheng reign period (671), because he could not find his elder brother, Cao Lushan initiated a law suit against Li Shaojin in Gaochang county. He requested that the government officials contact Anxi to ask whether the envoys who went from Kucha to Gongyue during the previous year with Li Shaojin saw any Hu people following Li Shaojin. Their aim was to determine whether Li Shaojin was telling the truth (IV–VI).

This document talks about Cao Yanyan, Cao Guoyi, Cao Bisuo and other Sogdian merchants who left from Chang'an together with the Han Chinese merchant Li Shaojin. They passed through Anxi (Kucha) and reached Gongyue city. Li borrowed 275 bolts of silk from Cao Yanyan, and Cao Yanyan's brother Cao Lushan and nephew followed him. Later, when Li Shaojin went to Kucha, Cao Lushan caught up with him and realised that his elder brother was not there. However, at Gongyue he found out from Cao Guoyi and Cao Bisuo that his elder brother had lent the silk to Li San. Therefore after both of them arrived at Gaochang, they went straight to the government officials to initiate a lawsuit. Because Cao Lushan knew that Li Shaojin and the others had seen Tang envoys on the route from Gongyue to Kucha, they asked the Gaochang county government to write to the Anxi Protectorate to find out if the Tang envoys had seen Cao Yanyan, Li Shaojin and other Hu and Chinese merchants on the journey. Thus we can see that Anxi was an important communications node for these Hu and Chinese merchants travelling from Chang'an to Gongyue on the northern border, and even further west. They had to go through this place during their comings and goings to obtain supplies. It is also clear that the route through Anxi, going north to Gongyue and east toward Gaochang, was at that time a common route for Hu people engaged in commerce. Because the Tibetans invaded in the 1st year of the Xianheng reign period (670), these Hu and Chinese merchants retreated to Xizhou. Thus Cao Lushan's report was submitted from Gaochang county. From the fact that the plaint requests the Anxi Protectorate to trace the movements of the Tang envoys and the Chinese and Hu merchants from two years before we can also see the powerful role played by the Anxi Protectorate. Its scope in handling the case covered the area from Gongyue city westward all the way to Suiye, Daluosi and other places. The reason why the Anxi Protectorate was able to follow the traces of these Sogdian merchants was that, according to Tang regulations, when passing through Tang border passes, defense detachments, hostels or postal stations, they had to register not only themselves, but also anyone accompanying them, including servants and even the animals they brought with them. A fragment excavated

by Stein at Mazar Tagh (M.Tagh.0092V, now Or.8212/1557) has the following record (Fig. 2.2):

[…]
1 别奉（奏）康雲漢　作人石者羯　都多〔
2 奴伊禮然　奴伏渾 馬一匹 驢〔
3 牛參頭 揄論都督首領弓弩〔
4 〕左右覔戰 胡數渾 馬〔
5 〕連衡監官王瓚 欣衡監官口口〔
[…]

[…]
1 The aide-de-camp attendant Kang Yunhan The labourer Shi Zhejie The *duduo* …
2 The slave Yi Liran　The slave Fu Hun　A horse　donkey …
3 Three cattle　The bow of the governor of Yulun …
4 … seek fights nearby　Hu Shuhun horse …
5 … Wang Zan of the Lianheng *jianguan*, […] of the Xinheng *jianguan*
[…][32]

The names Lianheng 連衡 and Xinheng 欣衡 both appear in the aforementioned list of provisions for guests and horses in hostels at Khotan (MIK III-7587) held in Germany. They are names of hostels established along the Khotan river. It seems that "official" 監官 may be an error for "hostel" 監館. We can find evidence for this assertion in document M.T.0628, excavated at the above-mentioned Mazar Tagh site, which contains the name of the Mouchang hostel. This document must be a record of the Sogdian merchant Kang Yunhan's 康雲漢 stay at a hostel while passing through Bohuan to Khotan; he was accompanied by slaves and other people, as well as animals.

It is clear that the Anxi Protectorate was the highest military organisation in all of the Western Regions, which provided protection for the comings and goings of people engaged in trading activities and merchants under its jurisdiction. When there were transgressions of the rules in these areas, they were responsible for prosecuting the offenders.

32 Sha Zhi and Wu Fangsi [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*), Vol. 2, p. 217. The text presented here is a revised and supplemented version of the reading arrived at as part of the Western Regions Text-Reading Seminars (西域文書讀書班) at the Chinese Ancient History Research Centre 中國古代史研究中心, Peking University in the second half of 2010.

Precisely because the loose-reign system was established under the Anxi Protectorate, the Hu people of the loose-rein prefectures became Tang subjects, thus obtaining legal status. This allowed them to travel freely within the boundaries of Tang control. A document excavated in Turfan concerning a passport 過所 issued by the Guazhou Area Command 瓜州都督府 to the Sogdian merchant Shi Randian 石染典 of Xizhou 西州 in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (732) records that on the 14th day of the 3rd month of that year Shi Randian applied for a passport in Guazhou, Hexi 河西, intending to go on to Anxi after his business at the market was finished. Besides himself, he had with him only Kang Lushan 康祿山, Shi Nufen 石怒忿 and the domestic slave Yiduodi 移多地, altogether making four people.[33] Because of the disorder in the region at the time, Sogdian merchants did not dare travel alone; they usually travelled in large caravans of dozens or hundreds of people, in order to avoid being attacked by thieves or enemy troops.[34] As during the period when the Tang ruled over the Western Regions, both this outlying area and the interior of the empire were united under the same government administration, the Silk Road merchants could come and go to trade relatively conveniently. From the account of Shi Randian's passport, we can see that he was not travelling in a large group. This shows that in times of peace Silk Road merchants did not always need to travel in huge numbers.

In addition, after the Anxi Protectorate was established, especially after the first year of the Changshou reign period (692) when the Four Garrisons were restored, large numbers of troops from the interior, along with their family members, support staff, monks and nuns and the like, moved to the region with the strong support of the Tang central government. Along with them came large quantities of textiles and silk, which could be used as currency, and these had to be transported to the Western Regions from Liangzhou 涼州 and Qinzhou 秦州 and other prefectures. This was what Zhang Ji 張籍 was referring to in his lyric poem "Liangzhou ci" 涼州詞 (Song of Liangzhou): "The sound of countless bells across the sand dunes, / It must be the pack animals loaded with white silk heading for Anxi" 無數鈴聲遙過磧, 應馱白練到安西. A case file of a passport issued by the Xizhou Area Command 西州都督府 in the 21st year of the Kaiyuan era (733), excavated in Turfan records that in Huayuan 華源 county of Jingzhao fu 京兆府, a person named Wang Fengxian 王奉仙 went to Anxi in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan era to escort hired servants

33 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 4, pp. 275–276.

34 See Rong Xinjiang, "Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo suo jian zhi sute shangdui" 北周史君墓石椁所見之粟特商隊 (Sogdian Caravans Seen on the Sarcophagus of Shi Jun of the Northern Zhou), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 3, 2005, pp. 47–56.

for the soldiers. When he was returning to Xizhou, [Wang] saw Zhang Sizhong 張思忠, who owed him 3,000 cash, and chased after him. When Wang arrived at Suanzao frontier outpost 酸枣戍 in Xizhou, he was arrested by a guard because he did not have a passport for going north to Beiting, yet was going directly north.[35] This incident on the one hand provides evidence that large quantities of resources were shipped to the Anxi region, and on the other shows the strict control that the Tang government had over the people who came and went.[36] This transport of resources in which the Tang administration was engaged also promoted trade in commercial products and the development of a currency based economy centred on Kucha.

People like Wang Fengxian, who travelled long distances to Anxi, were called "travelling merchants" 行客, but from the fact that Zhang Sizhong owed him 3,000 cash, there are indications that these travelling merchants like him also engaged in lending money and trade along the road. In the documents discovered by Pelliot at Duldur-aqur in Kucha, such as D.a.58 and D.a.115, references were found to travelling merchants using the expression "camp of travelling merchants" 行客營. According to Jiang Boqin's 姜伯勤 research, the "travelling merchants from Kucha, like the local residents, fulfilled corvée obligations, such as dredging, so we can see that the travelling merchants of the Kucha region were equally targeted for general service". "The term 'camp of travelling merchants' comes from the fact that travellers organized themselves

35 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 4, p. 290.

36 Guo Pingliang 郭平梁, "Tang chao Wang Fengxian bei zhuo an wenshu kaoshi: Tangdai Xiyu lulu jiaotong yunshu chutan" 唐朝王奉仙被捉案文書考釋 – 唐代西域陸路交通運輸初探 (A Study of the Document with the Case of the Detention of Wang Fengxian of the Tang Period: A Preliminary Investigation into the Overland Communications and Transport in the Western Regions during the Tang), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (Chinese Historical Studies), No. 1, 1986, pp. 136–145; Arakawa Masaharu 荒川正晴, "Tō no tai Saiiki fuhaku yusō to kyaku-shō no katsudō ni tsuite" 唐の對西域布帛輸送と客商の活動について (On the Transportation of Textiles and Silk to the Western Regions in the Tang Period and the Activities of Travelling Merchants), *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko), Vol. 73, Nos. 3 and 4, 1992, pp. 31–63. Chinese translations: Wang Xin 王忻, trans., "Tang zhengfu dui Xiyu bubo de yunsong ji keshang de huodong" 唐政府對西域布帛的運送及客商的活動. *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Dunhuang Studies Journal), No. 2, 1993, pp. 108–118; and Yue Shengkui 樂勝奎, trans., "Guanyu Tang xiang Xiyu shusong bubo yu keshang de guanxi" 關於唐向西域輸送布帛與客商的關係 (On the Transportation of Textiles and Silk to the Western Regions and Relations among Travelling Merchants of the Tang Period), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao*, No. 16, 1998, pp. 342–353; Arakawa Masaharu, "Tō dai zenhan no Ko Kan shōnin to hakuren no ryūtsū" 唐代前半の胡漢商人と帛練の流通 (The Distribution of Silk Textiles and Hu and Han Merchants in the First Half of Tang Dynasty), *Tōdai shi kenkyū* 唐代史研究 (Studies in the History of the Tang Period), No. 7, 2004, pp. 17–59.

into groups". Jiang also pointed out that the travellers included long distance merchants.[37] Thus it is possible to say that because the quantity of resources transported was extremely large, substantial numbers of people were engaged in transporting them. Among them were also some who did business on a small scale. Some of them settled down to become part of the labour force in the Anxi region, and promoted the establishment of the local military administration.

In sum, the High Tang was a time when political, economic and cultural exchange between East and West was at its height. When the Anxi Protectorate was established in Kucha, the portion of the Silk Road that went to Kucha became a main east-west thoroughfare in the Western Regions. Therefore, we should not think it strange that not only the monk Hyecho, who went west to obtain scriptures and returned east, but also Sogdian merchants like Shi Randian, who sold things from east to west, used this route going through Kucha.

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37 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Dunhuang, Xinjiang wenshu suo ji de Tangdai *xingke*" 敦煌新疆文書所記的唐代"行客" (Tang Dynasty *xingke* as Recorded in Manuscripts from Dunhuang and Xinjiang), *Chutu wenxian yanjiu xuji* 出土文獻研究續集 (Additional Collection of Research on Excavated Texts) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 277–290.

FIGURE 2.1 Chinese text excavated in Khotan: inventory of provisions for people and horses in the hostels of Khotan

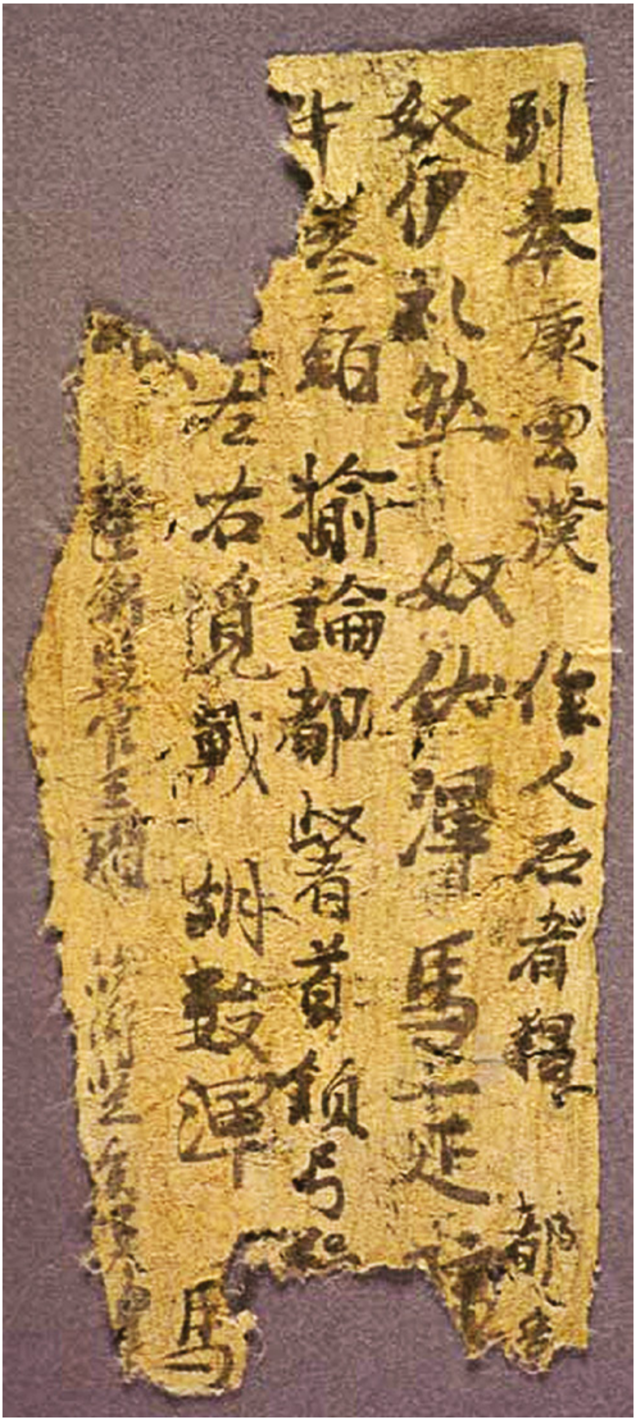

FIGURE 2.2
Fragment concerning the Tang aide-de-camp attendant Kang Yunhan, excavated at Mazar Tagh, Khotan

CHAPTER 3

Beiting on the Silk Road (7th–10th Centuries)

Translated by Li Huawei 李華偉

During the Tang dynasty, the Beiting Protectorate 北庭都護府 was located north of present-day Jimsar (Jimusar 吉木薩爾) county on the northern side of the Tianshan mountains. Part of the grand city wall and moat is still in place today (Fig. 3.1). Beiting (Bišbalïq) was situated within the nomadic region of the northern Turks; it was originally one of the northern and southern royal courts of Tong Yabghu Qaghan 統葉護可汗, ruler of the Western Turkic Qaghanate from 618 to 630. It is also known as the "Qaghan's Stūpa City" (*kehan futu cheng* 可汗浮圖城) named after the stūpas built by the Qaghan, who was the Qaghanate's highest ranking leader.[1] In the 14th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (640) of Emperor Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649), Gaochang 高昌 was destroyed, and the prefecture of Tingzhou 庭州 was set up there, in accordance with the system of prefectures and counties used in the interior of China. After Taizong's death, in the 2nd year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign period (651) of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683), another Western Turkic Qaghan, Ashina Helu 阿史那賀魯 (Ashnahoru, r. 651–658), revolted, storming Tingzhou. The Tang forces put down the rebellion after many skirmishes, and re-established the prefecture of Tingzhou in the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 era (658). In the 2nd year of the Longshuo 龍朔 reign period (662), to deal with the remnants of the Qaghanate and stabilise the situation north of the Tianshan, the Tang established the Jinshan 金山 Protectorate, strengthening and expanding the power of the prefect (*cishi* 刺史) of Tingzhou. In the 2nd year of the Chang'an 長安 reign period

1 Édouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux* (présenté à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St-Pétersbourg le 23 août 1900) (St.-Pétersbourg: Commissionnaires de l'Académie impériale des sciences, 1903), p. 305. One theory is that *futu* 浮圖 comes from the placename Wutu 務途. See Shimazaki Akira 嶋崎昌, "Hān fuzujō kō" 可汗浮圖城考 (Study of the City of the Qaghan's Stūpa), *Zui-Tō jidai no Higashi Torukisutan kenkyū: Kōshōkoku-shi kenkyū wo chūshin toshite* 隋唐時代の東トゥルキスタン研究 – 高昌國史研究を中心として (Study of the History of Eastern Turkestan in the Sui and Tang Periods: With a Focus on the History of the Gaochang Kingdom) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1977), pp. 171–252. Concerning the Buddhist beliefs of the Eastern and Western Turks, see Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生, *Tangdai jiuxing hu yu tujue wenhua* 唐代九姓胡與突厥文化 (The Tang Dynasty Nine-surnames Hu and Turkic Culture) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), pp. 144–164.

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(702), the Tang established the Beiting Protectorate on the foundations of the Jinshan Protectorate to replace the prefecture of Tingzhou, expand the scope of its authority and strengthen its military presence, thereby making Beiting the Tang dynasty's political and military centre along the northern Tianshan route. After the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741), with the gradual establishment of the system of military commissioners 節度使, the Beiting protector became the Beiting military commissioner, and the protectorate was also transformed into a military garrison (*junzhen* 軍鎮) administered by the military commissioner. After the An Lushan rebellion (755–763), the main force of the Tang army was transferred to Central China to come to the aid of the emperor, thus weakening Tang influence in the Beiting area. In the 6th year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (790), the Tibetans temporarily occupied Beiting. Later they were defeated by the Uighur Qaghanate, which was based on the Mongolian plateau, and the Uighurs became the new masters of the Tianshan region, including Beiting.

With the Tianshan mountains on its south and the steppe on its north, Beiting had a natural geographical advantage. To the west, through such towns as Gongyue 弓月 (in the area of present-day Huocheng 霍城), one can reach Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab) (present-day Ak-beshim in Kyrgyzstan) in the Chuy river valley of Central Asia. In the south, Beiting was connected to Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr), Gaochang and Yiwu 伊吾 via various valley roads across the Tianshan, and through these places one could travel to the Tarim basin, the Hexi corridor, and even as far as the region of Ba-Shu 巴蜀 (present-day Sichuan). Due north was the Jinshan region (the Altai mountains), one of the main areas inhabited by nomadic peoples. To the north-east was the "Uighur Road", which led to the tent of the Uighur Qaghan in the northern part of the Gobi desert. With such convenient road junctions extending in all directions, Beiting became the main transportation hub and trade distribution centre in the northern part of present-day Xinjiang 新疆. It also brought together diverse cultural elements from the Silk Road, enabling Eastern and Western cultures to take root, blossom and bear fruit in this location.

Compared to the dry climate of the Turfan 吐魯番 depression south of the Tianshan, the Beiting area received more rainfall, hence very few paper manuscripts, and only a small number of stele fragments and Buddhist temple inscriptions from the Uighur period have been found around the ruins of the ancient city. As a result, relatively few written sources have been preserved. In the past, most of what we knew about the Beiting Protectorate concerned military institutions and wars. This article brings together some manuscripts and fragments of stone tablets found in Turfan, focusing mostly on commercial trade and cultural exchanges along the Silk Road.

The Qaghan's Stūpa City was originally the Beiting (Bišbalïq) established by the Qaghan of the Western Turks. As an important city of the Qaghanate, its mainstream culture was of course the nomadic culture of the Turks. Even when the Tang established the prefecture of Tingzhou in the 14th year of the Zhenguan era (640), and even after the sovereignty of the regions north and south of the Tianshan was transferred from the Western Turks to the Tang in the 3rd year of the Xianqing era (658), large groups of Turkic tribes, such as the Chuyue 處月, Chumi 處蜜 and Shatuo 沙陀, continued to live and herd here, almost joining together with the Three Clans of the Qarluq (*sanxing geluolu* 三姓哥邏祿) of the Jinshan area. We have learned from the Sogdian inscription of the time of the Turkic Muqan Qaghan (r. 553–572), discovered in Mongolia (i.e. Bugut), that the Sogdians took on the role of secretaries or scribes for the Turks.[2] Among the recently discovered Turfan manuscripts, we have been able to identify a group of documents concerning the Xizhou Area Command's 西州都督府 handling of the breakup of the Qarluq tribes in the 2nd and 3rd years of the Longshuo reign period (662–663). The documents relate that when one of the Qarluq tribes, the Bushidaguan 步失達官, was dispersed by the Tiele 鐵勒 tribe from the northern Gobi, a group numbering a thousand tents migrated south from Jinshan, and stationed itself in the prefecture of Jinmanzhou 金滿州 (now the site of Urabo, north of Urumqi) near Tingzhou, where the home of the Shatuo tribe was located. After putting down the rebellion north of the Gobi, the Tang sent envoys from Xizhou to Jinmanzhou, and, together with the Shatuo prefect of Jinmanzhou, arranged for the Qarluqs to return to the Jinshan region.[3] Among the documents from the same group is a Sogdian letter sent from Jinmanzhou, where the Shatuo lived, to Xizhou. It was written by a Sogdian scribe on behalf of the Shatuo prefect of Jinmanzhou. This letter shows that the Sogdians also served as scribes for other Western Turks.[4] Proficient in commerce, these Sogdians also excelled in diplomacy.

2 Cai Hongsheng, *Tangdai jiuxing hu yu tujue wenhua*, pp. 179–181. For the transcription of the Bugut inscription, see Sergej G. Kljaštornyj and Vladimir A. Livšic, "The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised", *Acta Orientalia* (*Hung.*), Vol. 26, No. 1, 1972, pp. 69–102; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫 et al., *Mongorukoku genson iseki: Hibun chōsa kenkyū hōkoku* モンゴル國現存遺跡·碑文調查研究報告 (Provisional Research Report on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia) (Toyonaka-shi: Chūō Yūrashiagaku kenkyūkai, 1999), pp. 122–123.

3 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Xinchu Tulufan wenshu suojian Tang Longshuo nianjian Gelulu buluo posan wenti" 新出吐魯番文書所見唐龍朔年間哥邏祿部落破散問題 (The Dispersion of the Qarluq Tribes in the Luoshuo Reign of the Tang Dynasty: A Newly Excavated Turfan Manuscript), *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 西域歷史語言研究集刊 (Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions), No. 1, 2007, pp. 13–44.

4 Yutaka Yoshida, "Sogdian Fragments Discovered from the Graveyard of Badamu", *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan*, No. 1, 2007, pp. 45–54; Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, "Sogudojin to Torukojin

On account of its commercial importance, the Sogdian language thus became the *lingua franca* on the Silk Road, providing evidence of the influence of the Tingzhou Sogdians on the nomadic Turks of the north.

These clever merchants, the Sogdians of Central Asia, came east in large numbers, establishing commercial networks and monopolising trade along the Silk Road from the 3rd to the 8th centuries CE. Of course, they would not relinquish an important commercial stronghold like Tingzhou. Below is the text of a document excavated in Turfan, concerning the request of a certain Mi Xunzhi 米巡職 from Tingzhou for a travel pass in 648 (Fig. 3.2):[5]

> [22nd year of] the Zhenguan reign period (648 AD), the statement of Mi Xunzhi of Tingzhou:
>
> Mi Xunzhi, age 30; male slave Geduomishi, age 15; female servant Safu, age 12; one brown camel; a Tieqindun horse, age 8; 15 sheep.
>
> Prefectural office: Today [Mi] Xunzhi, accompanied by his male and female slaves, camel, and so forth, wishes to go to Xizhou to conduct trade. He is afraid of being detained at the beacon towers and not being allowed through with his slaves and animals. So he respectfully requests a travel permit allowing him to pass through.
>
> "[Mi] Xunzhi is a person who has roots in Tingzhou, headed for Xizhou city to engage in commerce. When he reaches the beacon towers at the border, he should be allowed through (the 21st day)."

The contents of the letter can be explained as follows: Some time in the 22nd year of the Zhenguan reign period (648), Mi Xunzhi, a Sogdian resident of Tingzhou, reported to the authorities that he wanted to go to Xizhou (i.e. the region of Turfan) to do trade. In accord with the requirements of the authorities in Tingzhou, he listed his name and age (30), the names and ages of the slaves (a 15 year old male slave and a 12 year old female slave) and livestock (a brown

no kankei ni tsuite no Sogudogo shiryō 2-ken" "ソグド人とトルコ人の關係についてのソグド語資料 2 件" (Two Documents in Sogdian concerning the Relationship between Sogdians and Turks), *Seinan Ajia kenkyū* 西南アジア研究 (Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southeastern Asiatic Studies, Kyōto University), No. 67, 2007, pp. 49–52.

5 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), No. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), p. 306; see Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 187–188.

camel, an 8-year-old Tieqindun horse, and 15 sheep) he brought with him. He hoped to obtain an official travel permit from the government, so that when he passed by the beacon towers along the route, he would not be detained, and the slaves and animals would also be allowed through. Following his report is the Tingzhou official's decision: "[Mi] Xunzhi is a person who has roots in Tingzhou, headed for Xizhou city to engage in commerce. When he reaches the beacon towers at the border, he should be allowed through". Judging from Mi Xunzhi's surname, he was originally from the Sogdian kingdom of Mi 米國 (Maimurgh) in Central Asia, but by the 22nd year of the Zhenguan reign period, he had already put down roots in Tingzhou. By that time the Tang had occupied that territory for only eight years, so Mi Xunzhi had probably been living there since the time of the Western Turks. In the 14th year of Zhenguan (640) he became a legal resident of the Tang prefecture of Tingzhou. Taking advantage of the general prosperity during the peaceful period that followed, he travelled to the Xizhou region to engage in trade. The slaves and animals he brought with him were commodities that he would have sold, apart from the horse, which he probably used for transport.

It is precisely because Mi Xunzhi was travelling in times of peace that he did not rely on the trade caravans often organised by the Sogdians, but instead went out alone to engage in commerce. In fact, Mi Xunzhi was just one of many Sogdian merchants at that time; there would have been many others like him in Tingzhou. It just so happens that his record survives. The Fujii Yūrinkan 藤井有鄰館 museum in Kyoto has a report submitted in 728 in Jinman district 金滿縣 in Tingzhou, which records that in that year the district had 1,760 households, with the local population, visitors from the interior and Central Asian merchants, each accounting for one-third.[6] We know that of the three districts under the jurisdiction of Tingzhou, Jinman was the seat of the Tingzhou goverment, and that the number of households in Jinman accounted for more than half the total number of households in Tingzhou. Given that the number of Sogdian households was about one third of these, we can imagine how many Sogdians lived there. They must have formed their own settlements, similar to Sogdians in other areas.

6 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中國古代籍帳研究 (Ancient Chinese Household Registers) (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1979), p. 354. Cf. Sha Zhi 沙知, "Tang Kaiyuan shi liu nian Tingzhou Jinman xian die xiaoshi" 唐開元十六年庭州金滿縣牒小識 (A Note on the Document concerning the Jinman District of Tingzhou, Dated the 16th Year of the Kaiyuan Era), in *Dunhuang Tulufanxue yanjiu lunwenji* 敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集 (Research Papers in Dunhuang and Turfan Studies) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 1990), pp. 187–195.

The Sogdians not only engaged in commercial activities but also brought their religious beliefs eastward with them. Their traditional religion originated in the Zoroastrianism (*Xianjiao* 祆教) of Persia. Although there is no clear historical evidence that the Sogdians of Tingzhou were Zoroastrians, we know that Zoroastrian temples were a common feature of Sogdian settlements all along the Silk Road. As for other areas of Tingzhou, some information is revealed in the appointment certificate of Li Ciyi 李慈藝 (dated 716), which was obtained in Turfan by the Japanese Ōtani 大谷 expedition. When Li Ciyi and other Tang soldiers from the Hanhai 瀚海 army fought in the vicinity of Tingzhou, they broke through the six fronts at Hexi 河西, Baijian 白澗, Tushan 土山, Shuanghuqiu 雙胡丘, Wulihou 五里堠, and Donghuxian 東胡祆, and also fought the rebels at Pingluocheng 憑洛城. The imperial court issued an edict on the 22nd day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of the Kaiyuan era (715), rewarding these officers and soldiers with official rank according to their contributions in the war.[7] The *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and Gazetteer of the Provinces and Districts of the Yuanhe Era, 806–814) records that the town of Pingluo was under the jurisdiction of Tingzhou, and was located 370 *li* west of that prefecture. According to the "Geography Treatise" 地理志 of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, the defence detachments of Shabo 沙缽 and Fengluo 馮洛 (i.e. Pingluo) were about 60 *li* west of that prefecture (*juan* 40, p. 1047). In his "A Note on Tang Officer Li Ciyi's Appointment Certificate" 唐李慈藝授勳告身跋, Wang Guowei 王國維 calculates the distances, concluding that the town, city and defence detachment of Pingluo all refer to the same place, about 150–160 *li* west of Tingzhou, and that the six battle fronts recorded in the appointment certificate were in this area.[8] It is clear that Pingluo was a strategic location west of Tingzhou. The toponym Donghuxian most likely marks the location of Pingluo. Pingluo was situated on the road from Beiting to Suyab, which was one of the routes taken by Sogdians travelling east. The name Donghuxian implies the existence of a Zoroastrian shrine in the eastern part of the city. Interestingly, the religious shrines in Gaochang and Dunhuang 敦煌 are also located in the eastern part of these cities, as is the Zoroastrian shrine in Pingluo. It is unclear whether this was just a coincidence, or perhaps a deliberate choice by the Sogdian Zoroastrians.

With the further penetration of Tang rule in the Western Regions, Chinese culture also spread there from the interior. The Ōtani expedition found some

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7 For a transcription of the appointment certificate, see Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久, "Tokutomi Sōhō kinenkan zō 'Ri Jigei kokushin' no shashin ni tsuite" 德富蘇峰紀念館藏「李慈藝告身」の寫真について, *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 (Journal of Ryukoku University), No. 456, 2000, pp. 122–141.

8 Wang Guowei 王國維, *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林 (Collected Essays of Wang Guowei), *juan* 17 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Vol. 3, pp. 877–881.

fragments of Tang Chinese stele inscriptions at the ruins of the seat of the Beiting Protectorate. Although these fragments (Fig. 3.3) cannot be assembled into coherent texts, they preserve the names "Longxing si" 龍興寺 (Longxing Temple) and "Baihe guan" 白鶴觀 (Baihe Daoist Temple).[9] Judging from the style of the script, they must come from an early Tang stele. The presence of a Longxing temple in the Beiting region shows that Chinese Buddhism had spread to the region from the interior of the Tang domain and established a solid base there. On further analysis, we know that Empress Wu's 武后 (r. 690–705) reign ended in the 1st year of the Shenlong 神龍 reign period (705), and the name of the dynasty changed from Zhou 周 to Tang 唐. Thereafter, Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705–710) ordered all prefectures in the empire to set up Buddhist and Daoist temples called Zhongxing 中興 in order to commemorate the restoration of the Tang dynasty's political control. Later, however, the emperor felt that the name was inappropriate, so in the 2nd month of the 1st year of Jinglong 景龍 (707) he changed the names of the Zhongxing temples in all the prefectures to Longxing temples.[10] This must have been the origin of the Longxing Temple in Beiting. Moreover, from the perspective of most Tang prefectures, the Longxing temple was often the most important official temple in the prefecture and the residence of the highest Buddhist clergy in the area. The Buddhist terms and names of monastic officials on these stele fragments attest to the popularity of Chinese Buddhism in this locality and provide an insight into the operation of Chinese Buddhist temples.

Similarly, the appearance of the Baihe Daoist Temple in Beiting was the result of the vigorous promotion of Daoism in the Tang dynasty. The earliest widespread establishment of Daoist temples in the empire probably took place after Emperor Gaozong's Fengshan ceremony (*Fengshan dadian* 封禪大典) in the 1st year of the Qianfeng 乾封 reign period (666). Before leaving Mount Tai 泰山, Gaozong issued an edict saying: "Within the boundaries of Yanzhou 兗州, there shall be built the Daoist Ziyun 紫雲, Xianhe 仙鶴 and Wansui 萬歲 temples, as well as the Buddhist Fengluan 封巒, Feiyan 非煙 and Zhonglun 重輪 temples. Each prefecture in the empire should have a Daoist and a

9 Kagawa Mokushiki 香川默識, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Archaeological Exploration of the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kokkasha, 1915), Vol. 2, *shiryō* 史料 25.

10 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), *juan* 48, entry on Buddhist temples, pp. 992–993. [Editor's note: On some calendars this is the 2nd month of the 3rd year of Shenlong, because the reign period was not officially changed to Jinglong until the 9th month of that year. See *Zizhi tongjian*, 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 208, pp. 6608–6610.]

Buddhist temple".[11] The names of the three Daoist temples to be set up in Yanzhou derive from the auspicious signs (*xiangrui* 祥瑞) that appeared during the Fengshan ceremony. We do not know whether the Daoist temple in Tingzhou was established because of the 666 edict, or whether the name Baihe originated from an auspicious sign at the Fengshan ceremony, but since Buddhist and Daoist temples were set up in each prefecture of the empire during this period, it is not impossible that the Daoist Baihe Temple in Beiting was established as a result of the edict. At the latest, there must have been a Daoist temple in Beiting in the 1st year of the Shenlong reign period (705); it must have been the predecessor of the Daoist Longxing Temple, which was built at the same time as the Buddhist Longxing Temple. With regard to the situation in Xizhou, the number of Daoist temples there increased rapidly after Emperor Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 713–756) succession,[12] and we can surmise that the situation in Beiting, on the other side of the mountain from Xizhou, would probably have been the same.

As for the activities that went on in these Daoist temples, Dunhuang manuscript S.2703 records the dispatch of nine official letters in 749 by Wang Yin 王隱, clerk at Dunhuang commandery 敦煌郡:

> On behalf of the entire commandery, in accordance with the instructions, nine reports were dispatched on the 23rd day.
> One to Beiting Protectorate to validate the usage of supplies by the commissioner for the cultivation of merit and virtue 修功德使 for the *zhaijiao* 齋醮 ritual performed in the Daoist temple.
> One to Jiaohe commandery 交河郡, concerning the same matter.
> One to Yiwu commandery 伊吾郡, concerning the same matter.
> One to the Secretariat-Chancellery 中書門下 to validate the imperial orders of the Commissioner for the Cultivation of Merit and Virtue and his transport through the relay-station system.
> One to the Censorate 御史臺, concerning the same matter.
> One to the office of the vice censor-in-chief of the military commissioner 節度使中丞衙, concerning the same matter.[13]

11 "Gaozong ji" 高宗紀 (Annals of Emperor Gaozong), Part 2, *juan* 5, *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 90.

12 See Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Xizhou de daojiao" 唐代西州的道教 (Daoism in Tang Dynasty Xizhou), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 4, 1999, pp. 127–144.

13 *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* 英藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections), Vol. 4 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 202. See Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Xizhou de daojiao", p. 133. Lei Wen 雷聞, "Guojia gongguan wangluo

In this document, the record of official letters being sent to the Beiting Protectorate, as well as to the Jiaohe and Yiwu commanderies, to validate the usage of supplies by the Commissioner for the Cultivation of Merit and Virtue for a Daoist ritual shows that three directly-governed commanderies in the Western Regions performed Daoist rituals under the supervision of commissioners sent by the court. Significantly, the commissioners sent by Emperor Xuanzong were usually appointed from among the high-ranking Daoist priests and eunuchs of Chang'an and Luoyang 洛陽.

Beiting was on the main route of the Silk Road. After the An Lushan rebellion and the Tibetan occupation of Hexi, when Tang monks returned from India, some of them bypassed the "Uighur Road" in order to avoid the disorder of war. For example, in the Zhenyuan reign period (785–805), Wukong 悟空 (b. 730) travelled eastward from Kucha, crossing the Tianshan to Beiting and meeting with the Khotanese Tripitaka Master Jiefa 戒法 (*Śīladharma* 尸羅達摩). Wukong took out the Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts he had obtained on his trip to India and invited Master Jiefa to act as the lead translator for them. Wukong himself verified the Sanskrit texts, and together they translated the *Shidi huixianglun jing* 十地迴向輪經 (Sutra of the Ten Stages of the Revolving Wheel) into Chinese.[14] At the same time, some scriptures were also transmitted to Beiting from the interior of the Tang empire, including some works compiled by Chinese monks themselves. The colophon for the *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Shenhui), which is claimed to originate from Dunhuang and is currently held in Ishii Sekisuiken bunko 石井積翠軒文庫 in Japan, says,

> Collation completed by Baozhen 寶珍, together with the administrative assistant Zhao Xiulin 趙秀琳, under the instructions of Grand Master Zhang 張大夫 in Beiting, in the 8th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (792), a *wei* 未 year. [The work] was completed on the 22nd day of the 10th month in the winter of that year.[15]

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zhong de Xizhou daojiao: Tangdai Xizhou daojiao bushuo" 國家宮觀網絡中的西州道教 – 唐代西州道教補說 (Xizhou Daoism in China's Daoist Temple Network: Additional Discussion on Daoism in Tang Dynasty Xizhou), *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), Vol. 2, 2007, pp. 121–122.

14 *Wukong ru Zhu ji* 悟空入竺記 (Record of Wukong's Travel to India), T.51.2089, p. 980.

15 For this picture, see Kawase Kazuma 川瀨一馬, *Ishii Sekisuiken bunko zenpon shomoku* 石井積翠軒文庫善本書目 (Catalogue of Rare Books in the Sekisuiken Bunko Collection), facsimile edition (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1981), Fig. 26; Ishii Mitsuo 石井光雄, *Tonkō shutsudo* Jinne-roku 燉煌出土神會錄 (The *Recorded Sayings of Shenhui* Excavated at Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Ishii Mitsuo Sekisuiken bunko, 1932), pp. 64–65. For the text, see Suzuki Teitarō 鈴木貞太郎 and Kōda Rentarō 公田連太郎, eds., *Tonkō shutsudo Kataku*

Grand Master Zhang must have been a censor-in-chief 御史大夫 and concurrently a military commissioner or deputy military commissioner. The fact that the monk Baozhen and the administrative assistant Zhao Xiulin were instructed to collate the sayings of the famous monk Heze Shenhui 菏澤神會 shows that Chan texts from the Tang interior were also popular in Beiting and supported by senior officials like the military commissioner.

After the Tibetans blocked the route through Helong 河隴 (i.e. Western Gansu) to Central China, the Tang army held on in the Western Regions for over ten years. The Tibetans occupied Dunhuang in 786, and then began to expand toward present-day Xinjiang. With the help of the Uighur Qaghanate in the north, the Tang troops defending the Western Regions fought hard to resist them. In 791, the Tibetans and the Uighurs clashed fiercely in Beiting. Defeated at first, the Uighurs were victorious in the end, pushing the Tibetans back to the southern route along the line of Khotan and Shanshan 鄯善. The Uighur Qaghanate thus controlled the northern edge of the Tarim basin, from Beiting and Gaochang all the way to Yanqi, Kucha, Bohuan 撥換 (Aksu), and Shule (Kashgar), and to its power base in the north. Their Manichaean faith thus spread throughout these newly occupied areas.

The content of a double-leaf fragment excavated by the German Turfan expeditions was copied from the colophon of the Manichaean Middle Iranian hymnbook *Mahrnāmag*; because of its significance, it was given the catalogue number M1. The colophon lists the names of the members of the royal clan of the Uighurs north of the Gobi (including those of the Qaghan and the princes) during the reign of Baoyi Qaghan 保義可汗 (808–821). It also includes the names of the grand councilors and powerful officials closely associated with the royal clan, as well as some officials, nobles and local leaders from Beiting, Gaochang, Kucha (including Qusha 佉沙 [Kashgar] and Bohuan), Yanqi, and Wushu 于術. Some of them are called "head hearers" (*niyōšāgčān*), but most are just simply "hearers", i.e. ordinary Manichaean believers.[16]

Jinne Zenji goroku 敦煌出土荷澤神會禪師語錄 (The Dunhuang Copy of the Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Heze Shenhui) (Tokyo: Morie shoten, 1934), pp. 67–68; Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中國古代寫本識語集錄 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1990), p. 315, No. 923.

16 Friedrich W. K. Müller, "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag)", *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, v, 1912, pp. 1–40; Mary Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi/Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 52–53; Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Parables, Hymns and Prayers from Central Asia*, (New York/San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 274–275; Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, "Late Features in Middle Persian Texts from Turfan", in Ludwig Paul, ed., *Persian Origins: Early*

Among the names mentioned in the Beiting (Bišbalïq) section of the manuscript is that of the highest military administrative official, whose title is given as “Lord of the City of Beiting, Great General and Military Commissioner Qwnkyy”. This title combines both the traditional Western Regions title of “lord of the city” and the new ruler’s official Uighur title of *bg*. It also preserves the Tang dynasty titles of Great General 大將軍 and Military Commissioner 節度使. Following these are the names *yg’n’*, *twrlwg*, which are accompanied by the high-ranking Turkic official title ’p’ (*apa*), and *s’nsz p’c’g*. The last two also have the Manichaean appellation “glorious hearers”, and these are followed by the names of five ordinary hearers (*nywš’g’n*). Linguistic reconstruction can help us identify the language from which these names derive, allowing us to determine the name bearers’ ethnicity and for some families even their religious beliefs. For example, *mšyy’n* (Mišiyān) is a Sogdian male name meaning “the boon of Mithra, the Sun God”, which means that the person who named him must have been a Zoroastrian follower; *mh’r’c* (Mahārāja) is an Indic male name meaning “great king”; *’rqlg* (Ärklig) is a Turkic male name, meaning “powerful”; *z’rywδ* is a Sogdian male name whose meaning is unclear; and *twrk* is a Turkic name meaning “strong”.[17] From these names it is clear that after Beiting came under the control of the Uighur Qaghanate, for the most part its top rulers were already Turks and Sogdians. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that there were also people of Han and other backgrounds (e.g. India, the Western Regions). In fact, no matter which period we examine (Turkic, Tang or Uighur), the rulers of a multi-ethnic area such as Beiting were also of a multi-ethnic background. Most importantly, Manichaeism was strongly supported by the local ruling classes. Some scholars believe that the five principalities listed in this colophon (i.e. Beiting, Gaochang, Kucha, Yanqi, and Wushu) were probably the names of new religious districts established by the Manichaeans in the newly conquered territories during the first half of the 9th century, with the support of the Uighur Qaghanate.[18]

Judaeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian. Collected Papers of the Symposium, Göttingen, 1999 (Iranica VI) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), pp. 8–9; Wang Yuanyuan 王媛媛, “Zhonggu Bosiwen ‘Monijiao zanmei shiji’ bawen yizhu” 中古波斯文《摩尼教讚美詩集》跋文譯注 (Annotated Translations of the Colophon of the Medieval Persian Mahrnāmag), *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), 2007, pp. 129–153.

17 Wang Yuanyuan, “Zhonggu Bosiwen ‘Monijiao zanmei shiji’ bawen yizhu”, pp. 136–137.

18 See Walter B. Henning, “*Argi* and the ‘Tokharians’”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1938, pp. 545–571, esp. p. 567; Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, “Zōho: Uiguru to Toban no Hokutei sōdatsusen oyobi sono ato no Saiiki jōsei ni tsuite” 増補: ウィグルと吐蕃の北庭爭奪戰及びその後の西域情勢について (Supplement: The Uighurs and Tibetans’ Scramble for Beiting and its Aftermath in the Western Regions), in Ryūsa kaisei

In 840, the Uighur Qaghanate in the north was defeated by the northern Kyrgyz, causing a migration of Uighurs westward. In 866, the Uighur leader Pugu Jun 僕固俊, originally from Beiting, attacked and occupied Xizhou, Beiting, Luntai 輪臺, and Qingzhen 清鎮, thus creating the Xizhou Uighur kingdom (i.e. the Gaochang Uighurs), with Gaochang as their capital city and Beiting as their summer capital. The Manichaeans had originally established missions in Beiting and Gaochang, and following the Uighurs' move westward, the main body of Manichaeism, which was their state religion, also moved here. Thus Manichaeism suddenly became more prevalent in the Beiting area. Copied in Old Uighur on the verso of a Dunhuang manuscript (P.3071) are a Manichaean hymn and a list of Manichaean clergy. This list is different from the list of hearers in document M1, as these were elects (Fig. 3.4). Among them is the možak and his six subordinate *aβtadan* (bishops):

Divine Master (*možak*) Mar Yišo (Jesus) Yazd Kw
Divine Bishop (*aβtadan*) Mar Šad Frazint
Bishop Mar Adda Fuxar
Bishop Mar Wahman Šahryar
Bishop Mar Āwš'y Adda
Bishop Mar Wispu Yad
Bishop Wispuhr, Head of the Church at Bišbalïq.[19]

Because the manuscripts contain the characteristically Buddhist invocation "*namo buddhāya, namo dharmāya, namaḥ saṃghāya*", we can infer that it was written around the second half of the 10th century. When we examine the large quantity of Manichaean manuscripts from Turfan and the murals in the Bezeklik caves, we realise that the možak, the highest leader of the Manichaeans, was the religious head of the entire Xizhou Uighur Kingdom. The second tier of clergy subordinate to him were the *aβtadan*, the first five of whom in the above list probably lived, similar to the možak, in Gaochang,

shōgakkai 流沙海西奬學會, ed., *Ajia bunkashi ronsō* アジア文化史論叢 (Studies in the History of Asian Cultures), Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1979), pp. 199–238, esp. pp. 214–215; Werner Sundermann, "Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region", in Alfredo Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang: The Texts – Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route* (Florence: Olschki, 1992), pp. 63–84.

19 James Russell Hamilton, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe–Xe siècle de Touen-houang* (Uighur Manuscripts of the 9th and 10th Centuries from Dunhuang), Vol. 1 (Paris: Peeters, 1986), pp. 57–58; Wang Yuanyuan, *Cong Bosi dao Zhongguo: Monijiao zai Zhongya he Zhongguo de chuanbo* (*gongyuan 3–11 shiji*) 從波斯到中國: 摩尼教在中亞和中國的傳播 (公元 3–11 世紀) (From Persia to China: The Spread of Manichaeism in Central Asia and China, 3rd to 11th Centuries), Ph.D Dissertation, Peking University, 2006, pp. 52–54.

whereas the last one, named Wispuhr, was the highest Manichaean cleric in Beiting.

The influence of Manichaeism in Beiting began in the early 9th century and lasted at least until the second half of the 10th century. With the vigorous revival of Buddhism among the Uighurs of the entire Xizhou region, Manichaeism declined and Buddhism regained its status as the most prominent religion. The image of the Uighur Qaghan making Buddhist offerings, seen in the murals of the West Temple at the ruins of Beiting today, reflects the latter situation.

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FIGURE 3.1 The ruins of Beiting as they appear today

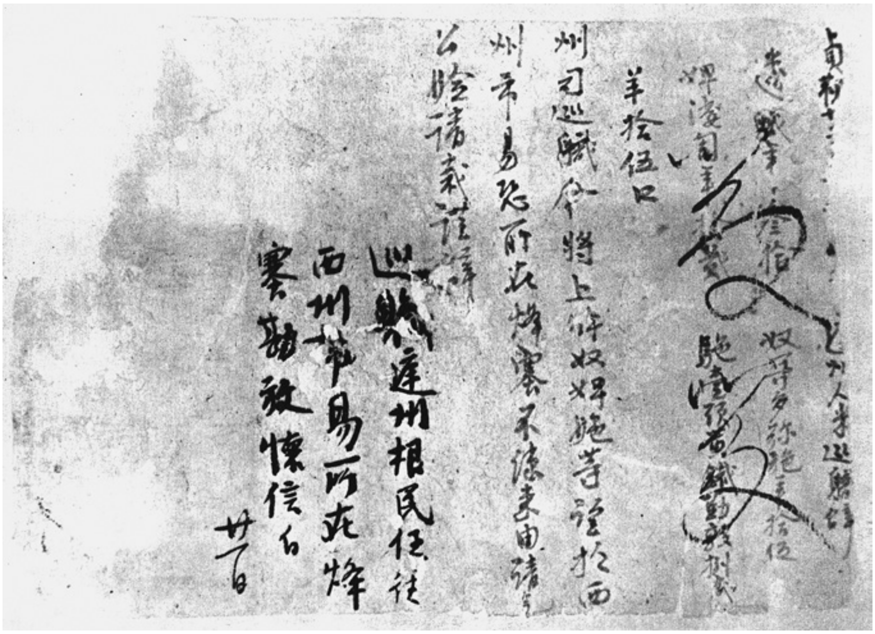

FIGURE 3.2 Turfan manuscript of the 648 request of Mi Xunzhi from Tingzhou for a travel pass

FIGURE 3.3 Fragments of a Tang dynasty inscription from the ruins of Beiting

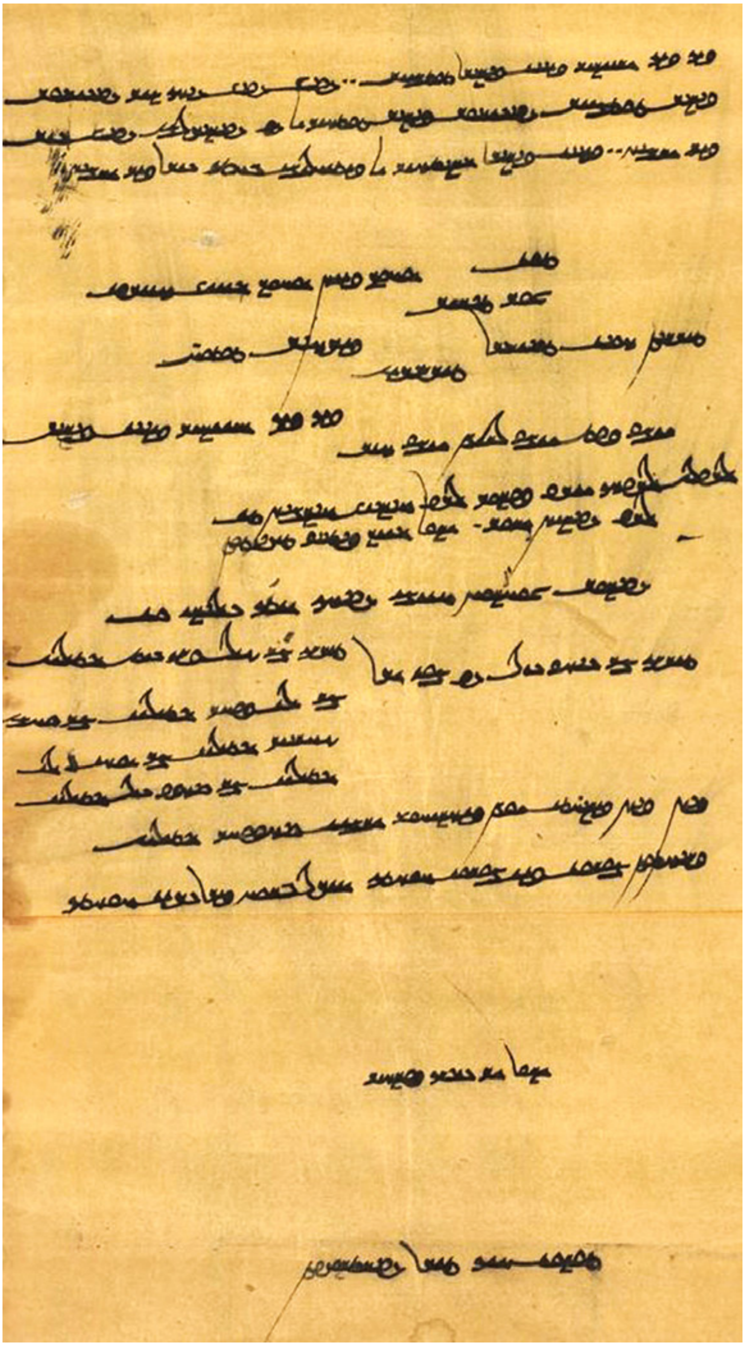

FIGURE 3.4 A manuscript from the Dunhuang library cave written in Old Uighur (P.3071)

CHAPTER 4

The City of Tongwan in the History of Sino-Western Communications in the Medieval Period

Translated by Sally K. Church

Established in today's Shaanxi 陝西 province, north of Jingbian 靖邊 county, the city of Tongwan 統萬 was not only the great capital city of Daxia 大夏, ruled by Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (381–425, r. 407–425), but also played an important role in the history of the Northern Dynasties 北朝 (386–581), Sui 隋 (579–618) and Tang 唐 (618–907) periods. Especially during the Northern Dynasties, Tongwan was particularly significant in the history of Sino-Western exchange.

1

In the 6th month of the 4th year of the Shiguang 始光 reign period (427) of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) dynasty, the Wei army attacked and occupied Tongwan, the capital of Daxia, looting great quantities of precious treasures and livestock. Helian Bobo's son Helian Chang 赫連昌 (r. 425–428, d. 434) fled to Shanggui 上邽 (Tianshui 天水, Gansu 甘肅). The "Annals of Emperor Shizu" 世祖 in the *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) record the following in *juan* 4a:

> On the *yisi* day the Emperor entered the city and captured Helian Chang's younger brothers, their mothers, sisters, wives, concubines and palace servants, numbering a total of 10,000 people. They took countless things of priceless value from the government treasury, including precious stones, carts and banners, and innumerable other objects … over 300,000 horses, and tens of thousands of oxen and sheep. They distributed Helian Chang's palace servants and livestock, gold and silver, textiles and silk among their officers as rewards for their merit.… On the *xinyou* day, they withdrew the troops, leaving behind Su 素, Prince of Changshan 常山王 and Heng Dai 桓貸, chamberlain for the imperial insignia 執金吾, to defend Tongwan.

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This historical account shows how much wealth in gold, silver and precious stones the city of Tongwan had accumulated. This incident is referred to as "the nine regions paying tribute with gold and silver, and the [rulers] in the eight directions presenting precious treasures to [the Northern Wei]".[1] Some of these goods must have been procured from the Western Regions 西域 and transported there.

After occupying Tongwan, the Northern Wei court frequently sent envoys to establish contact with the kingdoms of the Western Regions. These kingdoms in turn sent successive envoys to present tribute to Pingcheng 平城 (Datong 大同), the Northern Wei capital. Some of the envoys came from as far away as Sogdiana in Central Asia.

On the *gengsheng* day of the 5th month of the 1st year of the Taiyan 太延 reign period (435), Emperor Shizu 世祖 (Taiwu 太武, r. 423–452) sent 20 groups of envoys to the Western Regions. On the *bingxu* day of the 8th month, Emperor Taiwu personally went to Hexi 河西, and the Sogdian kingdom sent envoys to pay respects and present gifts.[2]

On the *dinghai* day of the 8th month of the 2nd year (436), the Northern Wei sent six groups of envoys to the Western Regions.[3]

On the *guisi* day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year, the kingdoms of Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), Yueban 悅般, Yanqi (Karashahr), Jushi 車師, Sogdiana, Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar), Wusun 烏孫, Kepantuo 渴槃陁 and Shanshan 鄯善 sent envoys to pay respects and present gifts. On the *jiashen* day in the 11th month, the kingdoms of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 each sent envoys to pay respects and present gifts. They also presented "blood-sweating horses".[4]

In the 3rd year of the Taiyan reign period (437), [envoys from] the kingdoms of the Western Regions came to court and presented tribute. They came from the oasis kingdoms ranging from the Tarim basin to the region north of the Tianshan, from the Pamir mountains to Sogdiana in Central Asia. The scope of their network was very wide, showing the success of the Northern Wei in administering the Western Regions.

1 *Shiliu guo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 (Chronicles of the Sixteen Kingdoms), *juan* 69, "Xia lu" 夏錄 (Record of Xia) 2; *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 130, pp. 72–73, "Tongwancheng ming" 統萬城銘 (Inscriptions from Tongwan City) as quoted in "Helian Bobo zai ji" 赫連勃勃載記 (Records of Helian Bobo).

2 "Shizu ji" 世祖紀 (Annals of Emperor Shizu), *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 4a, p. 85.

3 "Shizu ji", *Weishu*, *juan* 4a, p. 87.

4 "Shizu ji", *Weishu*, *juan* 4a, p. 88.

After this, the Wei army continued to advance westward, attacking and occupying Anding 安定 and Pingliang 平凉 in succession. Finally in the 5th year of the Taiyan reign period (439), they conquered the Northern Liang 北涼 (397–439), occupying its capital Guzang 姑臧 (Liangzhou 涼州, Wuwei 武威). They pressed forward to control the whole of the Hexi corridor, exerting their power all the way to the Western Regions. The Northern Wei also established Tongwan, Gaoping 高平, Bogulü 薄骨律, Woye 沃野 and other garrisons, attacking any tribes who opposed them. With this, they created a shortcut from the Hexi corridor through Bogulü (Lingzhou 靈州) and Xiazhou 夏州 (Tongwan city), along the route south of the Ordos desert to the Northern Wei capital, Pingcheng.[5] Thus, envoys from the Western Regions from as far away as Persia and Sogdiana came to Pingcheng in droves to pay tribute. Below are some records[6] chosen from the "Basic Annals" in the *Weishu*, as well as from its "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Chapter on the Western Regions) (*juan* 102), cited here to show the flourishing of contacts at the time:

> In the Taiyan reign period (435–440), the prestige of the Wei dynasty became so widely known that the kingdoms of the Western Regions – Kucha, Shule, Wusun, Yueban, Kepantuo, Shanshan, Yanqi, Jushi and Sogdiana – began to send envoys to present tribute.
>
> In the 11th month of the 5th year (439), the kingdoms of Gaoli 高麗, Sogdiana, Kepantuo, Poluona and Xijuban 悉居半 each sent envoys to present tribute.
>
> In the 12th month of the 5th year of the Taiping zhenjun 太平真君 reign period (444), Sogdiana sent envoys to present tribute.

5 For a detailed discussion of this route, see Qiantian Zhengming [Maeda Masana] 前田正名, *Pingcheng lishi dilixue yanjiu* 平城歷史地理學研究 (Study of the Historical Geography of Pingcheng), trans. by Li Ping 李憑 et al. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), pp. 134–161. This paragraph was first translated by Hu Ji 胡戟 in "Bei Wei Pingcheng shidai de E'erduosi shamo nanyuan lu (yiwen)" 北魏平城時代的鄂爾多斯沙漠南緣路(譯文) (The Southern Route Skirting the Ordos Desert in the Pingcheng Period of the Northern Wei, [translation]), in Xibei daxue xibei lishi yanjiu shi 西北大學西北歷史研究室, ed., *Xibei lishi yanjiu* 西北歷史研究 (Study of the History of the North-west), *Neibu kanwu* 內部刊物 (internal publication), No. 3, 1980; No. 1, 1981.

6 For a detailed sorting of the historical materials about the Northern Wei and the history of communications with the Western Regions, see Yu Taishan 余太山, *Liang Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (The Former and Latter Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties and the History of their Relations with the Western Regions) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 177–184.

In the 10th month of the 1st year of the Taian 太安 reign period (455), the kingdoms of Persia and Shule sent envoys to present tribute.

On the *wuchen* day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of the Heping 和平 reign period (461), Persia sent envoys to present tribute.

In the 3rd month of the 3rd year (462), the kingdoms of Shule, Shina 石那, Xijuban and Kepantuo sent envoys to present tribute.

In the 4th month of the 6th year (465), the kingdom of Poluona sent "blood-sweating horses".

On the *xinhai* day of the 3rd month of the 1st year of the Tian'an 天安 reign period (466) of Emperor Xianzu's 顯祖 (Xianwen 獻文, r. 454–476) reign, the kingdoms of Gaoli, Persia, Khotan (Yutian 于闐) … sent envoys to present tribute.

On the *renzi* day of the 9th month of the 1st year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign period (467), Khotan, Pulan 普嵐 and Sogdiana, each sent envoys to present tribute.

In the 4th month of the 2nd year (469), the kingdoms of Khotan and Persia each sent envoys to present tribute.

In the 10th month, winter, of the 3rd year of the Yanxing 延興 reign period (473) of Emperor Gaozu's 高祖 (Xiaowen 孝文, r. 471–499) reign, the kingdom of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 sent tribute.

In the 2nd month of the 1st year of the Chengming 承明 reign period (476), the kingdoms of Ruru 蠕蠕 and Persia sent envoys to present tribute. On the *guichou* day of the 9th month, the kingdoms of Dangchang 宕昌 and Xiwanjin also sent envoys to present tribute.

In the 12th month of the 3rd year of the Taihe 太和 reign period (479) reign, the kingdoms of Sogdiana, Zhouyi 州逸, Agong 河(阿)龔, Diefuluo 疊伏羅, Yuankuo 員闊 and Xiwanjin each sent envoys to present tribute.

On the *jiawu* day of the 4th month [of the 2nd year of the Xiping 熙平 reign period] (517) of Emperor Suzong's 肅宗 (Xiaoming 孝明, r. 510–528) reign, the kingdoms of Gaoli, Persia, Shule, and Yeda 嚈噠 (Hephthalites) also sent envoys to present tribute.

On the *dingwei* day of the 7th intercalary month [of the 1st year of the Shengui 神龜 reign period] (518), the kingdoms of Persia, Shule, Wuchang 烏萇 and Kucha also sent envoys to present tribute.

These passages show that from the Northern Wei's destruction of the Northern Liang in 439 to the beginning of the 6th century, envoys from various kingdoms of the Western Regions came to the Northern Wei in a continuous stream to present tribute. Among them, those who arrived before 493 probably went to Pingcheng, the Northern Wei capital, while those who came after 493

must have gone to Luoyang 洛陽, because the capital had been moved to that city by then. Before the Persian envoys arrived in the 1st year of the Taian reign period (455), direct relations between China and Persia had been cut off for a long time. With their arrival at that time, the Sasanian Empire of Persia, and North China, unified under the Northern Wei, came into contact with each other for the first time. In 1981, a silver plate from Persia was discovered in the tomb of Feng Hetu 封和突, dated the 1st year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign period (504) of the Northern Wei, in the western suburbs of Datong. In 1970, a silver scalloped tall cup and a silver bowl were excavated in Datong at the Northern Wei city site, and in 1988 a silver bowl was found in a Northern Wei tomb in Datong. These silver vessels, classic examples of Sasanian style Persian silver,[7] are direct results of the contacts between the Northern Wei and the Western Regions. They are Persian vessels produced either by the Sasanians or in Central Asia, and transmitted to the Northern Wei.

The destruction of the Northern Liang by the Northern Wei was a transformative event in the history of Sino-Western cultural contacts. Tens of thousands of people from Hexi were taken captive by the Northern Wei, especially clerks and craftsmen from Guzang, as well as Sogdian merchants, and were brought to Pingcheng along with vast quantities of treasure. The following record occurs in the entry for Sogdiana in the "Xiyu zhuan" of the *Weishu* (*juan* 102):

> At first, many merchants of this kingdom (Sogdiana) visited Liang 涼 territories to trade. When Guzang 姑藏 was conquered, they were all taken captive. At the beginning of Gaozong's reign, the king of Sogdiana sent envoys requesting to ransom them back, and their request was granted. From then on, no envoys came to present tribute.

Thus many Sogdian merchants from the Western Regions, who had been active in Guzang, the capital of the Northern Liang dynasty, had been moved to Pingcheng by the Northern Wei. These Sogdian merchants, who were not small

7 See Xia Nai's 夏鼐 article, "Bei Wei Feng Hetu mu chutu Sashan yinpan kao" 北魏封和突墓出土薩珊銀盤考 (A Study of the Sasanian Silver Plate Excavated from the Northern Wei Tomb of Feng Hetu), pp. 5–7, and Ma Yong 馬雍, "Bei Wei Feng Hetu mu ji qi chutu de Bosi yinpan" 北魏封和突墓及其出土的波斯銀盤 (The Northern Wei Tomb of Feng Hetu and a Persian Silver Plate Excavated Therein), pp. 8–12, both in *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 8, 1983; Qi Dongfang 齊東方, *Tangdai jinyinqi yanjiu* 唐代金銀器研究 (Study of Gold and Silver Vessels in the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 255–258. The second study considers it to have been a Sasanian-style silver object produced in Central Asia.

in number, had to pass through the city of Tongwan when they migrated, and it is not difficult to imagine that some Sogdian merchants decided to stay there.

2

During the Northern Wei period, Tongwan was primarily a nomadic region, with abundant water and grass. This was the land that provided the Northern Wei with horses, oxen and sheep. The "*Shihuo zhi*" 食貨志 (Treatise on Food and Commodities) chapter of the *Weishu* records the following:

> Emperor Shizu 世祖 (Taiwu) of [the Northern] Wei (r. 423–452) pacified Tongwan and settled Qinlong 秦隴. Because of the high quality of the water and grass in Hexi, the land was ideal for pasturage, herding, and raising livestock. There were over two million horses, half that number of camels (*nangtuo* 橐駝) and endless numbers of oxen and sheep. After Emperor Gaozu (Xiaowen) came to the throne, he made Heyang 河陽 a nomadic grazing area, raising hundreds of thousands of military horses in preparation for military emergencies in the capital. Every year they would move the grazing area from Hexi to Bingzhou 幷州, enabling a gradual southern movement of the herds, thus allowing the animals to acclimatise to the water and land, and preventing injury or death. In this way Hexi became a prime area for animal husbandry.

Because of the importance of the city of Tongwan, the Northern Wei court appointed many nobles and high officials as prefects of Xiazhou to manage the land.[8] One of these was Mo Yun 莫雲 of whom it was said,

> When Emperor Shizu went to conquer Helian Chang, he ordered [Mo] Yun and Su, Prince of Changshan, to stay behind and defend Tongwan. Yun was appointed Duke of Anding, and given the title general for pacifying the west 平西將軍. Later he was promoted to general-in-chief defending the west 鎮西大將軍. When Hexi was first annexed, the people were not unified in their hearts. Yun attempted to placate both

8 For the material below, I have consulted the "List of Officials Serving at Tongwan City" compiled by Luo Xiaohong 羅小紅, for which I would like to express my thanks.

> the new and old residents and so everyone found their place [in the new administration].[9]

Of another noble, Wei Yuan 尉元, it was said:

> At the beginning of the Taihe reign period, he was recruited as chief palace official 内都大官. Following this, he was commissioner with special powers 使持節, and became general-in-chief defending the west, as well as generalissimo defending Kaifu and Tongwan 開府統萬鎮都將. He succeeded in winning the hearts of the barbarians 夷人, and in the 3rd year [of the Taihe reign period] was made Prince of Huaiyang 淮陽王.[10]

A further example is Yuan Bin 元彬, Prince of Zhangwu 章武王 of the Northern Wei royal house, who served as commissioner with special powers and general of the western expedition 征西大將軍, commander-in-chief of military affairs in the prefectures of Dong, Qin and Bin 都督東秦邠三州諸軍事, commandant in charge of protecting the Western Rong 領護西戎校尉, garrison general-in-chief of Tongwan 統萬突鎮都大將, and prefect of Xiazhou 夏州刺史.[11]

Having placated the Hu and the Han ethnic groups, as well as the new and former residents, the Northern Wei consolidated the region of Tongwan, safeguarding the east-west communications that passed through that city.

During the Northern Wei, it was primarily the Jihu 稽胡 people who were distributed throughout the region of Tongwan. The Jihu in this region has usually been regarded as the general name for the various Hu peoples, including the Tuge 屠各, Lushui 盧水, Tiefu 鐵弗, Yuezhi 月支 and others. The "Jihu zhuan" 稽胡傳 (Chapter on the Jihu) in the *Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Northern Zhou Dynasty) records the following:

> The Jihu are also called the Buluoji 步落稽. They were believed to be one of the ethnic groups belonging to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and descendants

9 "Mo Han zhuan fu Mo Yun zhuan" 莫含傳附莫雲傳 (Biography of Mo Han, Including the Biography of Mo Yun), *Weishu*, *juan* 23, p. 604.

10 "Wei Yuan zhuan" 尉元傳 (Biography of Wei Yuan), Li Yanshou 李延壽 et al., eds., *Beishi* 北史, (History of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 25, p. 924.

11 "Jingmu shi er wang zhuan" 景穆十二王傳 (Biographies of the Twelve Princes of Jingmu), No. 1. "Jingzhao Wang Zitui zhuan fu zi Taixing zhuan" 京兆王子推傳附子太興傳 (Biography of Zitui, Prince of Jingzhao, Including the Biography of his Son Taixing), *Weishu*, *juan* 19b, pp. 513–514; see Zhao Chao 趙超, *Han, Wei, Nanbeichao muzhi huibian* 漢魏南北朝墓誌彙編 (Collected Funerary Inscriptions of the Han, Wei and Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 38.

> of the five tribes of Liu Yuanhai 劉元海 (i.e. Liu Yuan 劉淵). Others say they were descendants of the Chidi 赤狄 tribe of the Shanrong 山戎. They have many tribes that dwell in the mountains and valleys west of Lishi 離石 and east of Anding, [covering an area] 700–800 square *li*. Though essentially a nomadic people, they have learned how to farm. There is little [arable] land, but they cultivate mulberry and silkworms, and much hemp.… They blend together with Chinese people. Their tribal leader is relatively literate, but their spoken language is like that of the Yi and Di peoples, so they can be understood through translators.

The following passage is from the "Annals of Emperor Shizu", *Weishu*, *juan* 4b, for the 8th year of the Taiping zhenjun reign period (447):

> In the first month of spring, the Tujing 吐京 barbarians 胡 blocked roads and engaged in banditry. [The court] issued an edict and sent a punitive expedition led by Ti 提, Prince of Wuchang 武昌, general of the Eastern Expedition 征東將軍; and Ta 他, Prince of Huainan 淮南, general of the Southern Expedition 征南將軍. However, they were unable to put them down. Cao Puhun 曹僕渾 of the Shanhu 山胡 tribe crossed Hexi, secured a mountain stronghold, and summoned various other Shuofang 朔方 Hu people to join them. Ti and the others led their forces against [Cao] Puhun.

After this, various Hu people continued to revolt. In the 1st year of the Yanxing reign period (471), "during the 10th month of winter, Cao Pingyuan 曹平原 of Shuofang summoned other dissenters and destroyed the Stone Tower Fortress (*shilou bao* 石樓堡), killing their general". On the *yimao* day of the 1st month of spring in the 2nd year [of the Yanxing reign period] (472), the Hu people of Tongwan garrison led a joint revolt in the north.[12] In the 4th year of the Zhengshi 正始 reign period (504), the Xiazhou administrator 長史 Cao Ming 曹明 plotted a revolt but was ambushed and killed.[13] It is striking that so many of these rebel leaders were surnamed Cao.

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12 For all these, see "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 (Annals of Emperor Gaozu), *Weishu*, *juan* 7a, pp. 135–136. The above two passages are from *Zhoushu* 周書 (History of the Northern Zhou Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971; reprinted 1974), *juan* 49, p. 896, and *Weishu*, *juan* 4b, p. 101.

13 "Shizong ji" 世宗紀 (Annals of Emperor Shizong), *Weishu*, *juan* 8, p. 204.

After the six garrisons raised troops and rebelled against the Wei, the various Hu peoples from Tongwan joined in. The "Biography of Yuan He, including the biography of his grandson Yuan Ziyong" 源賀傳附孫源子雍傳, in *juan* 41 of the *Weishu*, relates the following:

> At that time, Poluohan Baling 破落汗拔陵 of Woye garrison launched a revolt, attracting followers wherever he went. The unruly Hu people of Tongwan also responded to the call. Ziyong 子雍 (the prefect of Xiazhou) personally defended the city.... After marching for several days, Ziyong was intercepted by the Shuofang Hu leader Cao Ageba 曹阿各拔 and, being exhausted, he was captured.... Although Ziyong was a prisoner there, he was greatly respected by the Hu people and was always treated with courtesy. In order to avert disaster, Ziyong tried to persuade Ageba to surrender. Ageba agreed, but died before he had a chance to do so. Ageba's younger brother Sangsheng 桑生 took over as leader of his people, and in the end followed Ziyong's advice and surrendered.... At that time the entire Eastern Xia rebelled; all the military camps united and Ziyong fought one battle after another as he advanced. Within 90 days he had done battle dozens of times, and eventually pacified the Eastern Xia. He collected tax, rents and grain from them, and sent the revenue and supplies to Tongwan. Then the two Xia gradually settled down in peace.

Ziyong was thus able to secure Xiazhou because of the support he received from the Jihu leaders Cao Ageba and his younger brother Cao Sangsheng.

In 532, Heba Yue 賀拔岳 sent the divisional subaltern 部將 Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 to guard Xiazhou. Thereafter Xiazhou became one of Yuwen Tai's first power bases from which he launched his hegemonic regime. However, after Yuwen Tai left the area, Xiazhou changed hands between the Western and Eastern Wei. Yuwen Tai later ordered Zhangsun Jian 長孫儉 to repossess it, but by the Northern Zhou period (557–581), Xiazhou had lost its military importance.[14]

14 See Zhang Weiguo 張偉國, *Guanlong wujiang yu Zhou-Sui zhengquan* 關隴武將與周隋政權 (Military Commanders of Guanlong and the Zhou through Sui Regimes) (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1993), pp. 26–35.

3

Tongwan's unique geographical position enabled it to retain a certain status in Sino-Western communications in the late Northern Dynasties period. This can be seen from the recent discovery in Tongwan city of the "Funerary inscription of Di Caoming" 翟曹明墓誌 (Fig. 4.1), which says, "The master's name was Caoming 曹明, he was from the western kingdoms. Because his ancestors were loyal [to the Northern Wei], his lineage was highly respected. On this basis he was summoned to court, and then settled in Hengxia 恒夏…. His reputation and prestige gradually spread throughout the court and countryside". He died "on the 4th (*yiwei*) day of the 3rd (*guisi*) month of the 1st (*jihai*) year of the Dacheng 大成 reign period (579) of the Great Zhou 大周 (i.e. Northern Zhou) dynasty", and was buried in Tongwan. It is worth noting that Di Caoming, who was summoned by the court, saw himself as someone from the western kingdoms.

In the past, it was generally thought that Hu people with the surname Di belonged to an ethnic group called Dingling 丁零 or Gaoju 高車, descendants of the Chidi tribe of the Shanrong. Historical sources record that Di Shu 翟鼠 and Di Bin 翟斌 were from the Dingling tribe of Zhongshan 中山 during the reign of Shi Le 石勒 (r. 319–333) of the Latter Zhao 趙 dynasty of the Sixteen Kingdoms; later the Dingling Di clan was scattered in Changshan 常山, Zhongshan 中山 and Zhaojun 趙郡 commanderies in Dingzhou 定州 prefecture, and in Shangdang 上黨 commandery in Bingzhou 幷州 prefecture.[15] However, some of the people surnamed Di may have come from the Western Regions, like the above-mentioned Di Bin. The *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) in *juan* 94 for the 5th year of the Xianhe 咸和 reign period of Emperor Cheng's 成 rule in the Jin 晉 period (330), says, "In the beginning the family of Di Bin of the Dingling had lived in Kangju 康居 for generations. Later they moved to China. Then, he entered the Zhao court". Kangju was in Central Asia, which shows that the one who was later called Di Bin of the Dingling was originally from the region of Sogdiana.

In the historical records of the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang periods, we often see instances of people surnamed Di who have Sogdian cultural characteristics. An example is the Zoroastrian master named Di Pantuo 翟槃陀 from the Zoroastrian Fire Temple in Yiwu 伊吾 district, recorded in the section on Yizhou 伊州 in Dunhuang document S.367, "Local Gazetteer of Shazhou and Yizhou" 沙州伊州地志. Another example occurs in the "Funerary

15 Duan Lianqin 段連勤, *Dingling, Gaoju yu Tiele* 丁零、高車與鐵勒 (Dingling, Gaoju and Tiele) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 151–156.

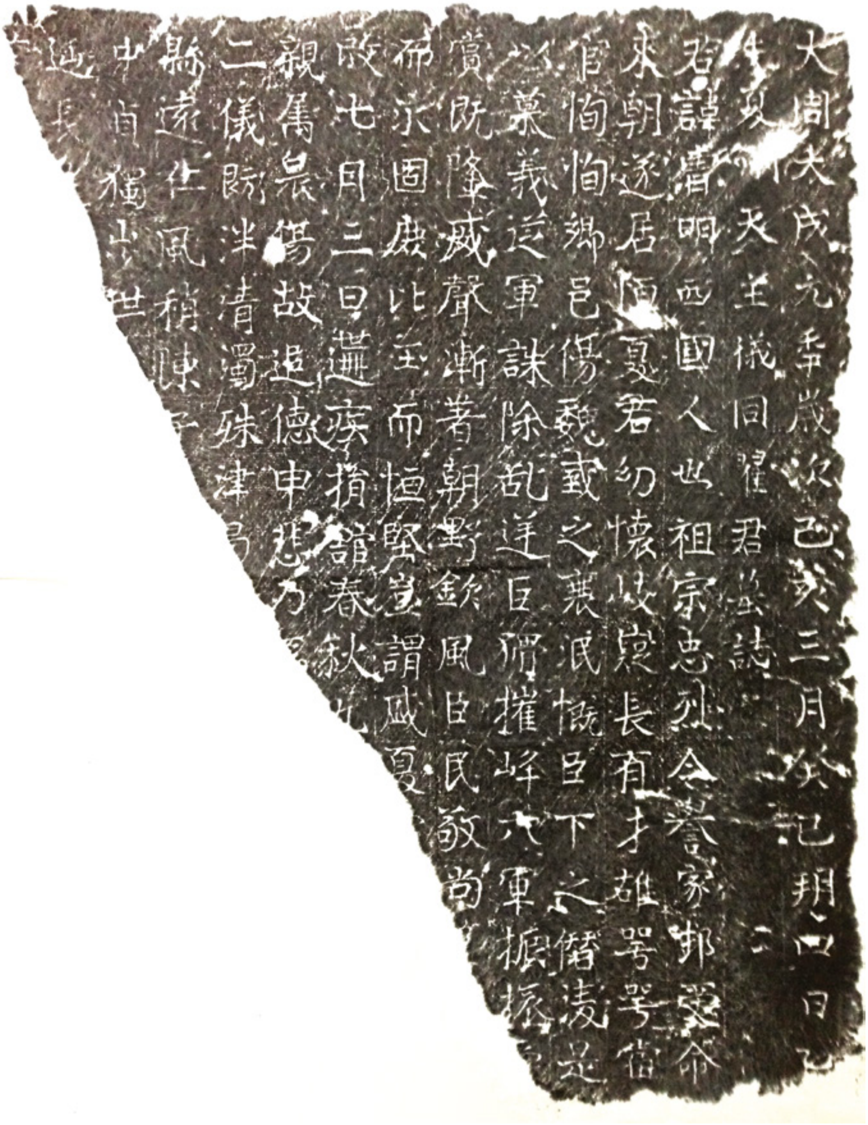

FIGURE 4.1 Rubbing of the "Funerary inscription of Di Caoming"

inscription for Di Tusuo" 翟突娑墓誌, excavated in Luoyang, which mentions that the deceased's father Suomohe 娑摩訶 was a senior *sabao* 薩寶, who style name was Bohebiduo 薄賀比多.[16] Professor Xiang Da 向達 points out the following in his study of Chang'an 長安 during the Tang:

16 This inscription is in the collection of the Yuanyang qizhi zhai 鴛鴦七志齋. See Zhao Wanli 趙萬里, *Han, Wei, Nanbeichao muzhi jishi* 漢魏南北朝墓誌集釋 (Collection of

> If Di Tusuo's father Suomohe was a senior *sabao*, he must have been a Zoroastrian. Moreover, given that Tusuo was 70 years old when he died, and that his father was a senior *sabao*, this must have occurred during the Northern Qi or Northern Zhou periods. The name Tusuo is probably a transliteration of the Persian word *tarsa*. The word *tarsa* occurs on the Jingjiao Stele, where it is transliterated as Dasuo 達娑. Originally it was used to refer to a person of the Jingjiao faith (Church of the East), but it can also be used for followers of other religions. Therefore the name Di Tusuo probably indicates that he was a Zoroastrian.[17]

There are also other funerary inscriptions that refer to people surnamed Di, such as the "Funerary Inscription for Kang Bomiti" 康波蜜提墓誌 excavated at Turfan 吐魯番, in which the deceased's son is called Di Naninghun 翟那寧昏;[18] one excavated in Zhaoling 昭陵 for a Sogdian named An Yuanshou 安元壽 from Wuwei 武威, whose wife was called Di Liuniang 翟六娘;[19] one excavated in Luoyang 洛陽 in which the wife of Master Kang 康公, great leader of Kangguo 康國, was surnamed Di 翟;[20] and one excavated in Wuwei referring to someone named Di Sheji 翟舍集 who married a woman surnamed An 安.[21] All the people surnamed Di mentioned here married Sogdians surnamed Kang or An.

Although Di does not appear in the lists of common surnames used in Sogdian kingdoms in Central Asia, such as Kang, An, Cao, Shi 史, Shi 石, Mi 米 and He 何, increasing numbers of people surnamed Di with Sogdian names

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Han, Wei, and Northern and Southern Dynasties Funerary Inscriptions), *juan* 9 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1956), Plate 484, p. 323. See also *Yuanyang qizhi zhai cang shi* 鴛鴦七志齋藏石 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1995), p. 218.

17 Xiang Da 向達, *Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Tang Dynasty Chang'an and the Cultures of the Western Regions) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957), pp. 90–91. The full name of the Jingjiao Stele is "Stele Commemorating the Propagation of the Da Qin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom" 大秦景教流行中國碑.

18 Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Compendium of Tang Dynasty Funerary Inscriptions), 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 402.

19 Zhaoling bowuguan 昭陵博物館, "Tang An Yuanshou fufu mu fajue jianbao" 唐安元壽夫婦墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Tang Tomb of An Yuanshou and his Wife), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 12, 1988, pp. 37–49. For the transcription of the inscriptions, see *Quan Tangwen buyi* 全唐文補遺 (Supplement to The Complete Tang Prose), Vol. 2 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1995), p. 470.

20 Zhou Shaoliang, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huibian*, p. 1634; *Quan Tangwen buyi*, Vol. 5 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1998), pp. 382–383.

21 Wang Qiying 王其英, *Wuwei jinshi lu* 武威金石錄 (Epigraphic Sources of Wuwei) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 46–47.

and distinctive cultural characteristics appear in funerary inscriptions as time goes on. This suggests that people with this surname may have come from a particular region of Sogdiana. An investigation into the names, marriages and cultural characteristics of the Hu people surnamed Di in the Sui and Tang period, allows us to surmise that Di Caoming must have been a Sogdian who moved there from Central Asia. It is probably not accidental that his funerary inscription calls him "a person from the western kingdoms" rather than "a person from the North". From the words "his reputation and prestige gradually spread throughout the court and countryside", we can conclude that, apart from the Jihu people, there must have been quite a few other Hu peoples from Sogdiana and other places in the Western Regions who came to the region of Tongwan. They may have arrived in large numbers because of the destruction of the Northern Liang by the Northern Wei, which would have caused a mass migration of Sogdians to the Pingcheng region, or they may have been the result of Sogdian merchant groups gradually moving eastward.

The image of the King of Heaven (*tian wang* 天王) on the entrance to Di Caoming's tomb is also a rare discovery that gives us deeper insight into the distinctive characteristics of the culture of the Hu people of Tongwan, deriving from the Western Regions, during the Northern Dynasties. This issue leads to a broader discussion that exceeds the scope of the present article, and will not be pursued further here.

In conclusion, the culture of Tongwan was a multi-ethnic one during the medieval period. Here the Xiongnu, Xianbei 鮮卑, Jihu, Chinese, Dangxiang 党項, and other ethnic groups mixed together in a lively fashion. Because the thoroughfare of the Silk Road passed through Tongwan in certain periods, it was a place where many Central Asian and West Asian peoples congregated, bringing their cultural influences with them. More extended studies of Tongwan city, especially involving further archaeological investigations, will bring to light an even greater number of Tongwan's distinctive characteristics as a city on the Silk Road. They will also help to reveal the dynamic role played by Tongwan in the history of East-West communications in the medieval period.

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CHAPTER 5

Gaochang in the Second Half of the 5th Century and Its Relations with the Rouran Qaghanate and the Kingdoms of the Western Regions

Translated by Sally K. Church

The Turfan depression was in a turbulent state in the middle of the 5th century. When in 439 the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) destroyed the Northern Liang 北涼 (398–460), the brothers Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 (d. 444) and Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 (r. 444–460) of the royal family, fled from Dunhuang 敦煌 through Shanshan 鄯善 and then north to Gaochang 高昌, which they occupied in 442. The Gaochang governor Kan Shuang 闞爽 escaped to the Rouran Qaghanate 柔然汗國 (330–555) in the north, while the Juqu brothers established the state of Greater Liang 大涼 in Gaochang. In 450, these brothers destroyed the state of Jushi 車師 and occupied the city of Jiaohe 交河 (Yarkhoto). The Rouran 柔然 fought back in 460, killing Juqu Anzhou and destroying the state of Greater Liang. They placed Kan Bozhou 闞伯周 (r. 460–ca. 477) on the throne of Gaochang, thus establishing the first kingdom named Gaochang in the history of the region. This Gaochang kingdom, under the rule of the Kan 闞 family, was actually a puppet of the Rouran Qaghanate; it adopted the Rouran reign title Yongkang 永康, and the Rouran were its overlords. After Kan Bozhou died in about 477, his son Yicheng 義成 ascended the throne. Then in approximately 478, Yicheng was killed by his elder brother Kan Shougui 闞首歸, who thus became king. In 488 Shougui was killed by Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅, who was the king of Gaoju 高車 and one of the Rouran's enemies in the north, thus putting an end to the Kan family rule over Gaochang. Gaoju established Zhang Mengming 張孟明 (r. 491–496) as king of Gaochang and inaugurated the period of the Zhang family's rule over the Gaochang kingdom.[1]

1 The historical sources are inconsistent concerning the date when the Kan family's rule of Gaochang came to an end and when Afuzhiluo of Gaoju moved west. Some scholars also disagree with these dates, but here I follow the opinion of the majority of scholars. Concerning the date when Gaoju destroyed the Kan family, we accept the view of Wang Su 王素 expressed in his *Gaochang shigao: Tongzhi bian* 高昌史稿：統治編 (Draft History of Gaochang: Administration) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), pp. 270–275.

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1 Relevant Data in a Newly Excavated Turfan Manuscript

In 1997, a manuscript (97TSYM1:13-5 + 97TSYM1:13-4) was discovered in tomb No. 1 at Yanghai 洋海, Turfan 吐魯番. It consists of two sheets of paper that fit together. On the recto is a text called *Yizazhan* 易雜占 (Miscellaneous Divinations from the *Book of Changes*), while on the verso are 20 lines of writing recording the numbers of escorts and horses provided in the 9th and 10th year of a certain reign period (Fig. 5.1).[2] The text of this manuscript, transcribed by the Editorial Team for the Newly Excavated Turfan Manuscripts 新獲吐魯番出土文獻整理小組, is as follows.[3]

1 九年十月八日送處羅幹無根，高寧九十人、摩訶演十人；出馬
2 一匹。

On the 8th day of the 10th month of the 9th year, to escort Chuluogan Wugen, 90 people from Gaoning, and 10 people from Moheyan were provided; one horse [each].

3 九年十月廿日送鄭阿卯，高寧八十五人、白艻卅六人、萬度廿六人、
4 其養十五人；出馬一匹。

On the 20th day of the 10th month of the 9th year, to escort Zheng Amao, 85 people from Gaoning, 36 people from Baiji, 26 people from Wandu and 15 people from Qiyang accompanied them; with one horse [each].

5 九年十二月二日送烏萇使向鄢耆，百一十八人；出馬一匹。高寧
6 八十五人、萬度廿六人、乾養七人。

On the 2nd day of the 12th month of the 9th year, 118 people were sent to escort an envoy from Wuchang (Udyāna) to Yanqi (Karashahr); with one horse [each]. From Gaoning 85 people, from Wandu 26 people and from Qianyang 7 people [were provided].

7 十年閏月五日送鄢耆王北山，高寧八十四人、橫截卌六人、白

2 On the excavation, see Tulufan diqu wenwuju 吐魯番地區文物局, "Tulufan diqu Shanshan xian Yanghai mudi xiepo tudongmu qingli jianbao" 吐魯番地區鄯善縣洋海墓地斜坡土洞墓清理簡報 (Brief Report on the Earthen Cave Tomb in the Yanghai Graveyard, Shanshan County, Turfan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 10, 2007, pp. 1–9. On the text *Yizazhan* 易雜占 (Miscellaneous Divinations from the *Book of Changes*), see Yu Xin 余欣 and Chen Hao 陳昊, "Tulufan Yanghai chutu Gaochang zaoqi xieben 'Yizazhan' kao shi" 吐魯番洋海出土高昌早期寫本《易雜占》考釋 (Study of an Early Gaochang Manuscript of the *Yizazhan* Excavated at Yanghai, Turfan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, Vol. 10, 2007, pp. 57–84.

3 For facsimile images of the manuscript and a transcription, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, Li Xiao 李肖 and Meng Xianshi 孟憲實, eds., *Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian* 新獲吐魯番出土文獻 (Newly Excavated Manuscripts from Turfan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), pp. 162–163.

8 芀卌六人、萬度廿六人、其養十五人、威神二人、柳婆
9 卌七人，合二百五十六人；出馬一匹。
On the 5th day of the intercalary month of the 10th year, the king of Yanqi was escorted to Beishan by 84 people from Gaoning, 46 people from Hengjie, 36 people from Baiji, 26 people from Wandu, 15 people from Qiyang, 2 people from Weishen, 47 people from Liupo, altogether 256 people; with one horse [each].
10 十年三月十四日，送婆羅門使向焉耆，高寧八十四人、
11 橫截卌六人、白芀卅六人、田地十六人，合百八十二人；〔出馬〕一匹。
On the 14th day of the 3rd month of the 10th year, to escort Poluomen (i.e. Indian) envoys to Yanqi, 84 people from Gaoning, 46 people from Hengjie, 36 people from Baiji and 16 people from Tiandi, altogether 182 people [were provided]; and one horse [each].
12 十年三月八日送吳客並子合使北山，高寧八十三人、白芀
13 廿五人，合百八人； 出馬一匹。
On the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 10th year, to escort visitors (envoys) from Wu and Zihe to Beishan, 83 people from Gaoning and 25 people from Baiji, altogether 108 people [were provided]; and one horse [each].
14 九年七月廿三日送若久向焉耆，高寧六十八人、[橫]截卌人、
15 白芀卅二人、威神□□、萬度廿三人、乾養十四人、柳
16 婆卅人、阿虎十二人、磨訶演十六人、喙進十八人、
17 高昌七人。
On the 23rd day of the 7th month of the 9th year, to escort Ruojiu to Yanqi, 68 people from Gaoning, 40 people from Hengjie, 32 people from Baiji, [...] people from Weishen, 23 people from Wandu, 14 people from Qianyang, 30 people from Liupo, 12 people from Ahu, 16 people from Moheyan, 18 people from Zhuojin and 7 people from Gaochang [were provided].
18 九年六月十二日送婆羅幹北山，高寧六十八人、威神五人、
19 萬度廿三人、其養十二人、柳婆卅人、阿虎十五人、
20 磨訶演十三人、喙進十人、橫截卌人； 出馬一匹。
On the 12th day of the 6th month of the 9th year, to escort Poluogan to Beishan, from Gaoning 68 people, Weishan 5 people, Wandu 23 people, Qiyang 12 people, Liupo 30 people, Ahu 15 people, Moheyan 13 people, Zhuojin 10 people and Hengjie 40 people [were provided]; and one horse [each].

Another manuscript (97TSYM1:5) from the same tomb is a contract of a certain Zhang Zu 張祖 for buying a slave in the 12th year of the Yongkang 永康 reign period (477), and this date and other evidence make it clear that the above

manuscript is a record of the people and horses provided for the escort of foreign envoys in Gaochang during the 9th and 10th years of the Rouran reign period Yongkang (i.e. 474–475). Its content makes this an extremely valuable manuscript.

I have already written about the date and nature of this manuscript, as well as the cities and towns it mentions from the period when Gaochang was ruled by the Kan family.[4] Here I shall focus on the details of escorting envoys as presented in this manuscript, as well as what this information reveals about the intricate relations between Gaochang and the Rouran, the Western Regions and the Liu-Song 劉宋 dynasty (420–479) during the second half of the 5th century.

The manuscript records the number of people provided by each city, and the total number of people who escorted the envoys in the Gaochang kingdom. The words "one horse" added at the end of the entries must mean one horse per person. The information in this manuscript is presented in the table below in chronological order, with the envoy who is escorted listed first, followed by their destination, the number of people in their escort, and the number of horses.

TABLE 5.1 People and horses provided by the Gaochang kingdom under the rule of the Kan family to escort foreign envoys to various destinations in 474–475 CE

Date	Envoy	Destination	Number of people	Number of horses
9th year (474), 6th month 12th day	Poluogan	Beishan	216	216
9th year (474), 7th month 23rd day	Ruojiu	Yanqi	260+	260+
9th year (474), 10th month 8th day	Chuluogan Wugen	[Beishan]	100	100
9th year (474), 10th month 20th day	Zheng Amao	[Beishan]	162	162

4 Rong Xinjiang, "Tulufan xinchu songshi wenshu yu Kanshi Gaochang wangguo de junxian chengzhen" 吐魯番新出送使文書與闞氏高昌王國的郡縣城鎮 (A Newly Excavated Turfan Manuscript on Escorting Envoys, and the Commanderies, Counties, Cities and Towns of the Kingdom of Gaochang during the Kan Family's Rule), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, Vol. 10, 2007, pp. 21–41.

TABLE 5.1 People and horses provided by the Gaochang kingdom under the rule of the Kan family (*cont.*)

Date	Envoy	Destination	Number of people	Number of horses
9th year (474), 12th month 2nd day	Udyāna envoy	Yanqi	118	118
10th year (475), 3rd month 8th day	envoys from Wu and Zihe	Beishan	108	108
10th year (475), 3rd month 14th day	Poluomen (Indian) envoy	Yanqi	182	182
10th year (475), intercalary [3rd month] 5th day	king of Yanqi	Beishan	256	256

Below, I first discuss the envoys mentioned in the manuscript, then the purpose of their mission and the routes they took.

2 The Envoys Who Passed through Gaochang, and Their Missions

The envoys recorded in the manuscript who were escorted by the Gaochang kingdom can be divided into two main types. The first includes those not called *shi* 使 (envoys) in the manuscript, such as Poluogan, Ruojiu, Chuluogan Wugen and Zheng Amao. The name of their state of origin is not mentioned, probably because they were well known to Gaochang officials. Because at this time Gaochang was a vassal of the Rouran Qaghanate, and because most individuals in this group have names of Altaic origin, we can speculate that these envoys were from the Rouran Qaghanate. With the exception of Ruojiu, the others were probably all going in the direction of Beishan (the Northern Mountains), that is, to the Rouran Qaghanate. The text clearly states that Poluogan was heading for Beishan; for the other two this destination is assumed. Probably because they were Rouran envoys, they inevitably had to return there, which may be why the manuscript does not record their destination. The second type of envoy includes those who are called "envoy" or "king". These titles indicate that they were envoys or kings of a state, such as the envoys from Udyāna, the visitors (envoys) from Wu, the envoys from Zihe, the envoys from Poluomen and the king of Yanqi.

2.1 *Envoys from the Rouran Qaghanate*

Rouran was a nomadic qaghanate that followed in the footsteps of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and Xianbei 鮮卑 in controlling the region in the north. During the Northern Wei, the Rouran were called Ruru 蠕蠕; in the Liu-Song dynasty they were called Ruirui 芮芮. At the beginning of the 5th century, after their leader Shelun 社侖 proclaimed himself Qaghan, he became an enemy of the Northern Wei and gradually moved into the Western Regions. When in 421 the Northern Liang destroyed the Western Liang, the brothers Tang He 唐和 and Tang Qi 唐契 fled to Yiwu 伊吾 (Hami 哈密) and entered Ruru service.[5] In the first year of the Taiyan 太延 reign period of the Northern Wei (435), "the cavalier attendant 散騎侍郎 Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others who were sent as envoys to Gaochang were detained by the Ruru".[6] This suggests that the Rouran were already in control of Gaochang at that time. This must have been the year when the Rouran propped up Kan Shuang, who had set himself up as governor of Gaochang. In 442, when the brothers Juqu Wuhui and Anzhou, descendants of the Northern Liang ruling house, occupied Gaochang, Kan Shuang fled to the Rouran. However, the Greater Liang dynasty of the Juqu family was unable to survive without the support of the Rouran. In 450, Juqu Anzhou led Rouran troops to surround and attack Jiaohe. In the end, they defeated the kingdom of Jushi, which was allied with the Northern Wei, and unified the peoples of the Turfan depression. For reasons unknown, Juqu Anzhou later came into conflict again with the Rouran, and in 460 the Rouran attacked Gaochang. They destroyed the Greater Liang, ruled by the Juqu family, and set up Kan Bozhou as king of Gaochang. The "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions) chapter of the *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) says that "in the first year of the Heping 和平 reign period (460) Gaochang was annexed by the Ruru, and the Ruru made Kan Bozhou the King of Gaochang".[7] The text emphasises that the Rouran Qaghanate assimilated Gaochang and set up Kan Bozhou

5 "Tang He zhuan" 唐和傳 (Biography of Tang He), *Weishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 43, p. 962.

6 "Gaochang zhuan" 高昌傳 (Account of Gaochang), *Weishu*, *juan* 101, p. 2243; also "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions), *Beishi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 97, p. 3212. The original text gives the date as "during the Taiyan reign period", but according to the "Jushi zhuan" 車師傳 (Account of Jushi) chapter of the *Weishu* and the *Beishi*, it should be the 1st year of the Taiyan reign period (435). For an analysis of the date, see Yu Taishan 余太山, *Liang Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao yu Xiyu guanxi shi yanjiu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝與西域關係史研究 (The Former and Latter Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties and the History of their Relations with the Western Regions) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1995), p. 152.

7 "Xiyu zhuan", *Beishi*, *juan* 97, p. 3213.

merely as a puppet king.[8] Although he was called a king in his own right, Kan Bozhou used the Rouran reign title Yongkang. In 487, the Fufuluo 副伏羅 tribe of Gaoju, which originally belonged to the Rouran federation, revolted against the Rouran and moved westward to the north of Gaochang and was able to take control over that kingdom. Around 488, the Fufuluo wrested Gaochang from the Rouran, and Afuzhiluo, the king of Gaoju, killed Gaochang's king Kan Shougui and his brother, crowning Zhang Mengming, a native of Dunhuang, as king. After this, control of Gaochang oscillated between the two great powers, the Rouran and Gaoju.[9]

As we have seen, when the manuscript about escorting envoys was written (i.e. in the 9th and 10th years of the Yongkang reign period, 474–475), the Gaochang kingdom was a puppet state of the Rouran. For this reason, quite a few Rouran envoys travelled between the Rouran Qaghanate and the city of Gaochang. They would have been in charge of collecting taxes and making arrangements for envoys from the Western Regions or the Liu-Song court in South China to visit the Rouran. The four individuals mentioned above – Poluogan, Ruojiu, Chuluogan Wugen and Zheng Amao – must have been Rouran envoys. In each case, over a hundred people were sent to escort them

8 Gaochang was sometimes seen by the Northern Wei as part of the Rouran Qaghanate. A funerary inscription for Lü Bosheng 閭伯昇, buried in the 10th month of the 2nd year of the Xinghe 興和 era of the Eastern Wei 東魏 (540), says, "Emperor Gaozu 高祖 was the second son of the ruler of Ruru 茹茹 who led troops to surrender [to the Wei]. He was given the title King of Gaochang, and served as Minister of Education (*situ gong* 司徒公)". Zhao Wanli 趙萬里, *Han, Wei, Nanbeichao muzhi jishi* 漢魏南北朝墓誌集釋 (Collection of Han, Wei, Northern and Southern Dynasties Funerary Inscriptions) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1956) Fig. 591; Zhongguo kexueyuan Lishi yanjiusuo shiliao bianzuanzu 中國科學院歷史研究所史料編纂組, ed., *Rouran ziliao jilu* 柔然資料輯錄 (Materials on the Rouran) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 54. Thus the Northern Wei court conferred the title King of Gaochang on the son of the Rouran ruler.

9 On the relations between the Rouran and Gaochang, see Yu Taishan, "Rouran yu Xiyu guanxi shukao" 柔然與西域關係述考 (Study of the Relations between the Rouran and the Western Regions), in Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu* 嚈噠史研究 (Studies on the History of the Hephthalites) (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1986), pp. 194–196; Qian Boquan 錢伯泉, "Cong 'Gaochang zhubu Zhang Wan deng chuangongzhuang' kan Rouran Hanguo zai Gaochang diqu de tongzhi" 從《高昌主簿張綰等傳供狀》看柔然汗國在高昌地區的統治 (The Rule of the Rouran Qaghanate in the Gaochang Region as Seen from the 'Account Submitted by Zhang Wan, the Recorder'), Dunhuang Tulufanxue Xinjiang yanjiu zhongxin 敦煌吐魯番学新疆研究中心, *Tulufanxue yanjiu zhuanji* 吐魯番學研究專輯 (Collection of Papers on Turfan Studies) (Urumqi: Dunhuang Tulufanxue Xinjiang yanjiu zhongxin, 1990), pp. 102–108; Wang Su 王素, *Gaochang shigao: Jiaotong bian* 高昌史稿: 交通編 (Draft History of Gaochang: Communications) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 364–388. There is no scholarly consensus on every detail of this history; here I rely selectively on views of different scholars.

from Gaochang, which shows that these were not just ordinary visitors; they must have been important envoys. Among them, over 260 people escorted Ruojiu, revealing that his position was even more distinctive. Unfortunately the historical sources on the Rouran do not discuss these individuals,[10] thus this manuscript is significant in that it provides information entirely unknown from other sources.

A document containing the account submitted by Zhang Wan 張綰, the recorder, was excavated in Tomb 90 at Karakhoja. Another manuscript from the same tomb was dated to the 17th year of the Yongkang reign period (482), therefore this document probably also dates from the same reign period. This document records the goods allocated in Gaochang by Zhang Wan and others to visitors and envoys. It provides more information about some of the Rouran envoys who went to Gaochang. The relevant passages are as follows:

3 〕[出]行緤卌匹，主簿張綰傳令，與道人曇訓。
... [issued] forty bolts of *xingdie* by order of Zhang Wan, the recorder, for the monk Tanxun.

4 〕[出]行緤五匹，付左首興，與若愍提懃。
... [issued] five bolts of *xingdie* to Zuo Shouxing for Ruomin Tiqin.

5 〕[出]赤違（韋）一枚，付受宗，與烏胡慎。
... [issued] one piece of red leather to Shouzong for Wuhushen.

7 〕[匹]，付得錢，與吳兒折胡真。
... [bolts] to Deqian for Zhehuzhen from the state of Wu.

8 〕赤違（韋）一枚，付得錢，與作都施摩何勃。
... one piece of red leather to Deqian for Zuodushi Mohebo.

9 〕[緤]一匹，赤違（韋）一枚，與秃地提懃無根。
one bolt of [... *die*], one piece of red leather for Tudi Tiqin Wugen.

14 〕[行] 緤三匹，赤違（韋）三枚，付隗已隆，與阿祝至火下。
... three bolts of [*xing*]*die*, three pieces of red leather to Kui Yilong for Azhuzhihuoxia.

15 〕[張]綰傳令，[出疏]勒錦一張，與處論無根。
... by [Zhang] Wan's order [issued] one piece of [Shu]le silk brocade for Chulun Wugen.

16 〕摩何□□
... Mohe ...

10 Although "Ruojiu" 若久 does not correspond exactly to any known personal name or title, we know that Rouran rulers were surnamed Yujiulü 郁久閭, and that the Rouran also had a tribal leader named Aruo 阿若. The elements *ruo* 若, *jiu* 久, and *Ruojiu* in these names must be related to each other.

17 〕[緤]一匹，毯五張，赤[違]（韋）□枚，各付已隆，供鍮頭〔發〕。

… one bolt of [… *die*], five carpets, and […] pieces of red leather each issued to Yilong for Toutou[fa].[11]

Two of the personal names here, Zuo Shouxing 左首興 and Deqian 得錢, also appear in another account of taxes and corvée labour in the Yongkang era from the same tomb as the one about escorting envoys.[12] Thus we know that the dates of the envoys supplied by Zhang Wan are very close to those in the document about escorting envoys. Most of the individuals mentioned here – the monk Tanxun 曇訓, Ruomin Tiqin 若愍提勤, Wuhushen 烏胡慎, Zhehuzhen from the state of Wu 吳兒折胡真, Zuodushi Mohebo 作都施摩何勃, Tudi Tiqin Wugen 禿地提勤無根, Azhuzhihuoxia 阿祝至火下, Chulun Wugen 處論無根, Mohe[…] and Toutou[fa] 鍮頭[發], who were issued goods by the Gaochang kingdom, were probably Rouran envoys, though some may have been from elsewhere.[13] The one who received the largest quantity of items was the monk Tanxun, who may have been a state preceptor in the Rouran government.[14] The word *tiqin* is a transliteration of the Turkish word *tegin*, which means "prince". The term *wugen* also appears in the documents about escorting envoys, which, on the one hand, indicates a relationship between the names preserved in the two documents, and on the other, suggests that it may be an official title in the Rouran administration. Chulun Wugen in this document is almost the

11 Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, ed., *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 122–123.

12 Rong Xinjiang, Li Xiao and Meng Xianshi, eds., *Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian*; for Zuo Shouxing, see pp. 130 and 139; for Deqian, see pp. 130 and 140.

13 Qian Boquan, "Cong 'Gaochang zhubo Zhang Wan deng chuangongzhuang' kan Rouran Hanguo zai Gaochang diqu de tongzhi", pp. 97–100, sees all of these as Rouran envoys. Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 says that the term *teqin* 特勤 in the document is the prince of Gaoju; see Jiang Boqin, "Gaochang Qu chao yu dongxi Tujue" 高昌麴朝與東西突厥 (The Gaochang Qu Dynasty and the Eastern and Western Turks), *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Collection of Studies and Articles on the Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts), No. 5 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1990), p. 33; Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), p. 85. I am inclined to think they were envoys from Rouran; see Rong Xinjiang, "Gaochang wangguo yu Zhong-Xi jiaotong" 高昌王國與中西交通 (The Gaochang Kingdom and Communications between China and the West), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), No. 2, 2000, p. 74.

14 Qian Boquan, "Cong 'Gaochang zhubo Zhang Wan deng chuangongzhuang' kan Rouran Hanguo zai Gaochang diqu de tongzhi", pp. 100–101.

same as Chuluogan Wugen in the previous one, though we must be careful not to jump to conclusions.

From the document about escorting envoys and the one with the account of goods provided by Zhang Wan we can see that the period of the Kan family's rule over Gaochang was one in which many Rouran envoys travelled between their court and Gaochang. Some of these envoys even lived in Gaochang, and received provisions from the Gaochang kingdom. Whether these Rouran envoys returned to their homeland or were sent elsewhere, the Gaochang kingdom needed to provide people and horses to escort them beyond its border.

2.2 *Envoys from Wuchang*

The Wuchang kingdom was located within the boundaries of Northern India, in the region of present-day Swat, along the upper Indus River basin. The earliest appearance of its name is in the *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (The Travels of Faxian). Faxian 法顯 (337–ca. 422) and his party left from Jiecha 竭叉 (present-day Tashkurgan) and travelled west across the Pamir mountains reaching Darel. They continued south-west for 15 days, crossed the Indus River, and arrived at the kingdom of Wuchang (also written Wuchang 烏長, Udyāna in Sanskrit), where he and his companions spent the summer retreat. The year was 402.[15] According to the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of Luoyang Monasteries), when Song Yun 宋雲 (fl. 518–522) and Huisheng 惠生 (fl. 518–522) of the Northern Wei journeyed west, they reached Wuchang by travelling from Zhujubo 朱駒波 and Han(/Ke)pantuo 漢（渴）盤陀, crossing the Pamirs, and passing through the kingdoms of Bohe 鉢和 (Wakhan), Shemi 賒彌 (Chitral), and Bolule 鉢盧勒 (Bolor), arriving at the kingdom of Wuchang 烏場 in the 12th month of the 2nd year of the Shengui 神龜 reign period (519).[16] In the latter half of the "Western Regions" chapter of the *Weishu*, which was compiled on the basis of the travel accounts of Song Yun and others, Wuchang is given as Wuchang 烏萇,[17] therefore the text on which the modern edition of the *Luoyang qielan ji* is based must have written it this way. At the beginning of the Tang period, the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) also visited this place, and his *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Record of the Western Regions during

15 Zhang Xun 章巽, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Travels of Faxian*) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), pp. 20–35, esp. p. 33.

16 Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Luoyang qielan ji* [Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang]) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 277–317, esp. pp. 298–301.

17 *Weishu*, *juan* 102, p. 2280.

the Great Tang) mentions "the kingdom of Wuzhangna" 烏仗那國.[18] Huili 惠立 and Yancong 彥悰, in the *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery) write it Wuzhangna 烏仗那, and another edition has Wuchangna 烏長那.[19] Yijing 義淨 (635–713), in his *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions during the Great Tang) and *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (Records of Buddhist Practices Brought Back from the Southern Seas) has "Wuchangna" 烏長那.[20] Hyecho 慧超 writes it "Wuchang" 烏長 in his *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias), noting that it is also called Yudiyinna 鬱地引那,[21] another way of transliterating the Sanskrit Udyāna. Our envoy's document was written in 474–475, in the period between the composition of Faxian's and Song Yun's travel accounts; the name Wuchang 烏萇 used here matches the name used by the two monks.

Northern India in the second half of the 5th century was in an extremely chaotic situation. The powerful Hephthalites penetrated into this region, vying with Persia, Kidāra and the Indian Gupta kingdom for control. However, according to our document, envoys from Udyāna passed through Gaochang on their way to Yanqi in 474. Given that there was no contact between the Gaochang kingdom and the Northern Wei at that time, the envoy from Udyāna was very likely coming from the Rouran, passing through Gaochang and Yanqi on the way back home. This group of Udyāna envoys may have acted as representatives of the Hephthalites. However, it is even more likely that they went there to seek support from the Rouran because of the tremendous political pressure they were under from surrounding regions. According to the "Annals of Shizong" (*Shizong ji* 世宗紀) of the *Weishu*, the Wuchang kingdom

18 Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al., eds., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Journey to the Western Regions in the Great Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 270.

19 Huili 惠立 and Yancong 彥悰, *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 40.

20 Wang Bangwei 王邦維, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions during the Great Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), pp. 99 and 134; Wang Bangwei, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu* 南海寄歸內法傳校注 (Records of Buddhist Practices Brought Back from the Southern Seas) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), p. 28.

21 Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 (Study of Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1992), main text on p. 22; notes on pp. 126–127.

sent envoys to the Northern Wei in 502, 510, 511, 518 and 521.[22] These records show that Udyāna had relations with the Northern Wei at the beginning of the 6th century.

2.3 *The Visitors (Envoys) from Wu*

The "visitors from Wu" are envoys from the south. In the collection of the Nakamura Museum of Calligraphy in Tokyo is *juan* 1 of the *Chishi jing* 持世經 (Sutra of the World Upholder), a manuscript discovered at the beginning of the 20th century at Toyuq, Shanshan 鄯善 county. The copy was made by someone calling himself a "visitor from Wu", who left the following colophon at the end of the scroll:

> 歲在己丑，涼王大且渠安周所供養經，吳客丹楊郡張烋祖寫，用帋廿六枚。
>
> In the *jichou* year, a sutra donated by the king of Liang, the great Juqu Anzhou; copied by the visitor from Wu, Zhang Xiuzu of Danyang commandery, using 26 sheets of paper.[23]

The *jichou* year was 449, which was during the period when Juqu Anzhou ruled Gaochang as king of the Greater Liang. The visitor from Wu, of Danyang commandery (today's Nanjing, Jiangsu province), copied out this sutra for Juqu Anzhou. Tang Zhangru 唐長孺 carefully analysed this inscription, using it as evidence for contact between Gaochang and South China. However, he thought that the term "visitor from Wu" meant that he was a travelling guest from South China, claiming this as evidence that not only official envoys and itinerant monks from South China travelled to Gaochang but also ordinary people who may have stayed there for longer periods of time.[24]

We now have another early manuscript from the Gaochang kingdom using the term "visitor from Wu" – the document about escorting envoys, which

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22 *Weishu*, pp. 195, 209 and 210.

23 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中國古代寫本識語集錄 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1990), p. 86, fig. 11.

24 Tang Zhangru, "Nanbeichao qijian Xiyu yu Nanchao de ludao jiaotong" 南北朝期間西域與南朝的陸道交通 (Overland Communications between the Western Regions and South China during the Northern and Southern Dynasties Period), in Tang Zhangru, *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晉南北朝史論拾遺 (Supplements to the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 189–190.

permits a better understanding of this term. According to this document, the "visitor from Wu" was an envoy escorted by a large number of people provided by the Gaochang government. Therefore, he must have been an official envoy to the Rouran from the Liu-Song court who departed for Beishan together with the envoys from Zihe on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 10th year of the Yongkang reign period (475). For this reason, in early Gaochang manuscripts, a "visitor from Wu" was probably not an ordinary traveller from South China who stayed in Gaochang, as it might seem at first sight. Instead, the term must have been a specific designation used by the Gaochang government for an envoy from the Liu-Song court. Thus, the person referred to in the colophon to the *Chishi jing* as "the visitor from Wu, Zhang Xiuzu of Danyang commandery" could not have been an ordinary traveller from Wu but clearly was a person of status who could produce a fine copy of a sutra for Juqu Anzhou, ruler of the Greater Liang. It is more reasonable to see him as an envoy sent to Gaochang by Emperor Wen 文帝 of the Liu-Song dynasty (r. 424–453).

The 10th year of Yongkang corresponds to the 3rd year of the Yuanhui 元徽 reign period (475) of the deposed emperor known as Houfei di 後廢帝 (Liu Yu 劉昱, r. 472–477) of the Liu-Song dynasty. The envoy mentioned in the document about escorting envoys as wanting to go to the Rouran on the 8th day of the 3rd month of that year must have been the envoy sent by the Liu-Song court. However, because most of the envoys who departed from the Liu-Song capital normally had to go through Yizhou 益州 (Chengdu 成都) and the area inhabited by the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 before they could reach Gaochang, this would usually take a considerable amount of time. Therefore this envoy was not necessarily sent by the deposed Emperor; he may have left during the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 465–472). The document about escorting envoys records that the "visitor from Wu" and the envoy from Zihe were escorted together to the Rouran. Of course, it is possible that they joined up in Gaochang to travel on together to the Rouran. However, since the envoy from Zihe came from south-west of the Tarim basin, they may first have travelled east to the Tuyuhun territory in Shanshan and then gone ahead to Gaochang together with the Liu-Song envoys from there, before continuing on to the Rouran. This explanation may make more sense.

Three years later, in the 2nd year of the Shengming 昇明 reign period (478), the Liu-Song court sent the cavalry general 驍騎將軍 Wang Honggui 王洪軌 (also written Wang Hongfan 王洪範) as an envoy to the Rouran. He made an agreement with them to attack the Northern Wei from different directions in a pincer fashion. In the 8th month of the 1st year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign period (479), when Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 (later Emperor Gao 高帝) of the Southern Qi 南齊, ascended the throne, the Rouran Qaghanate sent 300,000

cavalry south to invade as promised.[25] However, because Xiao Daocheng had just become emperor, he was unable to send out an expedition. In the 1st year of the Yongming 永明 reign period (483), under Emperor Wu 武帝 (Xiao Ze 蕭賾, r. 482–493 of the Southern Qi 齊), Wang Honggui returned to South China, having "travelled over 30,000 li".[26] When Wang Honggui went out as an envoy to the Rouran, he passed through the Tuyuhun federation (Henan kingdom 河南國), and received the support of the Tuyuhun Qaghan.[27] To travel from Tuyuhun territory to the Rouran, he must have passed through Gaochang. Tang Zhangru argues convincingly that two Turfan manuscripts sponsored by Xiao Daocheng, dynasty-founding duke of Jingling 竟陵 commandery, and dated in the 8th and 9th month of the 1st year of the Shengming reign period (477), were brought to Gaochang by Wang Honggui.[28] This is very likely. These fragmentary historical records and bits of information in the Turfan manuscripts concerning Wang Honggui's embassy show that this was an important mission for the Liu-Song. The visitor (envoy) from Wu's mission three years earlier, which passed through Gaochang on the way to the Rouran, was probably just an ordinary one. Perhaps more likely, it may have prepared the way for Wang Honggui's mission. In any case, we ascertain from these documents pertaining to the escorting of envoys that the Liu-Song envoy passed through Gaochang on his way to the Rouran in 475. This also helps us see the high status that the

25 A corresponding text in the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), p. 4234, records the following incident: "Over 100,000 troops of the Rouran cavalry raided the Wei all the way to the border before returning". Neither the "Gaozu ji" 高祖紀 (Annals of Gaozu), *juan* 7, nor the "Ruru zhuan" 蠕蠕傳 (Account of the Ruru), *juan* 103, in the *Weishu*, nor the *Beishi* record this event. The "Ruirui guo zhuan" 芮芮國傳 (Account of the Ruirui Kingdom) in the chapter on the Northwestern Rong 西北諸戎 in the *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang Dynasty) says, "In the Shengming period of the [Liu-]Song, Wang Honggui was sent as an envoy to [the Rouran] to induce them to attack the Wei. In the 1st year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign period of the Qi dynasty (479), [Wang] Honggui first went to visit the [Rouran] kingdom. The king led 300,000 cavalry out of the Yanran 燕然 mountains and headed over 3,000 *li* to the south-east. The Wei closed the passes, not daring to engage in battle. Later, it gradually became weaker" (*Liangshu*, *juan* 54, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), p. 817. It is unclear which account is correct.

26 "Ruirui lu zhuan" 芮芮虜傳 (Account of the Ruirui), *Nan Qishu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi), *juan* 59 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), pp. 1023–25; *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 135, pp. 4233–4234. See Tang Zhangru, "Nanbeichao qijian Xiyu yu Nanchao de ludao jiaotong", pp. 179–180. The last character in Wang Honggui's name is written as *gui* 軌 in the *Zizhi tongjian*. Hu Sanxing's 胡三省 commentary says the *Qishu* 齊書 (History of the Qi Dynasty) wrote the name as Wang Honggui 王洪軌. Here I follow the *Qi ji* 齊紀 (Records of the Qi Dynasty), in the *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 135–144, pp. 4221–4511.

27 "Henan zhuan" 河南傳 (Account of Henan), *Nan Qishu*, *juan* 59, p. 1026.

28 Tang Zhangru, "Nanbeichao qijian Xiyu yu Nanchao de ludao jiaotong", pp. 190–192.

visitor from Wu, Zhang Xiuzu of Danyang commandery, must have had to copy a sutra for Juqu Anzhou, ruler of the Greater Liang in Gaochang.

2.4 *The Envoy from Zihe*

The kingdom of Zihe was located in present-day Karghalik, Yecheng 葉城 county, between Khotan and Tashkurgan, on the southern route of the Silk Road around the Tarim basin. Its name first appears in the "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions) chapter of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), which says:

> The state of Western Ye 西夜: The king is entitled King of Zihe; the seat of his government is at Hujiangu 呼犍谷, which is 10,250 *li* from Chang'an 長安.... To the north-east one reaches the seat of the protector general (the city of Wulei 烏壘, near today's Xiaoyeyungou 小野雲溝 in Luntai 輪臺 county) after a distance of 5,046 *li*.[29]

It is called "the kingdom of Zihe" in *Faxian zhuan*,[30] whereas the *Luoyang qielan ji* has Zhujubo 朱駒波.[31] The record in the "Western Regions" chapter of the *Weishu*, which is nearer in time to the document about escorting envoys, says:

> The Kingdom of Xijuban 悉居半, formerly the Kingdom of Western Ye, is also called the kingdom of Zihe. Its king is called King of Zi[he], and he governs from Hujian[gu]. It is located west of Khotan, 12,970 *li* from Dai 代. At the beginning of the Taiyan reign period (435–440) this kingdom sent envoys to present tribute [to the Wei court], and from then on tributary envoys came regularly.[32]

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29 *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), *juan* 96 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), pp. 3882–3883. [Ed. note: Cf. A. F. P. Hulsewé and M. A. N. Loewe, "China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B.C.–A.D. 23, an Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty", *Sinica Leidensia* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp. 99–101.]

30 Zhang Xun, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu*, p. 18.

31 Fan Xiangyong, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu*, p. 227.

32 *Weishu*, *juan* 102, p. 2264; "Xiyu zhuan", *Beishi*, *juan* 97, p. 3211. See also Yu Taishan, *Liang Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yaozhu* 兩漢魏晉南北朝正史西域傳要注 (The Former and Latter Han Dynasties, Wei, Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties: Annotated Excerpts from the Western Regions Chapters of the Official Histories) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 439 and 621.

According to the "Basic Annals" of the *Weishu*, Zihe sent envoys to present tribute in 439, 462, 502, 511 and 518.[33] The "Account of the Northwestern Rong" 西北諸戎傳 chapter of the *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang Dynasty) says the following on the state of Hua 滑國 (i.e. the Hephthalites):

> When the Yuan Wei 元魏 (i.e. Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏) based themselves along the Sangqian 桑乾 [river], Hua was still a small state under the Ruirui. Later it became more powerful and led expeditions against its neighbours, including Persia, Panpan 盤盤, Jibin 罽賓, Yanqi, Kucha 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Gumo 姑墨, Khotan, Jupan 句盤, and others, extending its territory over a thousand *li*.[34]

This passage refers to the period (398–494) when Pingcheng 平城 was the capital of the Northern Wei. The time when the kingdom of Hua was a vassal of the Ruirui must have been during the years 402–437. After this, the Hephthalites gradually occupied the kingdoms of the Western Regions, from Persia and Tokharia to the Tarim basin, and all the way to Yanqi in the east. This was in the first five or six years of the 6th century.[35] Here, Jupan is the same as Xijuban, also called Zhouguke 周古柯 in the same chapter. The entry for Zhouguke says: "The kingdom of Zhouguke is a small country next to Hua. In the 1st year of the Putong 普通 reign period (520), their envoys accompanied those from Hua and presented local products as tribute".[36] The Nanjing Museum has a work called the *Liang zhigongtu* 梁職貢圖 (Portraits of Tribute Bearers to the Liang), which shows an envoy from Zhouguke presenting a letter to the throne; this must have been the source of the historical information preserved in the *Liangshu*.[37] The historical background discussed above helps us understand that on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 10th year of the Yongkang reign period (475), the envoys from Zihe, together with the "visitor from Wu" (i.e. South China), travelled to the Rouran Qaghanate. Between the 3rd year of the Heping reign period (462) and the 3rd year of the Jingming 景明 reign period (502) there are no records of envoys coming from Zihe to Wei. The reason is that this was precisely the time when the Rouran became more powerful.

33 *Weishu*, pp. 90, 120, 195, 211 and 227.

34 *Liangshu*, *juan* 54, p. 812.

35 Yu Taishan, *Liang Han, Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao zhengshi Xiyu zhuan yaozhu*, pp. 401–405.

36 *Liangshu*, *juan* 54, p. 812.

37 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Ryō shokkōzu ni tsuite" 梁職貢図について (On the Illustrated Tribute-Bearing Envoys to the Liang), in Enoki Kazuo, *Enoki Kazuo chosakushū* 榎一雄著作集 (The Collected Works of Enoki Kazuo), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1994), Chapter 7, pp. 106–129.

The entry for Khotan in the "Account of the Western Regions" chapter of the *Weishu* says: "At the end of Emperor Xianzu's 顯祖 reign (465–471), the Ruru raided Khotan. Khotan was alarmed about this and sent the envoy Sumujia 素目伽, who submitted a letter saying, 'The western kingdoms are all under the control of the Ruru. Our humble kingdom has served your great state for generations, and has never been disobedient. Now, however, the Ruru troops and horses have reached our city and we are consolidating our defences. Therefore we have sent envoys to present gifts and ask for your help, hoping you will assist us'".[38] The Northern Wei ruler and his officials discussed this, but decided that Khotan was too far away to send troops to help them. This tells us that when Sumujia submitted his letter (i.e. between 466 and 468), Rouran troops had already reached Khotan. Zihe, which was nearby, lacked Khotan's strength and numbers, and found it even harder to resist a Rouran attack. At that time, the power of the Hephthalites had not yet spread to the Tarim basin. Therefore, when the document about escorting envoys was written, Zihe must have been under the control of the Rouran and had to send envoys to pay tribute to them. Since Khotan to the east of Zihe was unable to obtain help from the Northern Wei at this time, it probably had to adopt the same course of action.

2.5 *The Poluomen Envoy*

The name Poluomen, referring to India, occurs in the entry for Persia in the "Account on the Northwestern Rong" chapter of the *Liangshu*.[39] The Tang monk Xuanzang says in his overview of India in *juan* 2 of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*: "On examination, we find that Tianzhu 天竺 (India) has had many different names. Formerly it was called Shendu 身毒 or Xiandou 賢豆 (i.e. Sindhu), but now we follow its proper pronunciation and call it Yindu 印度.... Indian families are divided into castes, of which the Brahmins are particularly pure and noble. Once referring to the elite, their name acquired a broader meaning and is used generally, without geographical differences, for the name of the Kingdom of Poluomen 婆羅門國".[40] The "Kingdom of Poluomen", written in Sanskrit as Brāhmanadeśa, refers to India in general. Yijing's *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* says, "The land of the Five Heavens is collectively called the Kingdom of Poluomen".[41] It is worth noting that Qu Wentai 麴文泰, the king of Gaochang during the Qu clan's rule, called India "the Kingdom of Poluomen". When Xuanzang left Gaochang to travel to the West in search of scriptures, Qu

38 *Weishu*, *juan* 102, p. 2263.
39 *Liangshu*, *juan* 54, p. 815.
40 Ji Xianlin, *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, pp. 161–162.
41 Wang Bangwei, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan jiaozhu*, p. 141.

Wentai wrote a letter to Yehu (Yabghu) Qaghan 葉護可汗 of the Western Turks saying,

> The Dharma Master is my younger brother. He wants to seek the Dharma in the Kingdom of Poluomen. I hope that the Qaghan will treat him as kindly as he treats me. I also request that Your Majesty order the various western kingdoms to use official relay (*wuluo* 鄔落, *ulaq*) horses to escort my brother across their territory.[42]

Perhaps this general name for India used in Gaochang can be traced back to the period of the Kan family's rule. The fact that the document about escorting envoys uses the name of the Wuchang kingdom in Northern India as well as the general term "Kingdom of Poluomen" to refer to India may be because the Poluomen envoy who went through Gaochang to Yanqi in 475 came from a more southern kingdom of India. At this time India's most important state was the Gupta kingdom; although in the second half of the 5th century the north of that kingdom was under Hephthalite threat, this was still the most influential state in India.[43] The Poluomen envoy mentioned in the document about escorting envoys was probably dispatched by the Gupta kingdom. The purpose for sending him out may have been to request help from the Rouran in resisting the Hephthalites. From the Chinese point of view, we find that the "Basic Annals" of the *Weishu* record that the kingdom of Western India (Xi Tianzhu guo 西天竺國) sent an envoy to the Wei court in the 9th month of the 1st year of the Taihe reign period (477).[44] From the 3rd year of the Jingming reign period (502) to the 3rd year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign period (514), the kingdom of Southern India (Nan Tianzhu guo 南天竺國) sent envoys to the Northern Wei five times, which attests to unusually active contact.[45] According to the document about escorting envoys, the Poluomen envoy who passed through Gaochang, like the Wuchang envoy described above, probably came from Rouran and passed through Gaochang and Yanqi on the way home to his kingdom. Both may have come from the Gupta kingdom.

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42 Huili and Yancong, *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan*, p. 21.

43 See Kunal Chakrabarti, "The Gupta Kingdom", in Boris A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. III, *The Crossroads of Civilizations: AD 250 to 750*, Multiple History Series (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996), pp. 185–206.

44 *Weishu*, *juan* 7, p. 144.

45 *Weishu*, *juan* 7, pp. 195, 196, 204, 205 and 214.

2.6 *The King of Yanqi*

Yanqi 鄢耆 is also written Yanqi 焉耆. It had been a large kingdom on the northern route of the Silk Road ever since the Han and Wei periods. Located between Kucha and Gaochang, it occupied a strategic position geographically. In 448 the Northern Wei Emperor Taiwu 太武 (r. 423–452) sent Wan Dugui 萬度歸, Duke of Chengzhou 成周, to attack Yanqi. He massacred the inhabitants of the city and looted many treasures and livestock. The Yanqi king Long Jiushibina 龍鳩尸卑那 fled to Kucha seeking asylum.[46] For a time, the Northern Wei established a garrison in Yanqi and appointed Tang He 唐和 to defend it. In 451, Tang He entered the capital of Dai 代 (i.e. Pingcheng) from Yanqi.[47] The next year, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, the king of Jushi who had moved to Yanqi, also entered Dai.[48] Around 452 the Northern Wei forces withdrew from Yanqi, and Long Jiushibina may have resumed the rule of his kingdom.[49] However, this favourable situation did not last long. As mentioned above, the vanguard of the Rouran army had already reached Khotan sometime between 466 and 468 at the latest. Yanqi, which was between the Rouran and Khotan, must have received the brunt of the attack, ultimately succumbing to the Rouran.[50] Yanqi did not send any tribute missions to the Northern Wei for quite a while, which may be evidence that Yanqi, like Gaochang, was tightly controlled by the Rouran. The record in the document on escorting envoys of the king of Yanqi personally travelling to the Rouran Qaghanate in 475 probably indicates that Yanqi had already been absorbed by the Rouran.

As noted earlier, another set of documents with accounts of taxes and corvée labour in the Yongkang era was found in the same grave as the document about escorting envoys. They record numerous instances when the king of Yanqi received provisions in Gaochang. However, the scribe who copied down these accounts was not very clear about the name Yanqi 焉耆, so he wrote it sometimes as Yanqi 鄢耆, and at other times in reverse as Qiyan 耆鄢. These

46 "Shizu ji" 世祖紀 (Annals of Emperor Shizu), *Weishu, juan* 4b, pp. 102–103; "Xiyu zhuan", *Weishu, juan* 102, entry on the Kingdom of Yanqi, pp. 2265–2266.
47 "Tang He zhuan" (Biography of Tang He), *Weishu, juan* 43, p. 963.
48 "Che Yiluo zhuan" (Biography of Che Yiluo), *Weishu, juan* 30, p. 723.
49 "Xiyu zhuan", *Weishu*, entry on the Kingdom of Yanqi, p. 2266.
50 According to the "Ruru zhuan" 蠕蠕傳 (Account of the Ruru) chapter of the *Weishu, juan* 103 (pp. 2290–2291) and the chapter by the same title in the *Beishi, juan* 98 (pp. 3250–3251), the Rouran rose to ascendance again during the reign of Shelun 社侖, and the scope of their territorial control "was as far west as Yanqi". However, at this time, the power of the Rouran probably did not reach south of the Tianshan. Therefore some scholars think that *Yanqi zhi di* 焉耆之地 ("the Yanqi region"), is an error for *Yanqi zhi bei* 焉耆之北 ("north of Yanqi"); see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*, p. 193.

documents contain at least 26 instances of Gaochang officials and commoners providing the firewood used by the king of Yanqi (not translated).[51]

It is worth noting that the phrase *runei* 入內 ("enter the interior") appearing in many such entries suggests that the king of Yanqi lived in the palace of Gaochang at the time. The relationship between the royal family of Yanqi and the Kan family of Gaochang is not entirely clear. The documents seem to suggest that relations were rather close, and therefore that the firewood and other items contributed as tax to the Gaochang government were used directly as provision for the king of Yanqi. These accounts are not dated, but we surmise that they are from the Yongkang reign period, and that probably the king of Yanqi mentioned here is the same one who appears in the document about escorting envoys. We also assume that both documents may even be connected to the same events, that is, when the king of Yanqi was temporarily staying in Gaochang and was provided with firewood. Such a large quantity of firewood implies that the king of Yanqi spent the winter of the 9th year of Yongkang in Gaochang. Later, on the 5th day of the intercalary 3rd month of the 10th year of the Yongkang reign period (475), he was escorted from Gaochang through Beishan to the Rouran.

The name of this king of Yanqi was not recorded. He appears here 26 years later than the reign of Long Jiushibina (448), and it is not impossible that they could be the same person. However, it is more likely that the king of Yanqi in the document about escorting envoys is also a king from the Long family but is not mentioned in transmitted historical sources.[52] Thus these records of the king of Yanqi found in the Gaochang documents not only concern the history of the Rouran and Gaochang, but are also important for the history of Yanqi.

3 The Routes Taken by the Envoys to and from Gaochang

The document about escorting envoys mentions two main directions taken by the envoys, one toward Beishan and the other toward Yanqi. In some cases their destination is not mentioned, but for the most part we can be sure that these were Rouran envoys travelling toward Beishan on their way home.

51 Rong Xinjiang, Li Xiao and Meng Xianshi, eds., *Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian*, pp. 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 141, 144 and 145.

52 No record of a Yanqi king survives between Long Jiushibina (448) and Long Tuqizhi 龍突騎支 (?611–644); see Rong Xinjiang, "Long jia kao" 龍家考 (Study of the Long Family), *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 (Central Asian Studies), No. 4, 1995, p. 145.

3.1 *Beishan*

Here Beishan must refer to the Tianshan mountains north of the Turfan depression. By going through several mountain passes in the Tianshan one can reach the nomadic steppe region in the north. At the time of the Kan family's rule of Gaochang, travelling from Gaochang to Beishan meant going to the Rouran. From Gaochang this route went north and then along several possible routes across the Tianshan. Then one would reach the region of present-day Jimsar, which was Jushi during the Han, and Tingzhou 庭州 in the Tang.[53] There are no records from that period about the route from Tingzhou toward the north, but the entry for Tingzhou in the *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and Gazetteer of the Commanderies and Counties of the Yuanhe Era), records the route from Tingzhou to the Uighur Qaghanate as follows: 80 *li* east of Tingzhou is Puleixian 蒲類縣; from Puleixian toward the north-east one passes through Haozhezhen 郝遮鎮, Yanquanzhen 鹽泉鎮, and Teluo baozi 特羅堡子. Then one proceeds 3,000 *li* north-east to the tents of the Uighur Qaghan.[54] The Rouran Qaghanate was due north of Zhangye 張掖 and Dunhuang, not far from where the Uighur Qaghan's court was set up later on. Thus, the most important route for contact between Gaochang and the Rouran must have been what was later called the "Uighur Route". Of course grass and water are plentiful on the steppe, therefore the exact route may have been relatively flexible.

3.2 *Yanqi*

The other destination that appears in the document about escorting envoys is Yanqi. The route from Gaochang to Yanqi did not change very much from the Han to the Tang periods, or even down to today. In the "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on Geography) chapter of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History), there is a relatively detailed description of the route from Longyou 隴右 to Xizhou 西州, which can be used as a reference for the route taken by the envoys during the Kan family's rule. I have copied it below, including the place names that are relevant for this period.

53 About the route from Gaochang to Tingzhou, see Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Helongqi xiqu" 河隴磧西區 (The Western Part of Helongqi), in Yan Gengwang, ed., *Tangdai jiaotong tukao* 唐代交通圖考 (Illustrated Study of Tang Dynasty Communications), Vol. 2 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Shiyusuo, 1985), pp. 582–602, Fig. 9.

54 *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and Gazetteer of the Commanderies and Counties of the Yuanhe Era, 806–814), *juan* 40 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 1033–1034.

> From the prefecture (i.e. the city of Gaochang) to the south-west are the cities of Nanping 南平 (Liupo 柳婆) and Anchang 安昌, and after 120 *li* one reaches Tianshan (Dujin 篤進), and south-west of that enters the valley, passing through Leishiqi 礌石磧. After 220 *li* one reaches Yinshanqi 銀山磧, and after another 40 *li* one reaches the Lüguang hostel 呂光館 in the territory of Yanqi. Then one passes through Panshi 磐石 for 100 *li*, and subsequently through the Zhangsancheng 張三城 defence detachment. After another 145 *li* to the south-west one passes Xincheng hostel 新城館, crosses the Dan River 淡河, and reaches the garrison of Yanqi.[55]

The envoys travelling to Yanqi with Gaochang escorts must have travelled along this route. As for the routes from Gaochang taken by the envoys from Zihe, Wuchang, and Poluomen back to their home countries, one route starts from Yanqi westward and passes through Kucha and Kashgar, crossing the Pamirs and heading south to India. Another goes west from Kucha to Aksu, then south to Khotan and west through Zihe (Yecheng 葉城), then leads south-west through Xuandu 懸渡 into north-western India. Alternatively, it can continue west from Zihe to Kashgar and across the Pamir mountains. These are well-known routes on the Silk Road and since they have been studied extensively, they will not be discussed further here.

As for the route taken by the visitor from Wu, when envoys from South China came to Gaochang, they generally travelled from Jiankang 建康 (Nanjing 南京) and followed the Yangtze River upstream. Then from Yizhou (Chengdu) they went north, crossing the territory of the Tuyuhun, who in their heyday controlled the area from Qinghai 青海 to Qiemo 且末; then they proceeded to Gaochang. The first half of this route was called the Tuyuhun Route, or the Henan or Qinghai Route. Scholars have already described this route in great detail,[56] and we shall not repeat their findings here. What should be pointed out

55 *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History), *juan* 40 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 1046. For details, see Yan Gengwang, "Helongqi xiqu", pp. 463–470.

56 For a more detailed study, see Matsuda Hisao 松田壽男, "Toyokukon kenshi kō" 吐谷渾遣使考 (A Study of the Tuyuhun Embassies), *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 (Historical Studies Journal), Vol. 48, Nos. 11 and 12, 1937; Matsuda Hisao, *Kodai Tenzan no rekishi-chirigakuteki kenkyū* 古代天山の歴史地理学的研究, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1974), pp. 151–163; Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Qinghai Xining chutu de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 青海西寧出土的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (Silver Coins from Sasanian Persia Found in Xining, Qinghai), *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 1, 1958, pp. 40–50, reprinted in Xia Nai, *Xia Nai wenji* 夏鼐文集 (Collected Works of Xia Nai), Vol. 5 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2000); Zhou Weizhou 周偉洲, "Gu Qinghai lu kao" 古青海路考 (Study of the Ancient Qinghai Route), *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 (Journal of Northwest University), No. 1, 1982, pp. 65–72; Tang Zhangru,

is that during the Kan family's rule of Gaochang, when travelling to Gaochang from the Tuyuhun around the Qinghai Lake, it was necessary to avoid the Hexi corridor, which was occupied by the Northern Wei army. For the most part, travellers had to go via Mangya 茫崖, on the boundary of present-day Qinghai and Xinjiang, to Shanshan (today's Ruoqiang 若羌), then north through Lop Nor, the ancient city of Loulan 樓蘭, and across the Kuruktag mountains. Then they would finally enter the Turfan depression (Map 5.1).[57]

4 Conclusion

The second half of the 5th century was the most chaotic period in the history of Central Asia. The large regimes on the periphery all extended their influence into this region, seeking to control the weaker kingdoms by force. After the Northern Wei destroyed the Northern Liang in the Hexi corridor, they exerted their power over Yanqi and Kucha for a time but were unable to gain a firm foothold. This was because their enemy in the north, the Rouran Qaghanate, also

Nanbeichao qijian Xiyu yu Nanchao de ludao jiaotong, pp. 168–295; Wang Yumin 王育民, "Silu 'Qinghai dao' kao" 絲路"青海道"考 (Study of the Qinghai Route on the Silk Road), *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 (Historical Geography), No. 4, 1986, pp. 145–152; Bo Xiaoying 薄小瑩, "Tuyuhun zhi lu" 吐谷渾之路 (The Tuyuhun Route), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Peking University Journal), No. 4, 1988, pp. 70–76; Wu Zhuo 吳焯, "Sichuan zaoqi fojiao yiwu ji qi niandai yu chuanbo tujing de kaocha" 四川早期佛教遺物及其年代與傳播途徑的考察 (Examination of Early Buddhist Relics in Sichuan, their Dates, and the Routes by which they Spread), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 11, 1992, pp. 40–50; Yamana Shinsei 山名伸生, "Toyokukon to Seito no bukkyō" 吐谷渾と成都の佛教 (The Tuyuhun and Buddhism in Chengdu), *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 (Buddhist Art), No. 218, 1995, pp. 11–38; Luo Xin 羅新, "Tuyuhun yu Kunlun yu" 吐谷渾與昆侖玉 (The Tuyuhun and Kunlun Jade), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (Studies in Chinese History), No. 1, 2001, pp. 43–52; Yao Chongxing 姚崇新, "Chengdu diqu chutu Nanchao zaoxiang zhong de wailai fengge yuanyuan zaitan" 成都地區出土南朝造像中的外來風格淵源再探 (Further Exploration of the Origin of Foreign Influences in the Southern Dynasties Sculptures Excavated in the Chengdu Region), *Hualin* 華林 (Forest of Flowers), No. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), pp. 245–258; Chen Liangwei 陳良偉, *Sichou zhi lu Henan dao* 絲綢之路河南道 (The Henan Route on the Silk Road) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002).

57 In September–October 2005, we travelled from Miran 米蘭 near Ruoqiang 若羌 and went north to the ancient city of Loulan, examining this difficult route. For a detailed study of the route passing through the Lop Nor region to Gaochang and its history, see Luo Xin, "Moshan guo zhi lu" 墨山國之路 (The Routes through the Kingdom of Moshan), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 5, 1998, pp. 480–518.

extended its strong right flank into the area,[58] and set up Gaochang as a puppet state. The Rouran required the king of Yanqi to come north to their court to pay tribute. They even stretched across the Taklamakan desert and controlled Khotan, Zihe and other oasis kingdoms along the south-western edge of the Tarim basin. Their influence extended as far as Wuchang in Northern India. In the region west of the Pamirs the powerful Hephthalites attacked and defeated Sasanian Persia, and occupied the territory of Kidāra in Bactria. At the beginning of the 5th century, the Hephthalites also occupied Sogdiana and extended their power into the Tarim basin, attacking Khotan, Yanqi and other kingdoms.[59] The Hephthalite expansion was not without opposition. Both the Sasanian king Peroz (r. 459–484) and the Gupta emperor Skanda (r. 454–467) contested their dominance over Central Asia. They could not, however, stop the "iron hooves" of this powerful nomadic people. Under pressure from the Hephthalites, the Central Asian kingdoms looked to the Rouran or the Northern Wei for help, and the *Weishu* records many embassies sent by these kingdoms to the Northern Wei. The Turfan document about escorting envoys shows that these envoys crossed Beishan and hurried to the Rouran court, demonstrating how important this Qaghanate was in Central Asia during the second half of the 5th century. Moreover, Gaochang, where the document about the envoys surfaced, is also revealed repeatedly to have played a central role in facilitating contact among the kingdoms of the Western Regions. Even while Gaochang was a vassal state of the Rouran Qaghanate, which controlled the Western Regions and all north-south communications, it was indispensable in facilitating contact among other kingdoms.

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58 Concerning the relations between the Rouran and the Western Regions, see Yu Taishan, *Yeda shi yanjiu*.

59 As for the expansion of the Hephthalites in Central Asia, see Boris A. Litvinsky, "The Yeda Empire", in Litvinsky et al., eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. III, *The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750*, pp. 135–162; Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Huns in Afghanistan and the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent: The Glyptic Evidence", in Michael Alram and Deborah E. Klimberg-Salter, eds., *Coins, Art and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands* (Wien: Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 277–291; Frantz Grenet, "Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwestern India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Periods", in Nicholas Sims-Williams, ed., *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 203–224.

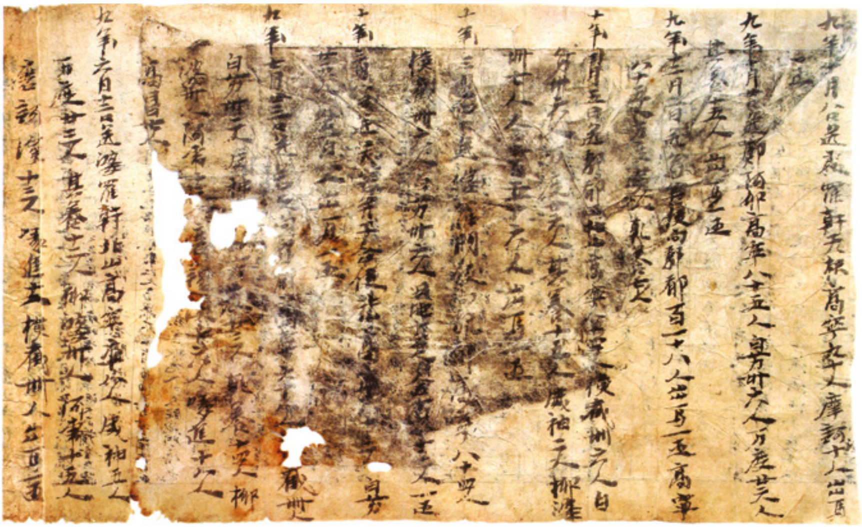
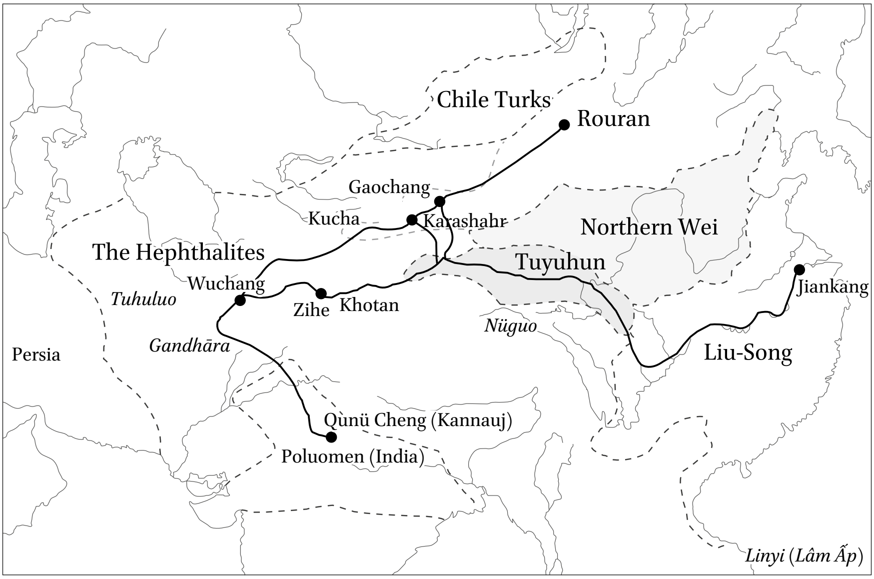


FIGURE 5.1 The Turfan document about providing horses and people for the escort of envoys in the 9th and 10th years of the Yongkang 永康 reign period (474–475)



MAP 5.1 Map of the routes of the envoys mentioned in the document about escorting envoys
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PART 2

Cultural Exchange and Interaction

CHAPTER 6

Persian and Chinese: The Integration of Two Cultures in the Tang Dynasty

Translated by Li Huawei 李華偉 and Zheng Chunhua 鄭春華

1 Introduction

In their introduction to the book *Perspectives on the T'ang*, Denis Twitchett and Arthur F. Wright summarised the reasons for the extraordinary vitality of the Tang dynasty. First, they pointed to its eclecticism in bringing together the various external cultural influences that had come into China during the previous four-hundred-year period of disorder. Second, they mentioned its cosmopolitanism in incorporating all these diverse external influences. The authors began by citing the characteristics of the Tang that gave it an international charisma, such as the adoption of Tang cultural elements by neighbouring peoples, and the continuous influx of people with different backgrounds from all over Asia into Tang China, noting that Chang'an 長安 was the flourishing international metropolis of a great empire. However, they argued that in order to understand the pluralistic characteristics of Tang civilisation, it was important to examine its own historical heritage.[1] Therefore, although *Perspectives on the T'ang* contains high-quality studies of the politics, institutions, philosophy, religion and literature of the Tang, these do not specifically address the issue of the Tang's connections with the outside world. This is consistent with the general trend in the study of Western medieval history. Because of the scarcity of historical sources, as well as the dearth of sinologists competent in multiple languages (e.g. Paul Pelliot),[2] the study of the history of Sino-foreign relations in the Tang,

1 Denis Twitchett and Arthur F. Wright, "Introduction", in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 1.

2 Cf. Denis Twitchett, "Introduction", in Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 3: *Sui and T'ang China, 589–906*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 38, note 32; Timothy H. Barrett, "Review of D. D. Leslie and K. H. J. Gardiner: *The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 61, No. 1, 1998, pp. 184–185. One outstanding exception is Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1963). This is a book that touches on some issues and specific events that we discuss in this paper.

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and even more broadly from the Han to the Tang, is no longer a topic of primary concern in Western scholarship on Chinese history.

However, in discussions of political, philosophical, religious, and literary history and other aspects of the Tang, apart from the above basic systemic framework, it is difficult today to distinguish unambiguously between the elements that derived specifically from the Tang and those that came in from outside. One of the most fundamental points one can make is that the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–763), which was a watershed chapter in Tang history – and even in all of Chinese history – was initiated by non-Han (Hu) peoples based in China. An Lushan, together with his Hu troops, had a profound influence on Tang political history. Moreover, when we study the various strata of Tang society in depth, particularly their dynamism, we cannot exclude the impact of foreign civilisations on China.

Recent advances in Chinese archaeology and in the publishing industry have meant that large quantities of cultural artefacts and stone inscriptions have not only been excavated but also published, thus providing us with an abundance of materials to study external cultural influences in the medieval period. For example, the discovery of the tombs of An Jia 安伽 and Yu Hong 虞弘 in the last two or three years has sparked heated discussions regarding the Sogdians and other Central Asian peoples who came to China during this period. Later in this conference, we shall hear from Zhang Guangda 張廣達 regarding the latest results of his research on this topic.[3]

I am delighted to see that the organisers of this international symposium on the theme of "New Perspectives on the Tang" have called this first meeting "Tang China and the Outside World". I hope to discuss the activities of the Persians in Tang China to illustrate the mutual influence and integration of Persian and Chinese cultures. The most representative example is the story of the Persian family of Li Su 李素, which has only in recent years become known in academic circles. This family, which belonged to the Persian nobility, later entered the official ranks of the Tang. Its members maintained their faith in Jingjiao 景教 (the Church of the East), and also introduced Persian astrology into China. They absorbed Chinese culture, and even Chinese ritual practices. Having adopted the surname Li of the Tang imperial house, they eventually became fully integrated into Chinese society.[4]

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3 Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Sogdian Settlements and Tang Material Culture", paper presented at the International Conference "New Perspectives on the Tang" (18–20 April 2002, Princeton University, New Jersey, USA).

4 For the text and preliminary explanation of Li Su's funerary inscription, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Yige rushi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu" 一個入仕唐朝的波斯景教家族 (A Persian Jingjiao Clan Serving the Tang), in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo*

2 Contacts between Persia and China, and the Influx of Persians into China

Sasanian Persia (224–651) and Tang China (618–907) were two large empires located in West and East Asia, respectively. The history of their contacts can be traced back to the middle of the 5th century CE.

Long before the establishment of the Tang, more specifically in the 1st year of the Taian 太安 reign period (455) of Emperor Wencheng 文成 (r. 440–465) of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534), Persia and Northern China, unified under Northern Wei rule, established direct relations after a long period of severed contact. From that time onward, until 522, the "Basic Annals" 本紀 of the *Weishu* 魏書 record ten Persian embassies to China. The first five probably arrived at the Northern Wei capital Pingcheng 平城 (present-day Datong 大同, Shanxi province), while the subsequent five were made to Luoyang 洛陽, after the capital had been moved there in 493. A Persian silver plate was unearthed from the tomb of Feng Hetu 封和突, dating from the 1st year of the Northern Wei (504), in the western suburbs of Datong in 1981. In 1970, a scalloped silver goblet and a bowl had been excavated at the site of the Northern Wei city in Datong. More silver bowls were recovered from Northern Wei tombs in 1988. These were typical examples of Sasanian-style silver wares (Fig. 6.1),[5] some of which may have been brought to China by Persian envoys. Of course, Persian silver vessels may also have been obtained by the Northern Wei from Sasanians in the Western Regions, or manufactured in Central Asia. We can glean some information about the Persians who came to Luoyang from *juan* 3 of the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang):

> South of the Yong Bridge 永橋, north of the Huanqiu 圜丘 (Round Hill), between the Yi 伊 and Luo 洛 rivers, along the imperial road, to the east, are the Four Barbarian Hostels. They are Jinling 金陵, Yanran 燕然, Fusang 扶桑 and Yanzi 崦嵫. To the west are the Four Barbarian Wards: Guizheng

lunwenji 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Papers on Iranian Studies in China), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 82–90.

5 See Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Bei Wei Feng Hetu mu chutu Sashan yinpan kao" 北魏封和突墓出土薩珊銀盤考 (Study of the Sasanian Silver Plate Excavated from the Northern Wei Tomb of Feng Hetu), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 8, 1983; Ma Yong 馬雍, "Bei Wei Feng Hetu mu ji qi chutu de Bosi yinpan" 北魏封和突墓及其出土的波斯銀盤 (The Northern Wei Tomb of Feng Hetu and a Persian Silver Plate), *Wenwu*, No. 8, 1983; Qi Dongfang 齊東方, *Tangdai jinyinqi yanjiu* 唐代金銀器研究 (Study of Gold and Silver Vessels of the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 255–258. Qi Dongfang takes these to be Sasanian-style silver ware produced in Central Asia.

> 歸正, Guide 歸德, Muhua 慕化 and Muyi 慕義.… The western barbarians who submitted [to the Northern Wei] are housed in the Yanzi Hostel and [then] are granted residence in the Muyi Ward. From the western end of the Pamirs to the Da Qin 大秦 (Eastern Roman Empire), hundreds and thousands of cities submitted [to the Northern Wei]; travelling Hu merchants and pedlars flocked daily to the border, coming from the ends of heaven and earth. Countless numbers of people took such delight in Chinese customs that they decided to relocate here. In this way over ten thousand families submitted.[6]

These "western barbarians" who submitted to the Northern Wei must have included Persians. They were first lodged in the Yanzi Hostel, and were later given accommodation in the Muyi Ward.

Persian envoys also penetrated into Southern China. In the 2nd year of the Zhongdatong 中大通 reign period (530), Persian envoys presented a relic of the tooth of the Buddha. In the 8th month of the 5th year (533), envoys from Persia presented tribute of local products. In the 4th month of the 1st year of the Datong 大同 reign period (535), they again presented local products.[7] A fragment of the *Zhigongtu* 職貢圖 (Portraits of Tribute Bearers) attributed to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (Emperor Yuan 元 of the Liang 梁 dynasty, r. 552–555), contains an entry on Persian envoys. The accompanying text quotes from the monk Dao'an's 道安 (312–385) *Xiyu zhuguo zhi* 西域諸國志 (Treatise on the Kingdoms of the Western Regions), saying, "In the 2nd year of the Zhongdatong reign period (530) an emissary was sent via Gandhāra (Jiantuoyue 犍陀越) to present a tooth of the Buddha".[8] This passage suggests that the route taken by the Persian envoys to Southern China passed through the territory of the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 in the Western Regions, then south to Yizhou 益州 (present-day Sichuan), and along the Yangtze River to Jiankang 建康 (present-day Nanjing 南京).

After the Northern Wei split into the Eastern and Western Wei in 534, the situation in the Western Regions became unstable. With the Rouran Qaghanate 柔然汗國 (330–555) controlling the communication routes in the Western

6 Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋 (Annotated Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 130–132.

7 "Xibei zhu Rong zhuan" 西北諸戎傳 (Account of the North-western Rong), *Liangshu* 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 54, p. 815; "Wudi benji" 武帝本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Wu), *Liangshu*, *juan* 3, pp. 77–79.

8 Jin Weinuo 金維諾, "'Zhigongtu' de shidai yu zuozhe: Du hua zhaji" "職貢圖"的時代與作者 – 讀畫札記 (The Dating and Authorship of the "Portraits of Tribute Bearers": Notes on Reading the Paintings), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 7, 1960, pp. 14–17 and 1–2, esp. the figure on p. 2.

Regions, contact between the Western and Eastern Wei and Persia was interrupted for a time. Moreover, in around 546, the Rouran dispatched the young envoy named Yu Hong to Persia and to the Tuyuhun,[9] thus showing that the main communication channels of the Western Regions were under Rouran control. In 552, the Turks crushed the Rouran, which from then on declined. In the 2nd year (553) of the reign of the deposed emperor of the Western Wei dynasty, Persian emissaries visited the Western Wei capital Chang'an.[10] They probably did so owing to the elimination of the Rouran. In 565, the Sasanian Empire allied with the Turkic Qaghanate (552–603) to attack and destroy the strong Central Asian nomadic power of the Hephthalites. Not long thereafter, however, the Turks, via a Sogdian merchant-led delegation, formed an alliance with Byzantium. These two allied powers initiated a pincer attack upon the Sasanian Empire, thus the road from Persia to the East remained blocked. The *Zhoushu* 周書 records that in the 2nd year of the Tianhe 天和 reign period (567) of the Northern Zhou 北周 dynasty (557–581), an envoy came from Anxi 安息 and presented tribute of local products.[11] However, Anxi as a reference to Parthia had long ceased to exist by that time, and it is unclear whether the name was used here to refer to Persia, or whether it was an error for the Sogdian kingdom of An 安國 (i.e. Bukhara). Whichever is correct, no further Persian envoys were recorded until the end of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589).

The Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618) unified North and South China, and after Emperor Yang 煬帝 ascended the throne (605), contacts with the Western Regions resumed. The emperor sent the commandant of the Fleet-as-Clouds cavalry 雲騎尉, Li Yu 李昱, as an envoy to Persia, and Persia dispatched envoys to accompany him back to China and to present local products as tribute.[12] Pei Ju 裴矩 (547–627), who helped Emperor Yang initiate contacts with the Western Regions, made a record in his *Xiyu tuji* 西域圖記 (Geographical Record of the Western Regions) of a middle route along the Silk Road to Persia. However, the route must soon have been affected by the wars at the end of the Sui, because communication between the two sides broke off again.

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9 Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, "Yu Hong muzhi kaoshi" 虞弘墓志考釋 (A Study of Yu Hong's Funerary Inscription), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 7, 2001, p. 153.

10 "Yiyu zhuan" 異域傳 (Account of the Foreign Regions), *Zhoushu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), *juan* 50, p. 920.

11 "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 (Annals of Emperor Wu), *Zhoushu*, *juan* 5, p. 74; and "Yiyu zhuan", *Zhoushu*, *juan* 50, p. 919.

12 "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions), *Suishu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), *juan* 83, p. 1857.

Not long after the founding of the Tang dynasty and the subsequent stabilisation of the situation between northern and southern China, Yazdegerd III became king of the Sasanian Empire (632), which then came under full-scale attack by Arabs from the Arabian peninsula. Persia sent a succession of envoys to the Tang in 639, 647 and 648,[13] clearly seeking assistance. Before long, Yazdegerd III was defeated by the Arabs, and in 651, fled to the Tokharian city of Merv, where he was killed. By that time, the Sasanian Empire had already fallen. However, Yazdegerd III's son Peroz also fled and lived among the Tokharians. In 654 (the 5th year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign period), he sent an emissary to the Tang to report on what had transpired and to request military aid. At that time, the Tang had not yet put down the rebellion of Ashina Helu 阿史那賀魯 (r. 651–658) of the Western Turks, and naturally had no forces to send west of the Pamir mountains. In 661 (the 1st year of the Longshuo 龍朔 reign period), Peroz again sent envoys to the Tang asking for military help. At that time, the Tang had already defeated the Qaghanate of the Western Turks, and the sovereignty of the small kingdoms east and west of the Pamirs (under Western Turk control) reverted back to the Tang dynasty. The Tang then established the system of "loose-rein" prefectures and counties (*jimi zhoufu* 羈縻州府) to strengthen its control of these regained areas. In the same year (661), Wang Mingyuan 王名遠 was sent to Tokharia to set up a loose-rein Area Command; concurrently, a Persian Area Command (*Bosi dudufu* 波斯都督府) was set up in the city of Zābol (Jiling 疾陵), where Peroz was based. Peroz was appointed Persian area commander in 663.[14] For the years 667 and 671, the Tang histories record the arrival of Persian tribute envoys,[15] who must have been sent by Peroz. In 674, under pressure from the Arab invasion, Peroz was unable to keep a foothold in the Western Regions. He fled to Chang'an[16] and afterwards died there, a foreigner in a strange land. It seems reasonable to assume that when the Persian leaders took refuge in Chang'an, they must have brought a considerable number of Persian nobles with them.

After the death of Peroz, the Tang in 678, appointed his son Narses (Ninieshishi 泥涅師師, also called Narsieh, Narseh), who was still in Chang'an, as the king of Persia. In 679, Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683) had appointed

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13 *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature), ed. by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), *juan* 970, pp. 11399, 11400 and 11401.

14 "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 198, p. 5313; *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 995 and 964, pp. 11686 and 11341.

15 *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 970, p. 11402.

16 *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 999, p. 11718.

Pei Xingjian 裴行儉 (619–682) commissioner for pacifying the Arabs (*anfu Dashi shi* 安撫大食使). On the pretext of escorting Narses back to Persia, he commanded the troops of the Persian circuit and, en route to their official mission, launched a surprise attack upon the combined military forces of the Tibetans and the remnants of the Western Turks.[17] Upon leading the army to Suyab (Ak-beshim), capturing the surviving leaders of the Western Turks, and putting down the rebellion, Pei Xingjian erected a stele to commemorate his victory before returning to China.[18] According to the Chinese manuscripts unearthed in Turfan 吐魯番, the Tang army probably passed through Humi 護密 (Wakhan) on the way to Tokharia in 680, escorting Narses.[19] However, it is unlikely that the Persian nobles who had accompanied Peroz to Chang'an all returned with Narses to Tokharistan.

For over 20 years, Narses persisted in fighting the Arabs in the region of Tokharia. In 708, he returned to the Tang and was awarded the title of "awe-inspiring guard general of the left" (*zuo weiwei jiangjun* 左威衛將軍) and died of an illness in Chang'an not long afterwards. In the years 683 and 706, Persian envoys visited the Tang court, perhaps sent by Narses. This is because, all along, the Tang had regarded Peroz and Narses as legitimate representatives of the Sasanian Empire. It was not until after the death of Narses that the Tang court acknowledged that the Sasanians were fully destroyed.

After this, the remnants of the Sasanians continued to be active in the region of Tokharia, while the Sasanid ruling house in Tabaristan, on the south bank of the Caspian Sea, remained independent until 765. For this reason, Tang historical records have an unbroken account of Persian envoys coming to China. From 719 (the 7th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era) to 771 (the 6th year of the

17 "Pei Xingjian zhuan" 裴行儉傳 (Biography of Pei Xingjian), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 84, pp. 2802–2803; "Xiyu zhuan" 西域傳 (Account of the Western Regions), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 221, p. 6259.

18 According to Zhou Weizhou 周偉洲, the fragmentary stele found at Ak-beshim was erected by Pei Xingjian. See Zhou Weizhou, "Jierjisisidan Akebieximu yizhi chutu canbei kao" 吉爾吉斯斯坦阿克別希姆遺址出土殘碑考 (A Study of the Fragmentary Stele Excavated at the Site of Ak-beshim, Kyrgyzstan), in Zhou Weizhou, *Bianjiang minzu lishi yu wenwu kaolun* 邊疆民族歷史與文物考論 (On the History and Cultural Artefacts of the Border Areas) (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 307–313.

19 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Tulufan wenshu suojian de 'Bosi jun'" 吐魯番文書所見的"波斯軍" (The "Persian Army" Seen in the Turfan Manuscripts), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (Chinese History Studies), No. 1, 1986, pp. 128–135; Rong Xinjiang, "Tulufan wenshu 'Tang mouren zishu liguan zhuang' suoji Xiyu shishi gouchen" 吐魯番文書《唐某人自書歷官狀》所記西域史事鉤沉 (Historical Events in the Western Regions as Recorded in an Individual's Account of his Career as a Tang Official in a Manuscript from Turfan), *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 (Historical Geography of North-west China), No. 4, 1987, pp. 54–55.

Dali 大曆 reign period), the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature) alone records, discounting repetitions, over seventeen different embassies, which even included embassies sent by the Persian king.[20] Some researchers regard these as Persian merchants pretending to be envoys, but they are recorded so often, and some are clearly called emissaries, leaders, lords of cities, or even Persian crown princes, that it is difficult to see them all as merchants. Moreover, even if they were merchants pretending to be envoys, if they were regarded as envoys by the Tang government, they would certainly have been received in that capacity, and not as merchants.

Above I have summarised the history of contact between Persia and medieval China as recorded in transmitted Chinese histories. From their accounts, it is clear that most of the Persians who came to China were envoys charged with diplomatic and political missions, rather than merchants in the strictest sense. Although we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the Persian envoys arrived in China by sea along with envoys from the South Seas, the vast majority came by land. Even during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, contact between Persia and South China was via the overland route through Central Asia.

If we examine the above-mentioned information alongside the activities of Sogdian merchants, we can perhaps see why the Persians who came to China during this period were mostly envoys, not merchants. Thanks to the Dunhuang 敦煌 and Turfan manuscripts and those from Central Asia in various other languages, especially the Sogdian documents and the large number of Sogdian tomb inscriptions published in recent years, we now have a more in-depth understanding of the Sogdians' eastward migration and the settlements they established along the Silk Road.[21]

The Sogdian homeland, called Sogdiana by classical Western writers, lies between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya rivers in Central Asia. Compared with the Persians, the Sogdians were geographically much closer to China. Moreover, as an ethnic group with a commercial bent, the Sogdians, very early

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20 *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 971, 972, 975, and 999; pp. 11406–11415, 11450–11454 and 11723.

21 See Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu Sute yimin juluo kao" 西域粟特移民聚落考 (A Study of the Sogdian Migrant Settlements in the Western Regions) in Ma Dazheng 馬大正 et al., eds., *Xiyu kaocha yu yanjiu* 西域考察與研究 (The Western Regions: Fieldwork and Research) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 157–172; also, Rong Xinjiang, "Beichao, Sui, Tang Sute ren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落 (Study of the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 6, 1999, pp. 27–85. English translation of the latter by Bruce Doar, in Xinjiang Rong, "The Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang", *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, Vol. IV, No. 1: *Zoroastrianism in China*, December 2000, pp. 117–163.

on, began expanding their trading activities eastward. At the latest, around 313 CE, when the Sogdian Ancient Letters were written, Sogdian merchants had already reached Dunhuang, Suzhou 肅州 (present-day Jiuquan 酒泉), Guzang 姑臧 (present-day Wuwei 武威), Jincheng 金城 (present-day Lanzhou 蘭州) and even Luoyang.[22] Before this time, there is not a single record of envoys being sent to China by the Sasanians. Thus Pelliot's conclusion that the Chinese name for Persia (Bosi 波斯) comes from Sogdian is entirely reasonable.[23] Sogdian commercial activities were highly organised. The merchants formed themselves into groups or communities, for each of which they elected leaders, called *sabao* 薩保 (also written *sabu* 薩簿, *safu* 薩甫 and *sabao* 薩寶), and travelled together in caravans, transporting valuable commodities in bulk. Between the Sogdian homeland and Yingzhou 營州 in modern Liaoning, they established a series of colonies along the narrow belt between the central Chinese states and the nomadic powers of the northern steppe. Some merchants travelled as far as the Chinese capital and the courts of the nomadic rulers. From the beginning of the 4th to the first half of the 8th centuries, the Sogdians already had a well-developed network of transport and trade along the overland Silk Road from Central Asia to Northern China. Under such circumstances, Sasanian merchants had great difficulty breaking into this network and competing for commercial interests in Central Asia and China. While the large quantity of Turfan manuscripts from the rule of the Qu 麴 family in Gaochang (501–640) and the Tang period reveal the extensive participation of Sogdian merchants in commercial activities in the Gaochang area, there are no traces of Persian merchants.[24] Therefore, the large number of Sasanian silver coins excavated along the Silk Road, and mentioned in the Turfan manuscripts, must have been brought by Sogdian rather than Persian merchants.[25]

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22 Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Sogdian Ancient Letter II", in Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, eds., *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th–7th centuries CE* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), pp. 47–49.

23 Paul Pelliot, "Tokharien et Koutchéen", *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 224, No. 1, 1934, pp. 23–106, esp. p. 30; for a Chinese translation, see Bo Xihe 伯希和 [Paul Pelliot] and Lie Wei 烈維 [Sylvain Lévi], *Tuhuoluo yu kao* 吐火羅語考 (Studies on the Tokharian Language), trans. by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), p. 73.

24 Rong Xinjiang, "Gaochang wangguo yu Zhong-Xi jiaotong" 高昌王國與中西交通 (The Gaochang Kingdom and Communications between China and the West), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), No. 2, 2000, pp. 73–83.

25 Some scholars think that the Persian silver coins found in Turfan are related to the eastward expansion of Sasanian Persia in the 350s; see Xia Nai, "Zongshu Zhongguo chutu de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 綜述中國出土的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (A Survey of Sasanian Silver Coins Found in China), *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 1,

Seen from another angle, the commercial activities of the Sogdian merchants in the East were largely protected by their own suzerains, the Hephthalites and the Turks. Of course, the Sogdians also brought commercial benefits to their suzerains. While Persian trade with the East was blocked by the Sogdians, the Persians similarly obstructed the access of Sogdians and Turks to the Mediterranean region west of Persia, most notably the commercial exchange with Byzantium. After Sogdian efforts failed to establish trade directly with the West through the Sasanian Empire, in 568 a Turkic-Sogdian mission from the Turkic Qaghanate arrived at Constantinople and established a channel that bypassed Persia and connected with Byzantium through the Caucasus.[26] Since the Sogdian merchants, who had long contended with the Persians for control of the overland trade route, had had a firm grip on the Eastern trade network ever since the early 4th century, starting from the middle of the 5th century it was rare for Persian merchant caravans to travel to China via the overland route. Persian commercial activities were limited to those carried out by their official envoys through the tributary trade.

What the Persians lost on land, however, they probably recuperated via the sea. Although the historical sources record the presence of shrewd Persians who were adept in spotting treasures in the eastern and western markets of Chang'an, the textual sources reveal that Persian merchants and shops appeared more frequently in the south-eastern coastal regions.

The sea route from Guangzhou and other coastal ports to Persia via the South China Sea was in use from a very early time. In 1984, Sasanian silver wares with Sogdian inscriptions and twenty Sasanian silver coins were found in a hoard of Sasanian gold and silver wares in Bianwan 邊灣 village, Suixi 遂溪 county, Guangdong. They have been interpreted as evidence that Persian merchant ships came to the coastal areas of southern China in the 5th century.[27]

1974, p. 97; Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, "Tōhō ni okeru Sāsān shiki ginka no sai kentō" 東方におけるサ – サ – ン式銀貨の再検討 (Further Investigation of Sasanian Silver in East Asia), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方学報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), Vol. 54, 1982, pp. 149–151; E.V. Zeimal, "Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan on the Silk Road: First Millennium A.D. Numismatic Evidence", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 2, 1991/1992, pp. 166–167. Jiang Boqin quotes the above-mentioned points in his book *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 30–31. He regards these coins as proof that Persians travelled to China along the "Silver Road". He also points out (pp. 198–202) that the popularity of silver coins in Dunhuang and Turfan was due to the fact that the majority of Hu merchants in the Western Regions were Sogdians.

26 Cf. Judith A. Lerner, "The Merchant Empire of the Sogdians", in *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China, Gansu and Ningxia, 4th–7th Centuries CE*, p. 223.

27 Suixi xian bowuguan 遂溪縣博物館, "Guangdong Suixi xian faxian Nanchao jiaocang jinyinqi" 廣東遂溪縣發現南朝窖藏金銀器 (Gold and Silver Hoard from the Southern

However, Persian merchant ships did not come frequently or in large numbers until the middle of the 7th century. In 671 (the 2nd year of the Xianheng 咸亨 reign period), the Tang monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713), going on a pilgrimage to India in search of Buddhist scriptures, set out on a Persian ship from Guangzhou.[28] By the Kaiyuan era (713–741), there were said to be "ships of Brahman 婆羅門, Persian, Kunlun 昆侖 and other origins in countless numbers on the river [at Guangzhou], carrying incense, medicines, and other treasures, piled up as high as mountains, in ships with a depth of six or seven *zhang* 丈".[29] We cannot agree with the view that merchants supported by the Sasanians had already established a maritime trade network with East Asia at this time, but it is true that by the middle of the 8th century Persian ships had formed major fleets active in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Therefore, it is likely that the Tang literary sketches and short stories that depicted Persian merchants at the lower stratum of society predominantly described those who came to China by sea.[30]

These Persian merchants who arrived in ships were quite numerous. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, after the An Lushan rebellion, Liu Zhan 劉展 rose in revolt; Deng Jingshan 鄧景山, chief administrator 長史 of Yangzhou 揚州, led Tian Shengong 田神功, the deputy commissioner 副大使 of Pinglu 平盧, in battle against the rebel forces. "When they reached Yangzhou, [the rebels] plundered the assets of the common people and merchants, sacked and

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Dynasties in Suixi County, Guangdong), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), No. 3, 1986; Jiang Boqin, "Guangzhou yu haishang sichou zhi lu shang de Yilan ren: Lun Suixi de kaogu xin faxian" 廣州與海上絲綢之路上的伊蘭人 – 論遂溪的考古新發現 (Guangzhou and the Iranians on the Maritime Silk Road: New Archaeological Discoveries in Suixi), in Guangdong sheng shehui kexueyuan 廣東省社會科學院, ed., *Guangzhou yu haishang sichou zhi lu* 廣州與海上絲綢之路 (Guangzhou and the Maritime Silk Road) (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng shehui kexueyuan, 1991), pp. 21–33.

28 Yijing 義淨, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注 (Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions during the Great Tang, Annotated Edition), annot. by Wang Bangwei 王邦維 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), p. 152.

29 Masato Genkai 真人元開 (Ōmi no Mifune 淡海三船), *Tō Daiwajō Tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳 (An Account of the Eastern Journey of the Great Tang Monk), ed. and annot. by Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 68; reprinted in the Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan 中外交通史籍叢刊 series (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 74.

30 For an overview of Persian and Sogdian trade with China by sea and land, see William Watson, "Iran and China", in Ehsan Yarshater, ed., *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. III, Part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 552–553.

looted all the houses in the area, and killed thousands of Persian merchants".[31] This passage attests to the large number of Persian merchants who were in Yangzhou at the time. In addition, we have a record that "on the *guisi* 癸巳 day in the 9th month of the 1st year of the Qianyuan 乾元 reign period (758), Guangzhou reported that Arab and Persian troops had attacked the city and that the prefect 刺史 Wei Lijian 韋利見 was forced to abandon the city and flee".[32] These so-called Persian troops were probably comprised of Persian merchants. That they had enough power to attack such a large city as Guangzhou and force the prefect to abandon it, shows even more clearly that they were large in number.

3 Persians in China

Considering the routes by which Persians entered China, and what is recorded in the sources about who they were, we can roughly divide those staying in Tang China into two categories: first, official envoys sent by the Persian royalty, and second, merchants. This division enables us to analyze the social classes to which they belonged in China and the degree to which they were integrated into Chinese society.

The first category includes members of the Persian royal family and officials and envoys of the Sasanian Empire. After the destruction of their home empire, most of them remained in China. Exceptional individuals like the Persian king Peroz received generous treatment, while others served as officials in the Tang administration. Since few names of individual Persians have been left behind, and little trace remains of their roles or positions, we must rely on the sources that are available – three Persian funerary inscriptions – to investigate the differences in status of those who entered the official ranks of the Tang administration.

The first of these inscriptions is the tomb inscription of Aluohan 阿羅憾, discovered in Luoyang relatively early. Aluohan was Persian in origin. During the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (656–661), because Emperor Gaozong had heard that Aluohan's "achievements were laudable and his name was known far and wide", he sent an envoy to summon him and conferred on him the rank

31 "Tian Shengong zhuan" 田神功傳 (Biography of Tian Shengong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 124, p. 3533. The "Deng Jingshan zhuan" 鄧景山傳 (Biography of Deng Jingshan) says, "Several thousand Arab, Persian and other travelling merchants lost their lives", *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 110, p. 3313.

32 "Suzong benji" 肅宗本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Suzong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 10, p. 253.

of general 將軍. Aluohan served as an imperial guard 侍衛 at the northern gate of the palace. Antonino Forte has convincingly argued that after the Tang defeated the Western Turks and occupied the Western Regions in 658, Aluohan was appointed ambassador and pacification commandant for the kingdom of Khulm to promote the prestige of the Tang dynasty in Central Asia. He set up a stele on the western border of the Khulm in Tokharia before returning to China.[33] In the 8th month of the 1st year of the Yanzai 延載 reign period (694), Empress Wu 武后 (r. 690–705) established the "celestial pillar" 天樞 outside the Duanmen 端門 (Duan gate) in Luoyang, and Aluohan summoned the kings of foreign kingdoms there to provide funding and support. The details of his other military achievements are not listed in the funerary inscription. On the 1st day of the 4th month in the 1st year of the Jingyun 景雲 reign period (710), he died at the age of 95 in his residence in Luoyang, the eastern capital. His final titles were great chief of Persia of the great Tang 大唐波斯國大酋長, general of the right encampment guard 右屯衛將軍, supreme pillar of state 上柱國, and Jincheng commandery dynasty-founding duke 金城郡開國公.[34] Forte has speculated that his original name was probably Vahram, which was the same name as Yazdegerd III's son, but it would be difficult to ascertain whether this was the same person.[35] At the very least, Aluohan must have been a member of the Persian royal family and the highest-ranking leader among the Persians in China when Narses was sent to Tabaristan in 679–708. His career undoubtedly set an example for other Persian nobles who came to China. Aluohan actively supported the expansion of the Tang into the Western Regions, as well as Empress Wu's accession to the throne. The expansion was significant for resisting the Arabs, while his support for Empress Wu was in service of her public campaign to "inscribe her accomplishments for posterity and to expel the Tang and praise the Zhou".

Among the stone statues of foreign kings at Qianling 乾陵 in Xi'an near the tombs of emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu, there is a statue of the "Great

33 Antonino Forte, "On the So-called Abraham from Persia, A Case of Mistaken Identity", in Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, edited with supplements by Antonino Forte (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises/Kyoto: Scuola di studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1996), pp. 375–414.

34 For the original texts of the inscription, see Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓志匯編 (Compendium of Tang Dynasty Funerary Inscriptions), Vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), p. 1116.

35 Antonino Forte, "On the Identity of Aluohan (616–710), a Persian Aristocrat at the Chinese Court", in Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, ed., *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X Secolo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, 1996), pp. 187–197.

Persian Leader Nanmei 南昧”. He must have been a senior official of the Sasanian Empire who took refuge in China, one of the top Persian officials who arrived in China during the reigns of Gaozong and Empress Wu.[36] The presence of the great leaders Nanmei and Aluohan in China at almost the same time suggests that there were quite a few high-class nobles among the Persian refugees. As Nanmei did not have any official Tang titles, he probably died before having the opportunity to serve as an official in the Tang administration.

The second source is the tomb inscription of the Persian Li Su 李素, together with that of his wife Lady Beishi 卑失, discovered in Xi’an in 1980. The two inscriptions provide a detailed portrait of another Persian noble family that came to China during the Tang. According to the inscription, Li Su was born into a noble family and was also the king’s nephew. His family was said to have had a “glorious and noble heritage and their grace shone bright as the sun”. His grandfather Li Yi 李益 had been sent by his king to China during the Tianbao 天寶 era (732–756) to establish friendly relations with the Tang. He remained as a hostage in the Tang court and lived in the capital (Chang’an). He was granted the titles of grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon 銀青光祿大夫, acting left policy advisor 檢校左散騎常侍, concurrently right militant guard general 右武衛將軍, and was granted a purple robe and a gold fish amulet bag. Moreover, he was specially awarded the imperial surname Li and the fiefdom of Longxi 隴西 commandery. His descendants also inherited this royal surname. Li Su’s father Li Zhi 李志 was appointed grand master for closing court 朝散大夫 and served as acting administrative aide in Guangzhou 守廣州別駕 and supreme pillar of state. Li Su came to China with his father while still quite young, and grew up in Guangzhou. In the Dali reign

36 Lin Meicun 林梅村, “Luoyang chutu Tangdai youtai qiaomin Aluohan muzhi ba” 洛陽出土唐代猶太僑民阿羅憾墓志跋 (A Note to the Luoyang Funerary Inscription of Aluohan, Member of the Tang Jewish Diaspora) in Lin Meicun, *Xiyu wenming* 西域文明 (Civilisations of the Western Regions) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1995), p. 107, suggests that this person is Aluohan. Lin also notes that because the inscription is missing the word *gu* 故 (“the late”) in reference to him, he must have been still alive in 706 when the statue was erected. Moreover, Lin proposes that “Nanmei” should be read as “Youtunwei” 右屯衛. However, the word *gu* is also missing from the statue of the Persian king Peroz, located in front of the statue of Nanmei, showing that the presence or absence of this word does not necessarily tell us whether the person was already dead by the time his statue was set up. Also, it is clear that there is no mistake in the word “Nanmei”; see Chen Guocan 陳國燦, “Tang Qianling shirenxiang ji qi xianming de yanjiu” 唐乾陵石人像及其銜名的研究 (A Study of the Tang Qianling Stone Figures and their Titles), in Lin Gan 林幹, ed., *Tujue yu Huihe lishi lunwenji* 突厥與回紇歷史論文集 (Collection of Papers on the History of the Turks and the Uighurs), Vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 399–400. Furthermore, the year of Aluohan’s death was later than the year when the Qianling statues were set up, which is why this theory does not hold.

period (766–779), he was summoned to Chang'an to serve in the Bureau of Astronomy (*Sitian tai* 司天臺), where he worked for over 50 years under the emperors Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805), Shunzong 順宗 (r. 805) and Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820). He passed away in the 12th year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (817), holding the title of director of astronomy 司天監, concurrently Jinzhou chief administrator and academician awaiting orders 晉州長史翰林待詔. Of his six sons, the eldest, Li Jingshen 李景侁 (or Li Jingwei 李景位), first served as commissioner for irregular troops and horses 散兵馬使 in Hezhong prefecture 河中府 (present-day Puzhou 蒲州 garrison, south-west of Yongji 永濟 county, Shanxi) and then as commissioner for irregular troops and horses of the Shence army (Shence jun 神策軍), and concurrently, general 正將. His second son Li Jingfu 李景伏 (or Li Jingfu 李景復) was appointed defense commissioner at headquarters 防御押衙 in Jinzhou 晉州 (south-west of present-day Linfen 臨汾 in Shanxi). His third son, Li Jingliang 李景亮, first served as academician awaiting orders and district defender 縣尉 in Nanzhang 南漳 county, Xiangzhou 襄州 (present-day Nanzhang 南漳, Hubei). He later returned to the capital with the title of court gentleman of manifest virtue recalled and restored to service 宣德郎起復 as acting right awe-inspiring administrator 守右威衛長史 and academician awaiting orders, and was also granted a crimson robe and fish amulet bag. From the 1st year of the Baoying 寶應 reign period (762) to the 12th year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (796), his fourth son Li Jinghong 李景弘 (or Li Jingzhi 李景直) was appointed gentleman for court discussion 朝議郎, probationary adjutant of the Han princely establishment 試韓王府司馬, and then transferred to become a military guard of the Weiyuan Army 威遠軍. His fifth son, Li Jingwen 李景文, first served as court gentleman for fasting 齋郎 in the Imperial Ancestral Shrine, and then as prefectural nominee in the imperial examinations. His sixth son, Li Jingdu 李景度, was first tomb attendant 挽郎 for the Fengling 豐陵 tombs of Emperor Shunzong and then court gentleman for fasting of the Imperial Ancestral Shrine.[37]

Because Li Su's family was descended from Persian nobility, after his grandfather came to China, he, like many other foreign hostages, first served as a military official of the imperial bodyguard in the capital. The next two generations of the family served as local officials, or as technical officers in the central government's Bureau of Astronomy. Li Su's sons gradually moved up from positions as low-level central or local military officials to those of civil officials, and eventually to supporting roles in the imperial ritual establishment.

37 Rong Xinjiang, "Yige ru shi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu", Vol. 2, pp. 82–90.

The third example is the funerary inscription of Su Liang's 蘇諒 wife Lady Ma 馬氏, written in both Chinese and Pahlavi, discovered in 1955 in the village of Tumen 土門, west of Xi'an. Su Liang and Lady Ma were descendants of immigrants from the Sasanian Empire, who had come east because of the Arab conquest of Persia. When Lady Ma died in the 15th year of the Xiantong 咸通 reign period (874), Su Liang was appointed commissioner for irregular troops and horses in the left Shence army (*zuo Shence jun* 左神策軍),[38] serving in the same position as Li Su's eldest son Li Jingshen. This was probably the result of the Tang census of foreigners in the Western Regions in the 3rd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (787). According to the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), in that year foreigners who were originally provided for by the Court of Imperial Entertainments (Honglu si 鴻臚寺), but who already possessed land and residence in Chang'an, had their subsidy cut off. They were put under the jurisdiction of the two Shence armies: "princes and envoys were appointed commissioners for irregular troops and horses, or guards 押牙, and the rest were ordinary troops".[39]

The evidence introduced above shows that Persian princes, officials, nobles and envoys in Tang China entered all levels of the bureaucratic system. Many of them served as palace guards for the imperial family, and some were employed in the imperial rituals. Their service in such capacities may have been related to their having distinctive physical characteristics as foreigners. However, in general, they gradually integrated into the Chinese population.

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38 Xia Nai, "Tang Su Liang qi Mashi muzhi ba" 唐蘇諒妻馬氏墓志跋 (A Note on the Funerary Inscription of Su Liang's Wife Née Ma), *Kaogu*, No. 9, 1964, pp. 458–461; Yiteng Yijiao [Itō Gikyō] 伊藤義教, "Xi'an chutu Han-Po hebi muzhi Powen yuyanxue de shishi" 西安出土漢、婆合璧墓志婆文語言學的試釋 (An Attempt to Interpret the Pahlavi Text on the Persian-Chinese Bilingual Funerary Inscription from Xi'an), *Kaogu xuebao*, No. 2, 1964, pp. 195–202; Werner Sundermann and Thomas Thilo, "Zur mittelpersisch-chinesischen Grabinschrift aus Xi'an", *Mittelungen des Instituts fur Orientforschung*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1966, pp. 437–450; János Harmatta, "The Middle Persian-Chinese Bilingual Inscription from Hsian and the Chinese-Sasanian Relation", in *La Persia nel medioevo* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), pp. 363–376; Helmut Humbach and Wang Shiping, "Die pahlavi-chinesische bilingue von Xi'an", *Acta Iranica*, 28, 1988, pp. 73–82; Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝, "Tang Su Liang qi Mashi Han-Baliewei wen muzhi zai yanjiu" 唐蘇諒妻馬氏漢巴列維文墓志再研究 (A Re-examination of the Chinese-Pahlavi Bilingual Funerary Inscription of Su Liang's Wife Née Ma), *Kaogu xuebao*, No. 3, 1990, pp. 295–305; Lin Meicun, "Tang Chang'an cheng suochu Hanwen-Poluobowen shuangyu muzhi ba" 唐長安城所出漢文一婆羅鉢文雙語墓志跋 (A Note to the Chinese-Pahlavi Bilingual Funerary Inscription from Tang Dynasty Chang'an), in Lin Meicun, *Xiyu wenming*, pp. 251–258.

39 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 232, pp. 7492–7493.

The second type of Persian immigrants, the merchants, originally had a low status in the Sasanian Empire, and this did not seem to improve when they came to China. Our understanding of these Persian merchants comes mainly from the literary sketches from the middle and late Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties period. The image of Persian merchants can be seen from the following examples.[40]

At the end of the Tang dynasty, Duan Anjie's 段安節 *Yuefu zalu* 樂府雜錄 (Miscellaneous Notes on Songs from the Music Bureau) contains the following story: There was a man named Kang Laozi 康老子 from a wealthy family in Chang'an who squandered his family fortune and sank into poverty. He happened to meet an elderly woman who was selling some old brocade bedding items. He bought these for 500 *wen* 文. Soon afterwards a Persian person saw them and, thinking that they were extremely valuable, bought them for ten million *wen*.

"Jingzong benji" 敬宗本紀 (Basic Annals of Emperor Jingzong) in the *Jiu Tangshu* (*juan* 17), record that in the 9th month of the 4th year of the Changqing 長慶 reign period (824), a prominent Persian merchant called Li Susha 李蘇沙 presented the emperor with enough aloeswood to make a kiosk.[41]

Yuan Cheng 元澄 (of Emperor Xuanzong's reign, 713–756), in his *Qin jing zaji* 秦京雜記 (Miscellaneous Records of the Qin Capital) mentioned the presence of Persians in the western market.[42]

Niu Sengru's 牛僧孺 (779–847) *Xuanguai lu* 玄怪錄 (Record of Mysterious Anomalies) contains a legend which mentions Du Zichun 杜子春, a man who lived between the Zhou and Sui dynasties (i.e. the last quarter of the 6th century), having a meeting with an old man at a Persian mansion in the western market of Chang'an.[43]

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40 Edward H. Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", in Walter J. Fischel, ed., *Semitic and Oriental Studies: A Volume Presented to William Popper on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, October 29, 1949* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 403–422. This work discusses almost all the historical materials mentioned below and includes a translation of some of them.

41 "Jingzong benji" 敬宗本纪 (Basic Annals of Emperor Jingzong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 17a, p. 512. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 165.

42 *Leishuo* 類說 (Categorised Tales), *juan* 4, quoting from the "Ya jing qian" 壓驚錢 (Money to Calm One's Nerves) entry in Yuan Cheng's 元澄 *Qin jing zaji* 秦京雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes on the Qin Capital), reprinted in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, Wenyuan ge 文淵閣 edition, Vol. 873, pp. 58–59.

43 See also Li Fang 李昉, ed., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records Assembled in the Taiping [xingguo] era, 976–984), Vol. 16, entry on "Du Zichun" 杜子春, quoting the *Xu xuanguai lu* 續玄怪錄 (Continuation of Records of the Strange) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), p. 109; Cf. Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", p. 417. On

The *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 (Trivial Tales from North of Meng), *juan* 10, by Sun Guangxian 孫光憲 (900–968) says that there was some low-lying land in the eastern market of Chang'an. Someone filled it in, set up some shops and provided them to Persian merchants as a place of exchange.

There is a legend in Dai Fu's 戴孚 *Guang yi ji* 廣異記 (Extensive Records of Strange Things), written in the last third of the 8th century, saying that a Persian went to an inn in Fufeng 扶風, where he bought a square stone from which he obtained a precious pearl an inch in diameter. Thereupon he sailed away by ship into the sea.[44]

The *Guang yi ji* also contains another legend: There once was a Persian who purchased a small bottle the size of a fist from a monk in Hongzhou 洪州 (present-day Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi province). Later, when he went to Yangzhou, the chief administrator Deng Jingshan 鄧景山 enquired about his purchase. The Persian replied, "There is a purple goat genie in the bottle. Whoever owns the bottle will be protected by the gods and spirits. He will neither burn in fire nor drown in water".[45]

In his *Yi shi* 逸史 (Remnant Anecdotes), Lu Zhao 盧肇 (820?–879?) mentions that there were Persian shops and Persian merchants in Yangzhou.[46]

Xue Yongruo's 薛用弱 *Ji yi ji* 集異記 (Collection of Strange Stories), completed in 824, contains the following tale: "At the beginning of the Kaiyuan era, Li Mian 李勉 was touring Yangzhou where he met an old Persian who requested a ride in his boat. The old man said: 'I am a descendant of the [Persian] royal family, and have been doing business as a merchant here for over twenty years'. He had a precious royal pearl in his possession. Along the way, he became ill and died. After Li Mian arrived in Yangzhou, at Qiting 旗亭 he noticed he was being followed by a group of foreigners, among whom was the son of the departed Persian merchant".[47]

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the authors and dates of the stories cited below, please refer to Li Jianguo 李劍國, *Tang Wudai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* 唐五代志怪傳奇敘錄 (Descriptive Catalogue of the Tales of the Strange from the Tang and Five Dynasties) (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1993).

44 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, *juan* 402, entry on "Jingcun zhu" 徑寸珠 (Inch-in-Diameter Pearl), p. 3237; Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", pp. 418–419; and Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 243.

45 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 403, entry on "Zi mo jie" 紫末羯 (Purple Clam), p. 3251; Cf. Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", p. 420.

46 Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 17, entry on "Lu Li er sheng" 盧李二生 (The Students Lu and Li), p. 119; Cf. Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", p. 417.

47 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 402, entry on "Li Mian" 李勉, p. 3240; Cf. Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales", p. 419.

The *Guang yi ji* records: “In recent times, Persians frequently claim that they have sailed to India six or seven times”.[48]

The *Duyi zhi* 獨異志 (Records of the Unique and Strange), *juan* 2, written by Li Kang 李伉 in the Xiantong 咸通 reign period (860–874), reads: “A certain Li Guan 李灌 came to the aid of a Persian who was ill in Jianchang 建昌 county, Hongzhou 洪州 (west of present-day Fengxin 奉新 county, Jiangxi). Before he died, the sick man bequeathed Li Guan a pearl that was about an inch in diameter”.[49]

Xu Xuan’s 徐鉉 (917–992) *Ji shen lu* 稽神錄 (Notes on the Examination of Spirits) records, in *juan* 5: “Someone from Linchuan 臨川 surnamed Cen 岑 was once wandering in the mountains and found two white stones as big as lotus seeds in a stream. Afterwards, he came to Yuzhang 豫章 (present-day Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi), where a Persian bought them for thirty thousand”.[50]

Pei Xing’s 裴鉶 late Tang collection *Chuanqi* 傳奇 (Stories of the Strange) records the following: During the Zhenyuan era (785–805), Cui Wei 崔煒 was selling a precious pearl in the Persian quarter in Guangzhou. When an old Persian man saw it, he prostrated himself and put his hands together, saying, “You must have been inside the tomb of Zhao Tuo 趙佗, king of Nanyue 南越; otherwise, you would not have been able to obtain this treasure”.[51]

The *Beimeng suoyan* records that at the beginning of the Qianning 乾寧 reign period (894–895), Huaijun 懷濬, a monk from Zigui 秭歸 commandery (present-day Zigui 秭歸 county, Hubei), who was a prodigy in writing in the cursive script, did calligraphy and painting for Mu Zhaosi 穆昭嗣, a Persian who had been fond of medicine since his childhood.[52]

In the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, there was also Li Xun 李珣 whose “ancestors were Persians” and who later moved to Shu 蜀 (present-day Sichuan). He was good at poetry and verse, and was expected to be recommended for the metropolitan examinations. He authored a work called *Haiyao bencao* 海藥本草 (Overseas Materia Medica), devoted to recording famous

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48 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 464, entry on “Nanhai Daxie” 南海大蟹 (Giant Crab from Nanhai), p. 3819; Cf. Schafer, “Iranian Merchants in T’ang Dynasty Tales”, pp. 421–422.

49 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 402, entry on “Li Guan” 李灌, pp. 3240–3241; Cf. Schafer, “Iranian Merchants in T’ang Dynasty Tales”, p. 419.

50 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 404, entry on “Cen shi” 岑氏 (Mr. Cen), p. 3261; Cf. Schafer, “Iranian Merchants in T’ang Dynasty Tales”, p. 420; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 223.

51 Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 34, entry on “Cui Yi” 崔煒, pp. 216–220; Cf. Schafer, “Iranian Merchants in T’ang Dynasty Tales”, p. 418; Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 239.

52 See also Li Fang, *Taiping guangji*, *juan* 98, entry on “Huaijun” 懷濬, p. 656.

aromatics and rare herbs of foreign origins. His younger brother Li Xuan 李玹, courtesy name Tingyi 廷儀, made a living selling aromatics and later served as commandant of the guard command 率府率 in the Former Shu 前蜀 dynasty (907–925).[53] Li Xun also had a younger sister named Shunxian 舜弦, who was accepted in the palace as a lady of bright deportment (*zhaoyi* 昭儀) by Emperor Wang Yan 王衍 (r. 918–925) of the Former Shu. Her poems are still extant.[54]

The above records are from official histories and literary sketches, though there are many more figures and stories in Tang fiction. These stories portray Tang views of Persian merchants and describe the places where they carried out their transactions. They also reflect the geographical range of the activities of Persian merchants during the Tang period. If we compare the descriptions of these merchants with those of Sogdians, some interesting insights emerge.

From the materials assembled above, we can see that Persian merchants were active mainly in Chang'an, the western capital of the Tang. There are some traces of Persians in Fufeng, not far from the western capital, but there is no record of them in the eastern capital, Luoyang. This suggests that Luoyang became less attractive to foreign merchants after Empress Wu's reign. Many more Persians appeared in Yangzhou, Hongzhou, Guangzhou and other cities south of the Yangtze River, as well as in places such as Hubei and Sichuan. Their geographic distribution was extremely uneven. In terms of their timeline, they were primarily active after the An Lushan rebellion. The Sogdian merchants, on the other hand, flourished along the northern overland routes, and primarily during the period from the Northern Dynasties to the early Tang. Although there were individual Sogdians who travelled deep into the south as far as the Lingnan 嶺南 region, the majority concentrated in places such as Gaochang, Dunhuang, Wuwei, Chang'an, Luoyang and Yingzhou.

In the eyes of their Tang neighbours, Persians were seen as experts in commerce and especially good at recognising precious stones. They often

53 *Maoting kehua* 茅亭客話 (Notes from a Thatched Pavilion), *juan* 2; *Jian jie lu* 鑒誡錄 (Records Serving as a Mirror of Admonitions), *juan* 4; see Luo Xianglin 羅香林, *Xi chu Bosi zhi Li Xun ji qi haiyao bencao* 系出波斯之李珣及其海藥本草 (Li Xun of Persia and his *Overseas Materia Medica*), in Xianggang daxue Zhongwenxi 香港大學中文系, ed., *Xianggang daxue wushi zhounian jinian lunwenji* 香港大學五十周年紀念論文集 (Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary of the University of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue Zhongwenxi, 1964), pp. 217–239. For an annotated edition of the *Haiwai bencao*, see Shang Zhijun 尚志鈞, *Haiyao bencao: Jijiao ben* 海藥本草: 輯校本 (Overseas Materia Medica: Annotated Edition) (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1997).

54 *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Complete Tang Poems) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), *juan* 797, pp. 8968–8969.

spared no expense in pursuit of such treasures and would obtain them even if they ultimately had to pay exorbitant prices. Even lying on their deathbed, they would still be concerned with passing their treasure on to others. For this reason, Tang people saw them as rich men who were often in possession of a treasure. The phrase "poor Persian" was popularly seen as no less of a contradiction than "a teacher who doesn't know how to read"[55] – it was impossible for a Persian merchant to be poor. Sogdians were similarly known for their excellent commercial skills. In Tang dynasty short stories, the oft-used phrase "Hu merchant" generally referred to Iranian merchants, who could be either Persian or Sogdian traders. However, we can see from the story of Kang Laozi that Sogdians seem to have been viewed as less skilled than Persians in spotting treasures.

We know that most Sogdian merchants came to China by land, while Persian merchants are usually associated in historical sources with "sailing across the seas on ships". We can draw a similar conclusion from the large number of Persian merchants in Guangzhou and Yangzhou, as discussed in the previous section. In Yuan Zhen's 元稹 poem entitled "He Letian song ke you Lingnan, er shi yun" 和樂天送客游嶺南二十韵 (Twenty Rhymes in Response to Letian on Seeing off Guests in Lingnan), we have the line "the ship-owner has a precious jewel hidden around his waist" 舶主腰藏寶. A commentary explains that "Southerners call Persians 'ship owners'. Foreigners (*Hu ren*) often hide precious jewels on their body to prevent them from being stolen".[56] When the monk Yijing arrived in Guangzhou, he also "booked his journey southward with a Persian ship owner".[57] These references show that people of the Tang saw Persians as merchant ship owners who came from overseas. Sogdians, by contrast, usually came with overland caravans, led by *sabao*, the caravan leaders.

Previous scholars have noted that there were special wards called *fan fang* 蕃坊 in Guangzhou and other coastal cities to accommodate the large numbers of foreigners (*fan ren* 蕃人) who lived there. In Guangzhou, Yangzhou, and other large cities, most of the Persian and Arab merchants lived in these wards. However, such districts may not have been established before the reign

55 See *Yishan za zuan* 義山雜纂 (Miscellaneous Compilation from Mount Yishan), included in *Shuofu sanzhong* 說郛三種 (Stories from the Hinterland: Three Versions) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), *juan* 6, p. 3543; cf. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, p. 223.

56 *Quan Tangshi*, *juan* 407, p. 4533.

57 Yijing, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu*, p. 152.

of Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (827–840).[58] Before that time, "foreigners lived side by side with Chinese people; they intermarried, many of them occupied land and built houses".[59] Li Zhi, father of Li Su (mentioned above), had served as grand master for closing court and acting administrative aide in Guangzhou, and thus was second only to the local governor of the area command. Under emperors Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) and Daizong (r. 762–779),[60] a Persian was appointed local governor of Guangzhou, clearly to look after the large number of Persians and other foreigners who were there. It seems that there were no fixed government positions to manage the foreign wards, so for the most part this responsibility was shouldered by local officials. In the historical references quoted above, apart from setting up shops and inns in some large cities, we do not see Persian merchants settling permanently in any one place. Instead, they tended to move around, looking for treasure wherever they could find it. Sogdian merchants, on the other hand, usually carried out their commercial activities in groups or caravans. For example, the Sogdian merchant Shi Randian 石染典, mentioned in a Turfan manuscript (see chapters 1 and 2 in this book), who travelled between Guazhou 瓜州 (present-day Anxi 安西 county, Gansu) and Xizhou 西州 (present-day Turfan, Xinjiang) in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan reign period (732), was accompanied by his two assistants and a slave.[61] Thus the image of the Sogdian merchant is quite different from that of the Persian merchant in South China.

4 Persia and China: The Integration of Two Cultures

The phenomenon of upper class Persians serving in the Tang government mentioned above touches on the subject of the gradual assimilation of Persians into Tang culture. The best example of this is Li Su's family, whose members began as hostages and eventually attained the positions of court gentleman for fasting in the Imperial Ancestral Shrine, and even prefectural nominee in

58 Liu Jianming 劉健明, "Cong duiwai maoyi kan Tangdai Lingnan fazhan de tedian" 從對外貿易看唐代嶺南發展的特點 (On the Special Characteristics of the Development of the Lingnan Area in the Tang Dynasty from the Perspective of Foreign Trade), in Lin Tianwei 林天蔚 et al., eds., *Lingnan wenhua xin tanjiu lunwenji* 嶺南文化新探究論文集 (Anthology of New Research on Lingnan Culture) (Hong Kong: Xiandai jiaoyu yanjiushe, 1996), pp. 243–244.

59 "Lu Jun zhuan" 盧鈞傳 (Biography of Lu Jun), *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 182, p. 5367.

60 Rong Xinjiang, "Yige ru shi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu", p. 84.

61 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), Vol. 9 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 40–42.

the imperial examinations. The wide-ranging activities of Persian merchants south of the Yangtze River also helped them increasingly integrate into Chinese society. Li Xun's brother, who originally ran a business selling aromatics, later became a presented scholar 賓貢進士, as well as a famous poet. His was a typical example of the rapid sinicisation experienced by Persians who penetrated deep into the hinterland of southern China. Once Persians had come to Tang China, and had become part of a society with such a rich cultural tradition, they were inevitably influenced by it and gradually distanced themselves from their own culture. Eventually, despite their different external appearance, they developed a mentality that was identical with other Chinese subjects.

Cultural integration, however, is never such a simple process. Over a long period of time, the Persians who had come to China not only worked hard to preserve their own culture, but also made efforts to introduce various aspects of Persian culture into China.

Religion is one of the most long-lasting cultural elements of a people. The orthodox religion of Persia was Zoroastrianism (*Xianjiao* 祆教), and most of the Persians who came to China were Zoroastrians.

There were Zoroastrian temples in the Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang, where the Persians congregated. As far as we know, there were five Zoroastrian temples in Chang'an, in the Buzheng 布政, Liquan 醴泉, Puning 普寧, Chonghua 崇化, and Jinggong 靜恭 wards. There were four in Luoyang, in the Lide 立德, Xiushan 修善, Huijie 會節 wards, and Nanshi 南市 market. Because Zoroastrianism was also the orthodox religion of the Sogdian immigrants, who similarly congregated in Chang'an and Luoyang, we do not know whether these Zoroastrian temples were established and used by both Persians and Sogdians, or whether some were for Persians and others for Sogdians. In fact, although Persian and Sogdian Zoroastrianism are consistent in their basic doctrines, there are some differences in their rituals and other aspects. Therefore, it is likely that, at least in the beginning, the Persian and Sogdian temples in Chang'an and Luoyang were separate, though they may have shared their facilities later on.

We have an explicit record of the Zoroastrian temple in the Chonghua ward of Chang'an: "In the 5th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (631), a Zoroastrian missionary named He Lu 何祿 went to the palace and reported on Zoroastrianism to the emperor, who subsequently issued an edict ordering the construction of a Zoroastrian temple in the Chonghua ward of Chang'an".[62]

62 Yao Kuan 姚寬, *Xixi congyu* 西溪叢語 (Western Brook Collection), annot. by Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), p. 42. Note that this passage does not occur elsewhere, and thus it is clear that it was a text to which Yao Kuan (1105–1162) had

This shows that it was established by He Lu, a Sogdian from the kingdom of He 何國. Referring to a Zoroastrian temple established in the Buzheng quarter in the 4th year of the Wude 武德 reign period (621), the *Chang'an zhi* 長安志 (Gazetteer of Chang'an) says, "In the temple, there is an official of the *sabao* office who is in charge of the worship of the Zoroastrian god; this position is also filled by a Hu priest".[63] Since the *sabao* was the head of the Sogdian merchant community, it seems that this Zoroastrian temple was also the site where the Sogdians made their sacrifices.

However, there must have been some Zoroastrian temples in Chang'an and Luoyang for Persians. The *Liang jing xinji* 兩京新記 (New Records of the Two Capitals), written in 722 by Wei Shu 韋述, records the existence of a Zoroastrian temple south of the west gate of Liquan ward in Chang'an,[64] as well as the formal request, presented by the Persian king Peroz to the emperor in the 2nd year of the Yifeng 儀鳳 reign period (677), for the construction of a "Persian Hu temple" 波斯胡寺 in the same ward.[65] Before the 4th year of the Tianbao 天寶 reign period (745), the Jingjiao churches were all called "Persian temples".[66] Thus the Jingjiao church of Yining 義寧 ward, mentioned in the *Liang jing xinji*, was called a "Persian Hu temple", while the Zoroastrian temple was called a "Xian Temple" or a "Hu Xian temple". From these names we can tell that the Persian Hu temple in Liquan ward was without doubt a

access. However, after calling it a "Zoroastrian temple", he also says it was "called the Da Qin Temple, also known as the Persian temple". Then he quotes from the edict issued in the 7th month of the 4th year of the Tianbao reign period (745) of Xuanzong, ordering the renaming of Persian temples as Da Qin temples. Clearly, Yao Kuan was confusing the Zoroastrian temple with the Persian and Da Qin temples here. In fact, the Persian and Da Qin temples were both Jingjiao temples, entirely distinct from Zoroastrian temples. Cf. Victor C. Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2000), p. 237.

63 Song Minqiu, *Chang'an zhi*, *juan* 10; Pinggang Wufu [Hiraoka Takeo] 平岡武夫, ed., *Tangdai de Chang'an yu Luoyang: Ziliao* 唐代的長安與洛陽·資料 (Tang Chang'an and Luoyang: Sources) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 116; see also Xu Song 徐松, *Tang liang jing chengfang kao* 唐两京城坊考 (Study of the Wards in the Two Tang Capitals), Vol. 4, collated by Fang Yan 方嚴 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 104–105.

64 The earliest records can be found in the *Liang jing xinji* 兩京新記 (New Account of the Two Capitals), *juan* 3; manuscript in the Kanazawa bunko 金澤文庫 in Yokohama, Japan, which is included in Pinggang Wufu [Hiraoka Takeo], ed., *Tangdai de Chang'an yu Luoyang: Ziliao*, p. 189.

65 The earliest records can be found in the *Liang jing xinji*, *juan* 3, manuscript in the Kanazawa bunko; included in Pinggang Wufu [Hiraoka Takeo], ed., *Tangdai de Chang'an yu Luoyang: Ziliao*, p. 189.

66 *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 51, "Diwang bu, Chong shi shi" 帝王部・崇釋氏 (Section on Emperors, Subsection on Believers of Buddhism), p. 575.

Jingjiao church,[67] which was built on account of the religious beliefs of Peroz's queen.[68] In the past, researchers generally connected the Persian king's orthodox Zoroastrian beliefs with the temple he requested to establish, assuming that it must have been Zoroastrian.[69] However, because he was a political figure, especially the former ruler of a vanquished state who had taken refuge in another state, it is possible that Peroz wanted to build a new church at the request of Persian Jingjiao believers in Chang'an. Peroz himself may also have wanted to transform the Zoroastrian temple that was also located in the Liquan ward into the place of his own religious worship and ritual sacrifices. According to the *Chang'an zhi*, because the favoured minister official 幸臣 Zong Chuke 宗楚客 built a house that encroached on the land belonging to a Persian Hu temple in the Jinglong 景龍 reign period (707–710), the temple was moved to a location west of the Zoroastrian temple in the Buzheng ward. Here, in the same way, the Persian (Jingjiao) temple was located in the same ward where the Zoroastrian temple stood. Not only that, but this latter originally included the Sogdian *sabao* office. By this time, Peroz had already passed away, but Narses returned to the Tang capital in 708, thus we cannot rule out the possibility that the Zoroastrian temple became the site where Narses performed Zoroastrian sacrifices, since by this time the *sabao* office existed in name only.

Since there are very few records concerning the religious beliefs of the Persian kings and great leaders, such as Peroz, Narses, Aluohan and Nanmei, we cannot discuss them in more depth. However, a rich source of information that has come to light is the aforementioned funerary inscription of Su Liang's

67 P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916), p. 241; P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1951), pp. 457–458; Chen Yuan 陳垣, "Huoxian jiao ru Zhongguo kao" 火祆教入中國考 (Study of the Introduction of Zoroastrianism into China), *Guoxue jikan* 國學季刊 (Journal of Chinese Studies), Vol. 1, No. 1, 1923; here we follow the author's 1934 revised edition in *Chen Yuan xueshu lunwenji* 陳垣學術論文集 (Academic Articles of Chen Yuan), Vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 320–321; Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, ed. with supplements by Antonino Forte, p. 288, note 222; and Antonino Forte, "The Edict of 638 Allowing the Diffusion of Christianity in China", in Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, p. 355.

68 Donald D. Leslie, "Persian Temples in T'ang China", *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 35, 1981–1983, p. 286.

69 Aoki Kazuko 青木和子, "Tōdai Chōan no kenkyō jiin ni tsuite" 唐代長安の祆教寺院について (On Zoroastrian Temples in Tang Dynasty Chang'an), *Ryūkoku daigaku Bukkyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 龍谷大学佛教文化研究所紀要 (Bulletin of the Research Institute for Buddhist Culture, Ryukoku University), Vol. 17, 1978, p. 95; Lin Wushu 林悟殊, "Bosi baihuojiao yu gudai Zhongguo" 波斯拜火教與古代中國 (Persian Zoroastrianism and Ancient China) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1995), pp. 139–150; Xiong, *Sui-Tang Chang'an*, p. 237.

wife Lady Ma discovered in Xi'an. It provides evidence that until the 15th year of the Xiantong reign period (874), Sasanian descendants not only maintained their Zoroastrian heritage, but also continued to write in Pahlavi, which was their official language. Comparing the funerary inscriptions in Chinese and Pahlavi, we can see that Su Liang 蘇諒 is a transliteration of Sūrēn, the surname of the Sasanian royal house, and that they used *Ma shi* (Lady Ma) to express Māsīš, the name of the deceased.[70] This shows the perseverance of Persian culture in the Tang, as well as the intricacies of the blending and integration of Persian and Chinese cultures. However, whichever of these surnames – Su, Ma, or especially Li – the Persians most commonly adopted, they also easily concealed their ethnic origin. Unlike the popular surnames adopted by Sogdians, such as Kang 康, An 安 and Mi 米, those used by Persians did not betray their roots as easily. Thus we can conclude that adopting the imperial surname Li was an important means by which Persians integrated into Chinese society.

Under Persian protection, Jingjiao Christianity in Chang'an was able to persist for over 200 years.

After the year 498, Persia became the headquarters for the Church of the East (Jingjiao), sending missionaries from there eastward to propagate their faith. In the 9th year of the Zhenguan reign period (635), the Persian priest Alopen (Aluoben 阿羅本) came to China to spread this religion, which came to be known in China as Jingjiao 景教. In the 12th year of the same reign period (638), Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) issued an imperial edict permitting proselytisation. After that, a church was built in the Yining ward in Chang'an. Because it was a religion brought in by Persians, these churches were called "Persian temples" or "Persian Hu temples".[71]

70 See the works cited in n. 38 above for further evidence.

71 The "Stele Commemorating the Propagation of the Da Qin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom" 大秦景教流行中國碑, erected in the 2nd year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign period (781), used the epithet "Most Virtuous of the Great Qin" (Da Qin guo shang de 大秦國上德) for Alopen. This appellation dates from after the 4th year of the Tianbao reign period (745). Note that according to the entry "Da Qin Temple" 大秦寺 of the *Tang huiyao* 唐会要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 49, the original text of the imperial edict of the 7th month of the 12th year of the Zhenguan reign period recorded that Alopen was actually "a Persian monk" (*Bosi seng* 波斯僧). According to the imperial edict of the 9th month of the 4th year of the Tianbao era, recorded later on in the same *juan*, the temple was certainly called a "Persian temple" when it was first built; alternatively, it was called, as in the *Liang jing xinji*, a "Persian Hu temple".

From then on, Jingjiao priests were active in North and South China. For example, the Persian priest Jilie 及烈,[72] who worked together with Zhou Qingli 周慶立, head of the maritime supervisorate, in the manufacture of rare and ingenious tools in the 2nd year of the Kaiyuan era (714); Pan Nami 潘那蜜, an official sent by the Persian king in the 8th month of the 20th year of the Kaiyuan era (732) along with Jilie, priest of Great Virtue;[73] as well as Jingjing 景淨 and many other Jingjiao clergymen listed on the Jingjiao Stele, were in reality all Persians.[74] Thus we can see the important role played by Persian clergy all along in maintaining Jingjiao in Chang'an.

I have been fortunate to find the courtesy name of the above-mentioned Persian Li Su in the third column of the left-hand side of the Syriac-Chinese bilingual list of names of clergymen in the Jingjiao Stele. It is Wenzhen 文貞, written in Syriac as Luka. The Chinese names of Li Su's six sons all begin with the character *jing* 景, and in fact this word is at the beginning of many of the words in the Jingjiao Stele, including the following ones:

> The religion is called *jingjiao* 景教 (Jing teaching); the institution of the church is called *jingmen* 景門 (Jing school); the churches are called *jingsi* 景寺 (Jing temple); the Patriarch is called *jingzun* 景尊 (Jing venerable), and also *jingri* 景日 (Jing sun); the rules of discipline are called *jingfa* 景法 (Jing practices); the spread of the religion is called *jingfeng* 景風 (Jing proliferation); its various functions are *jingli* 景力 (Jing power), *jingfu* 景福 (Jing blessings), or *jingming* 景命 (Jing mission); believers are called *jingzhong* 景眾 (Jing congregation); the priests are called *jingshi* 景士 (Jing officers); the monks are named Jingjing 景淨, Jingfu 景福, Jingtong 景通, and so forth.[75]

72 *Cefu yuangui*, facsimile of the Song edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), p. 1490; see the facsimile of the Ming edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), pp. 6547–6548.

73 *Cefu yuangui*, facsimile of the Song edition, Vol. 4, p. 3878; see the facsimile of the Ming edition, Vol. 12, p. 11454.

74 See note 71 for the full name of this stele. For the identification of Jingjing 景淨 as a Persian individual, see the list of scriptures translated by Master Prajñā in the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (New Catalogue of Buddhist Texts from the Zhenyuan Era), Vol. 17. For the other personages, see Paul Pelliot, *Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. II, No. 1: *La stèle de Si-Ngan-Fou* (Paris: Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1984), which traces the Syrian names to their Persian origins.

75 Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Zhongguo Jingjiao* 中國景教 (The Jingjiao Religion of China) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1993), p. 130.

It could not be clearer that these terms are all connected with the Jingjiao faith. This is one reason why I think that Li Su and his family were loyal Jingjiao believers. His use of the word *jing* in the names of his six sons also associates them with Jingjiao, demonstrating his desire to continue the transmission of the religion. It also corroborates the view that the Persians in Chang'an preserved their own religious beliefs, as by the time of Li Su's sons' generation, the family had flourished in China for four generations. After over 70 years, they had worked their way up to positions in the Tang central or local administration, yet they still maintained their religious beliefs, which did not affect their participation in Tang politics or even in ritual activities.

By contrast, Persian merchants were in the lower strata of Tang society. They had a flexible attitude, which meant that they changed their religious beliefs relatively easily. In the passages about Persian merchants quoted above, it is impossible to tell whether they were Zoroastrians or Christians. The "Story of Li Guan" 李灌傳奇 says that Persian merchants resemble Chinese people in that after someone has died they "buy a coffin to bury the person, plant a tree, and write a funerary inscription".[76] In the "Story of Li Mian" 李勉傳奇, the old Persian's son opens his father's tomb and takes out his father's precious pearl.[77] These stories show that some Persian merchants followed Chinese practices and buried the dead in coffins and tombs. According to the Japanese traveller-monk Ennin 圓仁, when in 839 Li Deyu 李德裕, chief administrator of the Yangzhou Area Command 揚州大都督府, was raising money to refurbish the Ruixiang Pavilion 瑞像閣 in the Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺, a foreign resident from Persia donated a thousand strings of cash.[78] One possible explanation for this is that these wealthy Persian merchants, in order to curry favor with local officials, donated money regardless of whether the refurbishing of Buddhist statues was compatible with their own religious beliefs. Another possibility is that the Persians who lived in the South after the mid-Tang period gradually accepted Buddhism, which was popular in the region, and had become Buddhist believers themselves. In the Caoxi Meditation Hall 曹溪道場 in Shaozhou 韶州, Lingnan, there was a statue of an inspired acolyte (*lingtong shizhe* 靈通侍者) standing beside the statue of Huineng 慧能, the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan School 禪宗. The acolyte "was originally from Persia in the Western Regions and has come to Guangzhou by ship; having heard the

76 See the last volume of *Duyi zhi* 獨異志 (Uniquely Strange Records), in Li Fang, ed., *Taiping guangji*, Vol. 402, entry on "Li Guan" 李灌, pp. 3240–3241.

77 See Li Fang, ed., *Taiping guangji*, Vol. 402, entry on "Li Mian" 李勉, p. 3240.

78 Ono Katsutoshi 小野胜年, Bai Huawen 白化文 et al., *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji jiaozhu* 入唐求法巡禮行記校注 (Record of a Pilgrimage to Tang China in Search of the Law, Annotated Edition), Vol. 1 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1992), p. 95.

Sixth Patriarch, he was overcome with joy and converted, offering to be an acolyte to protect the Dharma forever and to guard the Caoxi Meditation Hall".[79] This case of a Persian converting to Buddhism illustrates the willingness of some Persian merchants in China to change their religion. They did not all have to become monks, especially those skilled at recognising jewels, whose primary interest lay in business. Until the end of the dynasty, Tang people continued to associate this skill with Persians, to the point that because of the constant presence of this motif in Tang tales,[80] it became a permanent symbol of Persian culture in the Chinese imagination.

5 Conclusion

The Tang, especially before the persecution of foreign religions during the Huichang 會昌 era (841–846), was a cosmopolitan empire. During the An Lushan rebellion (755–763) many Sogdian merchants also came under attack and moved en masse to the three garrisons of Hebei 河北 in search of new places where they could subsist. However, the Tang reaction against increasing Central Asian influences did not disrupt the continued presence of the Persians in Chang'an or the preservation of their religious beliefs. It also did not prevent Persian merchants from moving into southern China in large numbers, to the point that they penetrated deeply into present-day Jiangxi, Hubei, Sichuan and other places.

However, the An Lushan rebellion eventually created divisions between the Chinese and foreign worlds. At a time when someone with the Sogdian

79 The *Caoxi tongzhi* 曹溪通志 (Caoxi Gazetteer), compiled during the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1661–1722); *juan* 3 contains a composition entitled "Wei lingtong shizhe jiejiu wen" 為靈通侍者戒酒文 (Abstaining from Drinking for the Sake of the Inspired Acolyte) by the Ming-dynasty Master Deqing 德清. This piece is quoted in Wang Chengwen 王承文, "Tangdai Lingnan de Bosiren yu Bosi wenhua" 唐代嶺南的波斯人與波斯文化 (Persians and Persian Culture in Tang Dynasty Lingnan), in Zhongshan daxue Lishixi 中山大學歷史系, ed., *Zhongshan daxue shixue jikan* 中山大學史學集刊 (Collected Historical Papers of Zhongshan University), Vol. 1 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 68–69.

80 For example, the Ming writer Ling Mengchu's 凌蒙初 collection of stories entitled *Paian jingji* 拍案驚奇 (Slapping the Table in Amazement) contains the story named "The Man Whose Luck has Turned Chances upon Dongting Tangerines; The Merchant from Persia Reveals the Secrets of a Turtle Shell" 轉運漢遇巧洞庭紅，波斯胡指破鼉龍殼 [For an English translation of the story, see Ling Mengchu, *Slapping the Table in Amazement: A Ming Dynasty Story Collection*, trans. by Shuhui Yang and Yunqin Yang (Seattle, London: University of Washington Press, 2018), pp. 1–36.]

surname Kang 康 claimed that he came from Kuaiji 會稽, and another surnamed He 何 expressed nostalgia about his past spent near Lujiang 廬江, we can appreciate even more the statement in the funerary inscription of Li Su (dated 819), which identifies him as "a native of the western kingdom of Persia" 西國波斯人. When the tendency was for foreigners to adopt Chinese culture in large numbers and try to become thoroughly Chinese, the effort to preserve Persian culture expressed in the funerary inscription of Su Liang's wife Lady Ma can only be a swansong for the end of an era.

As a result of the Huichang persecution of religions, the "three foreign religions" (Zoroastrianism, Jingjiao and Manichaeism) lost their popularity in Central China, and people of foreign origin eventually integrated into Chinese society. The cosmopolitan spirit that characterised the early Tang was also gradually lost. However, we still need to appreciate the cosmopolitan spirit of the Tang period, as foreign contributions to Tang culture remain part of Chinese society, art and literature. The impact of cosmopolitanism meant that the China that emerged after the Tang would never be the same as the China that existed before it.

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FIGURE 6.1 Persian silver vessels excavated in Datong
a. Silver bowl excavated at a Northern Wei site in Datong
b. Persian silver plate excavated at Feng Hetu's tomb
c. Silver bowl excavated at a Northern Wei tomb in Datong
d. Scalloped silver cup excavated at a Northern Wei site in Datong

CHAPTER 7

New Evidence on the History of Contacts between the Tang Dynasty and the Abbasid Caliphate: Yang Liangyao's Embassy

Translated by Sally K. Church

1 Introduction[1]

In his article on the historical connections between China and the Arab world, Zhang Guangda 張廣達 did groundbreaking research into the history of Sino-Arab relations during the Tang period. He particularly pointed out that in 750 CE, Abū'l ʿAbbās (Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, r. 750–754), referred to as Apu Luoba 阿蒲·羅拔 in the Tang histories, destroyed the Umayyad Caliphate and established the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258), referred to as the *Heiyi Dashi* 黑衣大食 (Black-dressed Tajik) in the Tang histories. The political centre of gravity of this new empire gradually moved east (from Damascus to Baghdad), and despite having to give up the western end of the territory formerly controlled by the Umayyad Caliphate, it had relatively stable control over the Eastern Islamic world, and in the course of the next 500 years created a brilliant Arabic civilisation. The Abbasids inaugurated the Golden Age of exchanges with the Tang, Song and Mongol empires. As the empire's first caliph, Abū'l ʿAbbās moved the capital east from Damascus, the former capital of the Umayyad empire, to al-Kūfah in the middle reaches of the Euphrates River. Then in 762, the second Abbasid caliph, al-Mansūr (r. 754–775), established a new capital, Dār al-Salām (*ping'an jing* 平安京), at Baghdad, in the middle reaches of the Tigris River. One of his aims was to expand trade in the direction of China and other Eastern countries. As Al-Ṭabarī said in his *Annals*, "This place (Baghdad) is a very good location for a base. Moreover, the

1 The English translation is indebted to an earlier translation: Xinjiang Rong, "New Evidence on the History of Sino-Arabic Relations: A Study of Yang Liangyao's Embassy to the Abbasid Caliphate", trans. by Rebecca Fu and Gianni Wan, in Victor H. Mair and Liam C. Kelley, eds., *Imperial China and Its Southern Neighbours* (Singapore: Institute of South Asian Studies, 2015), pp. 239–267. The translation of Yang Liangyao's stele inscription is also indebted to Angela Schottenhammer, "Yang Liangyao's Mission of 785 to the Caliph of Baghdād: Evidence of an Early Sino-Arabic Power Alliance?", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 101, 2015, pp. 177–242.

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Tigris River here allows us to make contact with distant countries like China, and can also bring us everything that the sea can supply".[2] Zhang also mentions in this article that, among those who crossed the Indian Ocean in the Tang period, two can be identified as Chinese individuals. One was Daxi Hongtong 達奚弘通 (fl. 760–761) and the other was Du Huan 杜環 (fl. 751–762).[3]

Now we can add another person's name to these, that of Yang Liangyao 楊良瑤 (736–806). He was a eunuch who served as an ambassador to the Abbasids at the beginning of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (785–805) of the Tang emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805). Details of Yang's life are recorded in an inscription, known as Yang Liangyao's stele inscription. Although the text inscribed on the stele is not very long, it is extremely valuable. Because of the shortage of sources, previous discussions of Tang-Abbasid relations have been far from adequate. This article builds on former research concerning Yang Liangyao's mission – its motives and effects, details of the journey, the route, and so forth. It is hoped that this discussion will advance our understanding of the relations between the Tang and the Abbasids.

2 Yang Liangyao's Stele and Records Related to His Mission to the Abbasids

Yang Liangyao's stele was discovered in 1984 near the village of Xiaohuyang 小戶楊 in Yunyang 雲陽 district, Jingyang 涇陽 county, Shaanxi. Later it was moved to Jingyang County Museum. In 2005, Zhang Shimin 張世民 of the Xianyang Municipal Office of Local Gazetteers published a paper on this stele inscription, including a full transcription and a detailed analysis of its

2 Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales* (Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk), ed. by Michael Jan de Goeje, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1879–1901, 1902, reprinted 1964–1965), p. 272. The above overview follows Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Haibo lai Tianfang, Silu tong Dashi: Zhongguo yu Alabo shijie de lishi lianxi de huigu" 海舶來天方，絲路通大食 – 中國與阿拉伯世界的歷史聯繫的回顧 (Seagoing Ships Arrive at Makkah and the Silk Road Reaches Arabia: Reflections on the Historical Connections between China and the Arab World), originally published in Zhou Yilang 周一良, ed., *Zhong-wai wenhua jiaoliu shi* 中外文化交流史 (History of Sino-Foreign Cultural Exchange) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1987); reprinted in Zhang Guangda, *Wenben, tuxiang yu wenhua liuchuan* 文本、圖像與文化流傳 (The Circulation of Texts, Images and Culture) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 139–140. [Translator's note: The second Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-Mansur lived from 714 to 775. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Yazid al-Ṭabarī (839–923) was an influential Persian scholar from Amol, Tabaristan.]

3 Zhang Guangda, *Wenben, tuxiang yu wenhua liuchuan*, pp. 140–145.

rich contents.[4] It is a magnificent achievement and I am greatly indebted to it; I wish to pay tribute to him at the outset. I was fortunate to have been able to examine the original stele together with Zhang Jianlin 張建林 of the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology on 29 March 2012 at the Jingyang County Museum, where I obtained a rubbing of the stele and checked the transcription. According to my measurements, the stele's 'head' part is 85 cm high, whereas its body is 190 cm high and 94 cm wide at the top, and 102 cm wide at the bottom; it is 23 cm thick at the top, and 27 cm thick at the bottom. Both sides are carved with floral patterns and the centre shows images of flowers and birds (Fig. 7.1).

There is no biography of Yang Liangyao in the transmitted histories, thus the discovery of this stele has rescued his name from oblivion. According to the stele inscription, he originally belonged to the Yang family of Hongnong 弘農 (in present-day Henan). His great-grandfather had been a meritorious official of the Tang. As a high-ranking officer of the imperial guard, he had helped Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756) eliminate the clique of Empress Dowager Wei 韋. During the Zhide 至德 reign period (756–758) of Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), he served in the palace as a eunuch. In the Yongtai 永泰 reign period of Emperor Daizong 代宗 (765), he distinguished himself in a mission to put down the rebellion of the tribal leader Tashili Jizhang 塌實力繼章 in Langshan 狼山. As a result, he was appointed acting supervisor of the Office of Female Services at the Palace Domestic Service 行內侍省掖庭局監作. In the 6th year of the Dali 大曆 era (771), he was promoted to gentleman for court discussion 朝議郎 and aide to the Palace Gates Service 宮闈局丞. Later he was sent to Annam 安南 as pacification commissioner of distant regions 宣慰荒外. In the 9th year of the same era (774), he went on a mission to Guangzhou

4 Zhang Shimin 張世民, "Yang Liangyao: Zhongguo zuizao hanghai xia xiyang de waijiao shijie" 楊良瑤：中國最早航海下西洋的外交使節 (Yang Liangyao: The Earliest Chinese Envoy to Sail to the Western Seas), *Xianyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 咸陽師範學院學報 (Journal of Xianyang Normal University), Vol. 20, No. 3, 2005, pp. 4–8. Before this, the same author also wrote an introductory paper called "Zhongguo gudai zuizao xia xiyang de waijiao shijie Yang Liangyao" 中國古代最早下西洋的外交使節楊良瑤 (China's Earliest Envoy to the Western Seas, Yang Liangyao), published in *Tangshi luncong* 唐史論叢 (Papers on Tang History), No. 7, 1998, pp. 351–356. Zhou Weizhou 周偉洲 uses Zhang's version of the inscription published in *Tang shi luncong* to provide a brief introduction to Yang Liangyao's life, see Zhou Weizhou, "Tangchao yu Nanhai zhuguo tonggong guanxi yanjiu" 唐朝與南海諸國通貢關係研究 (The Tang and its Tributary Relations with the Countries of the South Seas), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (Studies in Chinese History), No. 3, 2002, pp. 72–73; the same contents are also seen in Zhou Weizhou, "Chang'an yu Nanhai zhuguo" 長安與南海諸國 (Chang'an and the Kingdoms of the South Seas), *Gudu Chang'an congshu* 古都長安叢書 (Series on the Ancient Capital Chang'an) (Xi'an: Xi'an chubanshe, 2003), pp. 157–159.

廣州 where Geshu Huang 哥舒晃 was fomenting rebellion. Although Yang was captured, he remained resolutely loyal to the Tang. In the 12th year (777) the crisis was resolved, and Yang was promoted to director of Palace Gate Services (*gongwei ling* 宮闈令) in recognition of his accomplishments. At the beginning of the Xingyuan 興元 reign period (784) of Emperor Dezong, when Zhu Ci 朱泚 (742–784) revolted, Yang was sent as an envoy to the Western Rong (i.e., the Tibetans) to request military aid, and returned with help. After the revolt was put down, he was appointed eunuch ceremonial secretary in the Palace Domestic Service 內侍省內給事. In the 6th month he was promoted to grand master for closing court 朝散大夫. He was sent on a mission to the Abbasids in the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), which he successfully completed. In the 6th month of the 4th year (788) he was promoted to grand master of the palace 中大夫. In the 7th month he was enfeoffed as Hongnong county dynasty-founding baron (Kaiguo nan 開國男), with 300 households. In the 12th year he received the additional title of superior grand master of the palace 太中大夫, while retaining his other titles. He was sent to deal with a rebellion in Huaixi 淮西 in the 15th year, and supervised the military affairs of Ruzhou 汝州 in the metropolitan area of the Eastern Capital, using the method of appeasement to calm the situation. In the 1st year of the Yongzhen 永貞 reign period (805) of Emperor Shunzong 順宗 (r. 805), he returned to Chang'an 長安 to serve the emperor in private matters. In the 5th month, in addition to his current position, he was assigned the concurrent post of frontier marshall for three armies 右三軍僻仗使. He turned to Buddhism in his later years, and occupied himself by copying religious texts, repairing temples and building pagodas. He distributed his wealth by purchasing land for the poor, donating clothing and curing the sick. He passed away at the age of 71 at his private residence in Fuxing 輔興 ward in Chang'an on the 22nd day of the 7th month of the 1st year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (806). With regard to Yang Liangyao's life as a whole, his main achievements as a eunuch in the emperor's service were his missions to many distant places to represent the emperor as an envoy and his efforts to pacify rebellions. He made many important accomplishments, but the most fascinating was certainly his mission to the Abbasids.

Concerning this mission, Yang Liangyao's stele inscription contains the following record:

> At the beginning of the Zhenyuan era (785–804), the rebellion had been suppressed, and the empire was at peace. The four seas were calm, and foreign envoys arrived from afar to be received in audience. In the past, during the Western Han (206 BCE–9 CE) period, it was difficult to choose envoys to serve in remote regions. Today, however, the Emperor [Dezong]

> immediately thought of the right person to communicate with distant regions. In terms of talents and capabilities, Lord [Yang] was the perfect choice. In the 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), he was awarded the crimson fish bag and was sent as a state envoy to the Abbasid empire. He was accompanied by administrative assistants 判官 and retainers, and received diplomatic correspondence and edicts. After receiving his commission, he left straightaway, without fearing the distant journey that lay ahead. Reaching Nanhai 南海, he stepped off the land and boarded a ship. Although the goal was distant, his face showed no fear of danger; with a stern expression, he remained confident that they could cross [the ocean] safely. His integrity was an inspiration to his subordinates; his dedication moved the spirits. Consequently, Lord [Yang] cut off his hair and sacrificed it to the waves, pointing towards the sun and swearing an oath to his companions. As a result, Yanghou 陽侯 (the god of waves) calmed the waters, and Pingyi 屏翳 (the god of clouds, rain, and thunder) harmonised the winds. With sails unfurled they soared across the boundless space; taking to their oars, they rode the shining white expanse of water. Divine lights guided the way by night and supernatural animals led the way by day. As the stars and frost went through their cycle twice, they passed a myriad kingdoms. They spread imperial influence to regions with diverse customs, disseminating the emperor's prestige across boundless territories. He journeyed there and back according to schedule, completing his mission without fail. This is a brilliant result of the loyalty and trustworthiness of our Lord [Yang]! In the 6th month of the 4th year he was promoted to grand master of the palace and in the 7th month he was enfeoffed as dynasty-founding baron of Hongnong county, for which he was given a fief of 300 households.

We shall begin by comparing the original with the rubbing and explaining some of the language issues: (1) Zhang Shimin writes *jiuze* 九澤 (nine marshes) instead of *jiuyi* 九譯 (nine translators), which is the correct reading. (2) Zhang punctuates this passage incorrectly. It should be *bei panguan, neiqian, shou guoxin, zhaoshu* 備判官、內傔，受國信、詔書 (he was accompanied by administrative assistants and retainers and received diplomatic correspondence and edicts), but Zhang places the comma after *nei*, which seems to be a problem. When Tang dynasty envoys were sent out, they were all assigned administrative assistants and retainers. The term *neiqian* (retainer) probably originally referred to eunuchs of the *neishi sheng* 內侍省 (Palace Domestic Service), because the official ambassador was a eunuch. (3) For the expression *bu wei jue yuan* 不畏厥遠 (without fearing the long distance), Zhang writes

hu 乎 instead of *jue* 厥, perhaps not realising that the character *jue* was written with a non-standard form, in use during the Tang period. (4) Zhang mistakenly writes *miao er* 邈爾 (distant) as *xia er* 遐邇 (far and near). (5) In the expression *wangfan ruqi* 往返如期 (journeyed there and back according to schedule), Zhang mistakenly writes the character *wang* 往 (go) as *de* 德 (virtue). The stone stele is rather large, and thus inconvenient to read. Moreover the writing on the stele is the semi-cursive script, and some of the characters are difficult to decipher. Thus a few minor mistakes are understandable.

From this stele inscription we know that the eunuch Yang Liangyao was sent as an envoy to the Abbasids in the 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785). On his journey, Yang carried with him letters and edicts from the Chinese court. He first went to Nanhai (Guangzhou); from there he boarded a ship and embarked on the long sea voyage, reaching the Abbasids. His mission returned to Chang'an before the 6th month of the 4th year of Zhenyuan (788) at the earliest.

Although Zhang Shimin discussed Yang Liangyao's mission at length, there remain several unresolved issues that await close scrutiny. This article is an attempt to examine some details more closely.

3 Background and Reasons for This Tang Embassy to the Abbasids

Before the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), the Tang dynasty had no particular relations with the Abbasids. Why did the Tang then send a formal embassy so far away to their court? The reasons probably lie in the relations between the Tang and Tibet.

In the 14th year of the Tianbao 天寶 reign period (755), when the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion broke out in Central China, the main Tang forces in Helong 河隴 and the Western Regions 西域 were ordered to return to Central China to protect the emperor. The Tibetans took advantage of the power vacuum and invaded from the area north of the Qinghai-Tibetan plateau, taking control of Tang territories. From 764 to 776 they occupied Liangzhou 涼州, Ganzhou 甘州, Suzhou 肅州, and Guazhou 瓜州 in the Hexi 河西 corridor. They also surrounded Shazhou 沙州 (i.e. Dunhuang 敦煌), though they did not take it by force. By the 1st month of the 4th year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign period (783), relations between the Tang and Tibet temporarily improved, and the two signed a peace treaty at Qingshui 清水.

In the 10th month of the same year, the Jingyuan Mutiny 涇原兵變 broke out in Chang'an. Zhu Ci 朱泚 proclaimed himself emperor of China and Emperor Dezong fled to Fengtian 奉天. In the 1st month of the 1st year of the

Xingyuan era (784) the Tang government urgently sent Director of the Palace Library 秘書監 Cui Hanheng 崔漢衡 (d. 795) as an envoy to the Tibetans to obtain military aid to overthrow Zhu Ci. Part of the agreement was that the Tang would concede Anxi 安西 and Beiting 北庭 to Tibet. Yang Liangyao happened to be a member of Cui Hanheng's mission. His stele relates the following:

> At the beginning of the Xingyuan era (784), Heaven had yet to remove the disasters that transpired, and snakes and boars overran the capital. The emperor felt anxious and was concerned about his people, but the Minister had not yet decided on a strategy. Lord [Yang] was moved to tears of gratitude and offered himself as an envoy to the Western Rong people (i.e. the Tibetans). He requested military assistance from the Tibetans and returned with help, whereupon the Tibetans blocked the advancing rebel forces.[5]

In the 4th month the Tibetans sent troops to provide assistance. In the 5th month the Tibetan army helped the Tang army inflict a major victory over Zhu Ci. The Tibetans immediately retreated, probably due to the hot weather. Thus the arrival of the Tibetan troops enabled the Tang government to avert disaster. Yang Liangyao's stele of course attributes this accomplishment to its protagonist:

> Their army overthrew the bandits of Wugong 武功 and opened up access to Zhouzhi 盩厔. The wind and clouds rushed after them and they increased in numbers; the mountains and rivers pointed out the way for them to avoid obstacles. In the Xingyuan era, the emperor was able to stop along the way, and [Lord Yang] was able to distinguish himself at the bridge over the Wei River 渭橋. The restoration of the empire to its previous state is all thanks to the efforts of our Lord [Yang] in requesting military support.[6]

On this account, Yang was rewarded with titles and promotions: "In the 2nd month of that year he was appointed ceremonial secretary in the Palace Domestic Service, and in the 6th month he received the additional title of

5 In the phrase *tian wei hui huo* 天未悔禍 (Heaven had yet to remove all of the disasters that transpired) Zhang writes *bu* 不 instead of *wei* 未, and for *zhe kou yi jin* 遮寇以進 (blocked the advancing rebel forces) Zhang writes *sui* 遂 instead of *zhe* 遮, which we can correct here based on our examination of the original stele.

6 In the phrase *qing Zhouzhi zhi qian tu* 清盩厔之前途 (opened up access to Zhouzhi), Zhang's text writes *qing* 請 (invite) instead of *qing* 清 (clear > open up).

grand master for closing court. These exemplary rapid promotions were rewards for his efforts".

In the 7th month Emperor Dezong returned to Chang'an. The Tibetans sent an envoy to demand the regions of Anxi and Beiting. Li Mi 李泌 (722–789), a close advisor to the emperor, had a different view:

> The people of Anxi and Beiting are valiant by nature; the [soldiers stationed there] control the 57 states of the Western Regions, as well as ten tribes of the Turks. In addition, they play a role in dividing the military strength of the Tibetans, preventing them from combining their forces and sweeping eastward. How could we submissively give these to them? Furthermore, the people of these two garrisons have been loyal to the Tang court and have consistently defended these territories for more than twenty years despite their isolated situation and remoteness; they are truly worthy of our compassion! If we foresake them and hand them over to the Tibetans, they will certainly deeply resent the Middle Kingdom. Then at some later date they will surely join with the Tibetans and turn against us, taking revenge. Worse yet, if the Tibetans, as before, just wait and see, without moving in, and then deploy a secret two-pronged strategy and begin looting Wugong 武功, take their booty and leave again, what good would this do?[7]

In the end, Emperor Dezong refused their demands, thus rupturing relations with Tibet. The Tibetans then "let loose their cavalry, who trampled the fields and plundered the people on the frontier". In the 8th month of the 2nd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (786), the main Tibetan army invaded and pillaged Jing 涇 (present-day Zhenyuan 鎮原), Long 隴 (present-day Long 隴 county), Bin 邠 (present-day Bin 彬 county) and Ning 寧 (present-day Ning 寧 county). Roving horsemen penetrated deeply into the metropolitan region of Haozhi 好畤 (north-west of today's Qian 乾 county). Emperor Dezong summoned Hun Jian 渾瑊 and other generals who stationed troops in Xianyang 咸陽 in order to defend the capital. In the 9th month the Tibetans attacked Haozhi and imposed martial law on Chang'an.[8]

It was the 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), precisely when Tang and Tibetan relations broke down but before the Tibetans launched their massive attack on the Tang, that the Tang court dispatched

7 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 231, p. 7442.

8 *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 231, pp. 7470 and 7472.

Yang Liangyao as an ambassador to the Abbasids. The goal was not, as the stele inscription says, solely to "spread imperial influence to regions with diverse customs, disseminating the emperor's prestige across boundless territories", but to join in an alliance with the Abbasids and request their help against the Tibetans.

From Tang historical sources we know that Prime Minister 宰相 Li Mi made a very important suggestion to Emperor Dezong, recorded in the 9th month of the 3rd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (787), on the occasion when the Uighur envoy presented a memorial to the throne:

> Subsequently, the Uighur Qaghan sent an emissary with a memorial in which he referred to himself as a son and vassal [of the emperor], saying that he accepted all five terms that [Li] Mi had previously discussed with him. The Emperor was greatly pleased and asked [Li] Mi, "What do the Uighurs fear, that they submit to you like this?" [Li] Mi replied, "It is all on account of Your Majesty's numinous authority, it is not because of my efforts!" The Emperor said, "If the Uighurs are already at peace, why are we also recruiting Yunnan (i.e. Nanzhao 南詔), the Arabs and India to establish [an alliance]?" [Li] Mi replied, "Now that the Uighurs have made peace with us, the Tibetans will not dare violate our borders. If we recruit Yunnan, we will be chopping off Tibet's right arm. Ever since the Han dynasty Yunnan has been a vassal of the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless [General] Yang Guozhong 楊國忠 has unnecessarily harassed this region, causing it to rebel and eventually become a vassal of Tibet. Now they suffer from high taxes and indemnities placed upon them by the Tibetans, and not a day goes by when they are not yearning to return to the auspices of the Tang. The Arabs are the strongest force in the Western Regions, occupying territory which extends from the Pamirs to the Western Sea, comprising nearly half the world. Like India, they admire the Middle Kingdom and have been hostile to Tibet for generations. I think they can be persuaded to ally with us".[9]

Although this conversation was not recorded until more than two years after Yang Liangyao was sent on his mission, Li Mi was one of Emperor Dezong's closest advisors, and it was his idea to refuse to hand over Anxi and Beiting to the Tibetans. It was also his idea to unite the Uighurs, Nanzhao, the Arabs and India together to attack the Tibetans in a pincer move. He did not express this plan to Dezong until the 3rd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (787), but he

9 *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 233, p. 7505.

had probably harboured it in his mind for some time. The Tibetan advance and attack against China had begun with the Tang's violation of their agreement with the Tibetans. From the moment when the treaty was violated, Li Mi must have been considering how he would deal with the Tibetan attack that was about to come. The logical conclusion is that Yang Liangyao's mission to the Abbasids was precisely to carry out the strategy of Li Mi and Emperor Dezong, who in the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785) had already considered uniting the Arabs, India, Nanzhao and the Uighurs together against Tibet.

The reason why Tang officials based in Chang'an thought of sending long-distance envoys to the Abbasids must have been connected to news of the strife between the Tibetans and the Arabs in the Western Regions. According to Arabic historical accounts, in the year 750, before the Abbasid Caliphate was established, the Central Asian regions of Sogdiana and Tokharistan had already been absorbed by the Arabs. Although the Battle of Talas in 751 was a military encounter between the Tang and the Arabs, the subsequent An Lushan rebellion weakened Tang power on its western frontier. The Arabs were therefore able to continue moving eastward, coming face to face with the Tibetans occupying Great and Little Bolor (i.e., Baltistan and Gilgit). In 768 or soon thereafter, the Arab armies launched an expedition against Kashmir (Geshimi 箇失密), and in 769 invaded Kabul (Gaofu 高附). Thus they undoubtedly came into direct contact with Tibetan interests, leading to conflict west of the Pamirs.[10] In the 2nd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (786), when Yang was probably on the road, Chancellor Han Huang 韓滉 (723–787) submitted a memorial advocating an attack on the Tibetans, saying,

> The Tibetan bandits have had the Hehuang 河湟 region in their control for quite some time. Before the Dali reign period (766–779) China had many internal difficulties, which is why we have allowed them to invade. I have heard that the [Tibetan] army has in the past few years gradually become weaker. In the west they are under pressure from Arab forces, in the north they are pressed upon by the large numbers of Uighurs, and in the east they are blocked by the Nanzhao forces.[11]

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10 On the problem of the three-way relations among the Tang, Tibetans and Arabs at the beginning of the Zhenyuan reign period, see Zhang Riming 張日銘, *Tangdai Zhongguo yu Dashi Musilin* 唐代中國與大食穆斯林 (Tang China and the Arab Muslims) (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 93–101; Wang Xiaofu 王小甫, *Tang, Tubo, Dashi zhengzhi guanxi shi* 唐吐蕃大食政治關係史 (History of the Political Relations among the Tang, Tibetans and Arabs) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 206–214.

11 "Han Huang zhuan" 韓滉傳 (Biography of Han Huang), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 129, p. 3602.

The *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) contains an entry on the Arabs (Dashi 大食), which says: "In the 2nd year of the Zhenyuan reign period (786) the Tibetans became the Arabs' primary adversaries. The greater part of the Tibetan troops went west to resist the Arabs, hence they rarely caused trouble to our borders, where their forces are insufficient".[12] These accounts make clear that before Li Mi's plan formally took effect, the Tang court was already well aware that the Arabs could attack the Tibetans from the west and decrease their military force, which would greatly reduce the threat along the Tang border. From the timing of the conflict between the Arabs and the Tibetans in the Western Regions, it is entirely possible that in 785 the Tang achieved an alliance with the Arabs and requested that they attack the Tibetans from the west.[13]

4 Why the Sea Route Was Chosen

Yang Liangyao's stele records that "[a]fter receiving his commission, he left straightaway, without fearing the long distance that lay ahead. Reaching Nanhai, he stepped off the land and boarded a ship".

Nanhai must refer to Guangzhou (i.e. Canton). It should be noted that the administrative seat of Guangzhou was in Nanhai county 南海縣. Guangzhou was renamed Nanhai commandery 南海郡 in the 1st year of the Tianbao reign period (742); then in the 1st year of the Qianyuan 乾元 reign period (758) the name Guangzhou was restored.[14] Although it was officially called Guangzhou in the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), Nanhai was still used as an alternative name. Especially in literary works, Nanhai and Guangzhou were used interchangeably. Therefore Yang Liangyao and his companions left from Guangzhou for the Abbasid capital of Baghdad. Why did they choose the sea route?

As mentioned above, in the 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), when Yang Liangyao set off on his voyage, Tang and Tibetan relations had already broken down, and Tibetan horsemen were at Chang'an's

12 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 100 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 2127.

13 Zhang Shimin thought that Yang Liangyao's mission to the Arabs was carrying out Li Mi's plan, but he did not realise that the mission took place before Li Mi made this suggestion.

14 *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and Gazetteer of the Commanderies and Counties of the Yuanhe Era, 806–814), *juan* 3–4, the entry "Lingnan dao Guangzhou" 嶺南道廣州 (The Route from Lingnan to Guangzhou) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 885–887.

north-western boundaries. The most convenient route from Chang'an to the west, which was via the Hexi corridor, had already fallen into the hands of the Tibetans. If they had gone north they would have first reached the Uighur Qaghanate, then they would have headed west and taken the Silk Route north or south of the Tianshan mountains. Although they would have been able to pass through, their safety would have been uncertain; they might run into danger if they encountered Tibetans or other tribes. This was true especially for someone like Yang Liangyao's party, who had a clear political and military assignment, and had imperial edicts with them, which would have stated clearly that they intended to ally with the Arabs to attack the Tibetans. If these had fallen into the hands of the Tibetan army or other tribes allied with them, the envoys would doubtless have been killed, and this would have left the court's mission unfulfilled.

Conversely, by sailing west from Guangzhou, they would pass "a myriad kingdoms" without encountering any Tang enemies or hostile states along the way. Therefore the envoys could feel safe on their journey. The state gifts and imperial edicts would also reach their destination safely. In this case, their main challenges came not from human adversaries but from the natural difficulties of crossing oceans and seas.

Guangzhou was the best starting point for the sea route to the Abbasids. It was an important foreign trading port, and also one of the departure points on the maritime Silk Road. The Tang established an overseas trade management organisation in the 2nd year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (714) at the latest. It was called the Office of Maritime Trade (*shibo si* 市舶司) and was managed by the maritime trade commissioner 市舶使. The *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 contains the following record: "In the 2nd year of the Kaiyuan era, … the Maritime Supervisor and Right Awe-inspiring Guard Palace Attendant 右威衛中郎 Zhou Qingli 周慶立 and the Persian priest Jilie 僧及烈 produced a variety of ingenious implements and presented them to the court".[15] This passage shows that rare objects and unusual tools came into the Tang from overseas via the coastal port of Guangzhou.

At that time, Guangzhou was also a place where long-distance, ocean-going ships congregated. In the 7th year of the Tianbao reign period (748), when the eminent monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) was in Guangzhou, he saw "countless

15 "Zhijian" 直諫 [Direct Admonishments], *Songben Cefu yuangui* 宋本冊府元龜 (Song Edition of the Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature), facsimile edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), entry No. 13, *juan* 546, p. 1490; and *Cefu yuangui*, facsimile of the Ming edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), pp. 6547–6548. See "Xuanzong ji" 玄宗紀 (Annals of Emperor Xuanzong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 8, p. 174.

Indian, Persian and Kunlun (Southeast Asian) ships on the river, carrying cargoes of medicinal aromatics and precious stones piled high as mountains. The ships were six-seven *zhang* deep. People from Sri Lanka, Arabia, Gutang 骨唐, Baiman 白蠻, Chiman 赤蠻 and other kingdoms, in great variety, travel through and reside here".[16] For this reason, those who wished to take long sea journeys at the time could choose from different types of craft. As an official Tang envoy, Yang Liangyao probably had to choose one of their own Tang ships. The preface to the French translation of the *Akhbār al-ṣīn wa-l-hind* (Accounts of China and India), cites a work called *Kitāb ʿAjāʾib al-Hind* (The Book of the Marvels of India) saying, "it is aboard the Chinese junks that merchants from the Persian Gulf made their first journeys across the South Seas of China".[17] This statement was probably made around the time when Yang Liangyao left on his journey. Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲蔵 also praised Chinese ocean-going ships, saying: "Although Arab seagoing ships were light and fast, compared to their Chinese counterparts they were structurally weaker. They were smaller and less able to resist the wind and the waves".[18] This type of large vessel built in China was probably Yang Liangyao's first choice for his journey.

Yang's choice of Guangzhou as his place of departure was probably related to his previous service as an envoy there and his familiarity with the area. His stele inscription says,

> When he was sent to Guangfu 廣府 (Guangzhou), he encountered rebels who murdered their generals and forcefully obstructed his troops. Geshu Huang thereupon unleashed his ravenous ambition, wanting to receive recognition from the court. He threatened Yang with a sword, demanding that Yang write a memorial for him to the emperor. Lord [Yang] stood as firm as a mountain and refused to be swayed. When the incident was resolved he returned to the court and was consistently kept in high

16 Masato Genkai 真人元開 (Ōmi no Mifune 淡海三船), *Tō Daiwajō Tōseiden* 唐大和上東征傳 (An Account of the Eastern Journey of the Great Tang Monk), ed. and annot. by Wang Xiangrong 汪向榮, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan 中外交通史籍叢刊 series (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 74.

17 Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, Ak̲bār al-Ṣīn wa-al-Hind, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851*, trans. by Jean Sauvaget (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1948), p. xxxix. Chinese translation: *Zhongguo Yindu jianwen lu* 中國印度見聞錄 (Accounts of China and India), trans. by Mu Genlai 穆根來, Wen Jiang 汶江 and Huang Dao 黃倬 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 25.

18 Sangyuan Zhizang [Kuwabara Jitsuzō] 桑原隲蔵, *Zhongguo-Alabo haishang jiaotong shi* 中國阿拉伯海上交通史 (History of Sino-Arabian Maritime Communications), trans. by Feng You 馮攸 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), p. 119.

> regard. In the 12th year (777) he was promoted to director of the palace gates service (*gongwei ling* 宮闈令).

Thus in the 8th year of the Dali reign period (773), when Yang Liangyao was on a mission to Guangzhou, he happened to encounter Geshu Huang, governor of Xunzhou 循州 (the administrative seat at Haifeng 海豐, present-day Haifeng county in Guangdong 廣東). Geshu Huang had rebelled and killed Lü Chongben 呂崇賁, governor of Guangzhou and military commissioner of Lingnan 嶺南. We can see from the stele that Geshu Huang probably wanted to use Yang Liangyao's memorial to the throne to obtain the prestigious post of military commissioner of Lingnan. However, Yang Liangyao "stood as firm as a mountain and refused to be swayed", so Geshu Huang was unable to fulfil his aim. In the 11th month of the 10th year of the Dali reign period (775), the Jiangxi surveillance commissioner 觀察使 Lu Sigong 路嗣恭 took Guangzhou and executed Geshu Huang, thus putting down the rebellion. Later Yang Liangyao returned to the capital and received high acclaim. In the 12th year of the Dali reign period (777) he was promoted to director of the Palace Gates Service. The *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) says, "When Lu Sigong first pacified Lingnan, he presented a platter made of glass 9 inches in diameter and we (i.e. Emperor Daizong 代宗) treasured it as an extremely precious object".[19] This glass platter, which came to the capital from Lingnan, may have been brought by Yang Liangyao himself as a precious gift from overseas.

At the time of Yang Liangyao's journey to Guangzhou, Du You 杜佑 (735–812) was both governor of Guangzhou and military commissioner of Lingnan. From the 3rd month of the 1st year of the Xingyuan reign period (784), Du You was transferred to serve in Guangfu 廣府, where "he strengthened the troops and built broad roads, thereby making rituals and customs flourish, and fires and disasters cease of themselves. Gold and ivory were brought in from the south via maritime trade". In this way, the city was reinvigorated, the people behaved respectfully and courteously, overseas trade developed, and precious items and rarities flooded into the empire. Du You also "channelled the beneficial profits [of trade] and promoted trust and honesty. Myriads of ships arrived in succession, and hundreds of commodities were dispatched".[20] At the

19 *Zizhi tongjian, juan* 225, p. 7253.

20 Quan Deyu 權德輿, "Du Gong Huainan yiai bei ming bing xu" 杜公淮南遺愛碑銘並序 (Stele Inscription and Preface on Master Du's Legacy in Huainan), in *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 496 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 5056B. Concerning Du You's political achievements in Guangzhou, see Guo Feng 郭鋒, *Du You*

end of the 8th century, Guangzhou was in a peaceful state under the governorship of Du You; it was a time of social stability and thriving overseas trade. This provided the infrastructure and ideal social environment for the departure of Yang Liangyao's mission.

We can also suggest that another reason why Yang Liangyao chose Guangzhou as his starting point was to benefit from Du Huan's experience in the Arab regions, and the detailed knowledge of the sea route that Du Huan took on his return journey. We know that in the 10th year of the Tianbao reign period (752) Du Huan had accompanied Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 (d. 756), military commissioner of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, on his Western expedition to Chach (present-day Tashkent) and was defeated and taken prisoner at Talas. For this reason, he was able to go from Central Asia to the heart of the Arab world (in present-day Iraq), staying in places such as the Abbasid capital of al-Kūfah (in present-day Meshed-Ali) for about ten years. In the 1st year of the Baoying 寶應 reign period (762) of Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), he boarded a commercial ship and took the sea route back to Guangzhou. The account of this journey, entitled *Jingxing ji* 經行記 (A Record of Travels), has been lost, but fragments of it are preserved in his paternal uncle Du You's work, the *Tongdian* 通典 (Encyclopaedic History of Institutions).[21] The text of Du Huan's *Jingxing ji*, as seen by Du You, was the best guide to the Arab world that Yang Liangyao could have had. Not only was he going to the same place from which Du Huan had just returned, but the sea route he took there was also the same. The *Tongdian* says that Du Huan came ashore at Guangzhou. When Yang went on his mission in the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), Du Huan may still have been in Guangzhou. However, Yang was at least able to see Du Huan's book *Jingxing ji* in Du You's possession, which would have been the perfect guide for his mission to the Abbasids.

Apart from this, when Yang was going on his mission to the Arabs, he had to "pass by a myriad kingdoms", and he needed to prepare imperial gifts to take to these regimes. In the Tang period, the maritime supervisorates in Guangzhou were usually run by eunuchs. By being in charge of the abundant resources obtained through overseas trade, they were well placed to supply gifts that Yang

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pingzhuan 杜佑評傳 (Critical Biography of Du You) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 101–108.

21 Du You 杜佑, *Tongdian* 通典 (Encyclopedic History of Institutions), *juan* 191, "Bianfang dian" 邊防典 (Border Defense Institutions), Section 7, and other related sections (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), p. 5199. Cf. Du Huan 杜環, *Jingxing ji jianzhu* 經行記箋注 (Record of a Journey, Annotated), ed. and annot. by Zhang Yichun 張一純 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000).

could take with him on his mission. He was able to make use of the eunuch system in Guangzhou to obtain the gifts he needed, saving him from having to ship them overland from Chang'an. This may have been one of the reasons why the Tang chose Guangzhou as the starting point for Yang Liangyao's mission.

5 Sacrificing to the Waves on the South Seas

To take a voyage by sea, one has to face the perilous waters and towering waves. Yang Liangyao was originally a native of Hongnong in Henan. Because his great-grandfather was a meritorious official of the Tang, for his achievements he was granted family property in Yunyang 雲陽; and the family consequently became residents of the capital area (Jingzhao 京兆). Thus we can say that Yang Liangyao was from the interior of China; he did not grow up near the ocean. However, before going on his mission to the Arabs, he had been to Annam 安南 (under the jurisdiction of Jiaozhi 交趾, in present-day Hanoi, Vietnam) and Guangzhou, so he must have gained some experience sailing along the coast. Yet in the end, Arabia was very far away, and long-distance navigation was full of peril. How were Yang and company able to face the dangers of the sea they were about to endure?

Yang Liangyao's stele says:

> Although the goal was distant, his face showed no fear of danger; with a stern expression, he remained confident that they would cross [the ocean] safely. His integrity was an inspiration to his subordinates; his dedication moved the spirits. Consequently, Lord [Yang] cut off his hair and sacrificed it to the waves, pointing to the sun and swearing an oath to his companions. As a result, Yanghou calmed the waters, and Pingyi harmonised the winds.

In other words, despite the long distance, he did not show any fear of danger or hardship, but only confidence in completing his journey. This determination moved the spirits to help. The specific procedure was to cut off a tuft of his hair and sacrifice it to the ocean waves; with his hand pointing to Heaven, he swore an oath to his companions. Performing this ritual would evoke the gods to provide them with calm winds and waves. Putting aside the literary embellishments of this language, what shines through here is that when faced with the challenge of taking an ocean-going voyage, people of the past had to perform sacrifices in all solemnity and seek Heaven's support, as well as the help of spirits.

Where would Yang Liangyao and his companions have carried out this sacrifice? The most likely spot was Guangzhou's Nanhai shrine 南海祠, also called the Nanhai Temple 南海廟.

The Nanhai shrine had been set up in the 14th year of the Kaihuang 開皇 reign period (594) in Guangzhou, Nanhai county (present-day Miaotou 廟頭 village, Huangpu 黃埔 district), as the place to sacrifice to the god of the South Sea. Sui practices continued during the Tang period, and the sacrifice to the god of the South Sea was one of the state sacrifices, called *yuezhen haidu* 嶽鎮海瀆 (Mountains, Garrisons, Seas and Canals). In the 10th year of the Tianbao reign period (751) the god of the South Sea was also granted the title King of Broad Benefits 廣利王. Once a year, at the appropriate time, the senior official of the region made a sacrifice to this god. On special occasions a central government official was sent to Guangzhou to perform a sacrifice to the god of the South Sea. This deity was not only the focus of official sacrifices, but also the object of worship and sacrifice by merchants, fishermen and other common people. It was even more important for those going on long-distance sea voyages to sacrifice to the god of the South Sea.[22] For this reason, the place where Yang Liangyao and his companions performed their sacrifice to the waves must have been the Nanhai Temple. The content of their prayers was perfectly suited to the scope of the deity's influence.

The Nanhai Temple in the Tang period must have been located next to the Pearl River (Zhujiang 珠江). Therefore, Yang Liangyao and company probably performed the sacrificial ritual in this temple, after which they boarded their ship and immediately commenced their long voyage.

6 The Dates of Departure and Return

Yang Liangyao's stele says that when they departed on their journey, "[a]s the stars and frost went through their cycle twice, they passed a myriad of kingdoms. They spread imperial influence to regions with diverse customs, disseminating the emperor's prestige across boundless territories. He journeyed there and back according to schedule, completing his mission without fail". When the inscription says "the stars and frost went through their cycle twice", it is referring to astronomical and meteorological phenomena: the constellations make one complete revolution in the sky per year, and the frost falls

22 See Wang Yuanlin 王元林, *Guojia jisi yu haishang silu yiji: Guangzhou Nanhai shenmiao yanjiu* 國家祭祀與海上絲路遺跡：廣州南海神廟研究 (State Sacrifices and Remains of the Maritime Silk Road: A Study of the God of the South Sea Temple in Guangzhou) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 49–97.

at the beginning of winter each year, so these two things refer to the passage of one year. Two cycles signify two years, and the journey must have taken at least that long.[23] The mission set off in the 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785). Considering that in the 6th month of the 4th year (788) Yang was promoted to grand master of the palace on account of his mission, we can surmise that the members of this embassy probably returned to Chang'an in the second half of the 3rd year of Zhenyuan (787).

Yang must have taken advantage of the monsoon winds on his journey, therefore we can also use the timing of the monsoons to deduce the dates of his travel. Qian Jiang 錢江 of Hong Kong University has used the accounts of Arab navigators to analyse their use of the monsoons when they crossed the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, pointing out that Arab merchant ships during the Tang dynasty required 18 months for one round-trip journey from the Persian Gulf to Guangzhou. From China to the Persian Gulf, one would sail from Guangzhou some time in October–December, and reach the Melaka Strait by relying on the north-east monsoon. One would cross the Bay of Bengal in January, then reach the southern part of the Arabian peninsula in February–March, and finally arrive at the harbour of Muscat at the end of April, relying on the south-west monsoon. The journey from the Persian Gulf back to China was as follows: Leaving in September–October, they would rely on the north-east monsoon to cross the Indian Ocean, and arrive on the Malabar coast of India in November–December. They would then sail to the Malay peninsula in January, and wait for the monsoon there. They would arrive at Guangzhou in April–May, taking advantage of the absence of typhoons on the South China Sea at this time of year.[24]

Thus we can reconstruct Yang Liangyao's journey using the Gregorian calendar as follows: The 4th month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period was equivalent to 13 May to 12 June 785. Yang Liangyao probably left Chang'an in June 785, arrived in Guangzhou in August, and rested there, preparing for the long sea journey. He would have sailed from Guangzhou in October, arriving

23 Sangyuan Zhizang [Kuwabara Jitsuzō] has studied in detail the sea routes and dates between Arabia and China (Guangzhou) and has shown that in the Tang dynasty the return sea voyage between these two places usually took over two years; see Sangyuan Zhizang [Kuwabara Jitsuzō], *Zhongguo-Alabo haishang jiaotong shi*, pp. 109–111.

24 Qian Jiang 錢江, "Gudai Bosiwan de hanghai huodong yu maoyi gangbu" 古代波斯灣的航海活動與貿易港埠 (Seafaring Activities and Trading Ports in the Ancient Persian Gulf), *Haijiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 (Studies on the History of Maritime Relations), No. 2, 2010, p. 12. Concerning the use of the monsoons by Arab and Persian navigators sailing to the East, see also J. W. Meri, ed., *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 556–557 and 816–818.

at Muscat harbour in April 786, and at Baghdad in May of the same year. After staying among the Abbasids for several months, he would have left the Persian Gulf in September 786 and returned to Guangzhou in May 787, reaching Chang'an in July of that year. This was equivalent to the 5th or 6th month of the 3rd year of the Zhenyuan reign period in the Tang calendar. He may have stayed in Guangzhou a little longer, arriving in Chang'an in the second half of that year. If we follow what it says on the stele, that Yang Liangyao was granted a position in recognition of his mission in the 6th month of the 4th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (788), it is likely that he stayed with the Abbasids for an entire year, and that this was the promotion he received upon his return.

7 The Route

Yang Liangyao's stele does not describe his route in any detail, saying only the following:

> With sails unfurled they soared across the boundless space, taking to their oars, they rode the shining white expanse of water. Divine lights guided the way by night and supernatural animals led the way by day. As the stars and frost went through their cycle twice, they passed a myriad of kingdoms.

This passage is full of flowery language but gives very little specific information about his journey. What was Yang's specific itinerary?

Fortunately Jia Dan's 賈耽 *Huang hua sida ji* 皇華四達記 (Record of the Imperial Glory in the Four Directions), preserved in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History), includes the following detailed itinerary from Guangzhou to Baghdad:[25]

25 "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on Geography), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 43b, pp. 1153–1154. There are many articles about this passage, and there are also different theories about it. Here we have just chosen one theory which seems suitable, but for a more detailed discussion, please see the publications below: Gabriel Ferrand, *Le k'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du sud* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1919); Paul Pelliot, "Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde a la fin du VIIIe siecle", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. IV, 1904, pp. 131–414; Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Zhongguo Nanyang jiaotong shi* 中國南洋交通史 (History of China's Communications with the South Seas), with an introduction by Xie Fang 謝方 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 31–33; Han Zhenhua 韓振華, "Di ba shiji Yindu Bosi hanghai kao" 第八世紀印度波斯航海考 (A Study of Eighth Century Indian and Persian Navigation), in Han Zhenhua, *Zhong-wai guanxi lishi*

Setting sail south-east from Guangzhou, after 200 *li* we reached Tunmenshan 屯門山 (on the north-western shore of today's Kowloon 九龍 peninsula); sailing westward for two days, we reached Jiuzhou daoshi 九州島石 (Qizhou 七洲 / Taya Archipelago, on the north-eastern side of Hainan Island 海南島). Further south after 2 days we reached Xiangshi 象石 (Dazhou 大洲 / Tinhosa Island, south-east of Hainan); sailing further south-west for three days we reached Zhanbulao shan 占不勞山 (Culao Cham, present-day Champa Island in Vietnam). This island is 200 *li* east of Huanwang guo 環王國 (Lâm Ấp 林邑 and Champa in today's central Vietnam). Sailing south for two days, we reached Lingshan 陵山 (present-day Cape Sa-hoi, north of Quy Nhơn in Vietnam). Then we sailed another day and reached Menduguo 門毒國 (today's Quy Nhơn in Vietnam). After another day, we reached Gudaguo 古笪國 (present-day Nahtrang in Vietnam). Half a day more and we reached Bentuolang zhou 奔陀浪洲 (present-day Phanrang in Vietnam). After another two days we reached Juntunong shan 軍突弄山 (present-day Poulo Condore). Another five days and we reached the strait (today's Melaka Strait), called *selat* by the locals. From north to south it is a hundred *li* long, on the north (*recte*: east) shore is Luoyueguo 羅越國 (the southern end of today's Malay peninsula), and on the south (*recte*: west) shore is Foshiguo 佛逝國 (on the south-eastern part of Sumatra). Sailing four or five days east of Foshiguo, we reached Helingguo 訶陵國 (present-day Java), the largest of the southern islands. Then heading west, and after coming out of the strait, we sailed for three days and reached the kingdom of Gege Sengzhi 葛葛僧祇 (in the present-day Brouwers Islands south of

yanjiu 中外關係歷史研究 (Studies in the History of Sino-Foreign Relations) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, Asian Research Centre, 1999), pp. 353–362; Chen Jiarong 陳佳榮, *Zhong-wai jiaotong shi* 中外交通史 (History of Sino-Foreign Communications) (Hong Kong: Xuejin shudian, 1987), pp. 184–186; Su Jiqing 蘇繼卿, *Nanhai gouchenlu* 南海鉤沉錄 (Investigations into the South Seas) (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1989), pp. 373–378; Liu Yingsheng 劉迎勝, *Silu wenhua: Haishang juan* 絲路文化·海上卷 (Silk Road Cultures: The Maritime Routes) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1995), pp. 103–104; Zhang Guangda, "Haibo lai Tianfang, Silu tong Dashi: Zhongguo yu Alabo shijie de lishi lianxi de huigu", in Zhang Guangda, *Wenben, tuxiang yu wenhua liuchuan*, pp. 133–180; Chen Yan 陳炎, *Haishang sichou zhi lu yu wenhua jiaoliu* 海上絲綢之路與文化交流 (The Maritime Silk Road and Cultural Exchange), Supplementary Volume (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2002); Lin Meicun 林梅村, *Sichou zhi lu kaogu shiwu jiang* 絲綢之路考古十五講 (Fifteen Lectures on the Archaeology of the Silk Road) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 223–229; Liu Yingsheng, *Hailu yu lulu: Zhonggu shidai dong-xi jiaoliu yanjiu* 海路與陸路 – 中古時代東西交流研究 (Sea Routes and Land Routes: Exchanges between East and West in the Medieval Period) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp. 202–207.

the Melaka Strait). It is another island north-west of Foshi[guo], where many of the inhabitants are marauders, and those who travel by ship are afraid of them. North (*recte*: east) of this, on the shore, is the Geluo 個羅 kingdom (present-day Kedah on the western side of the Malay peninsula). From Geluo going west (*recte*: north), we came to the kingdom of Geguluo 哥谷羅 (Qaqola/Kakula, in the region of the present-day Kra Isthmus on the Malay peninsula). Continuing further from Gege Sengzhi for four or five days, we reached Shengdeng zhou 勝鄧洲 (present-day Deli on the north-eastern side of Sumatra). Then in another five days we reached Poluoguo 婆露國 (Breueh/present-day Barus Island in the north-western part of Sumatra). After sailing six more days, we reached Poguo 婆國 (Cola), Qielanzhou 伽藍洲 (present-day Nicobar Islands, India). Then sailing north[26] again for four days we reached Shiziguo 師子國 (present-day Sri Lanka), whose northern shore is a hundred *li* from the mainland of Southern India. Then we sailed westward for four days and passed by Molaiguo 沒來國 (today's Malabar, India), the southernmost point of Southern India. Further north-west, passing about a dozen small kingdoms, we reached the western border of India. Then sailing further north-west for two days, we reached Bayuguo 拔颶國 (present-day Bharuch on the western coast of India). Sailing on for another ten days, we passed five small kingdoms on the western border of India, and reached Tiyuguo 提颶國 (Diul, present-day Diudul in the southern part of the Kathiawar peninsula on the north-western coast of India). In this kingdom we found the Milantai 彌蘭太 River (Nahr Mihrān, the name that the Arabs use for the Indus River). It is also called the Xintou 新頭 River (present-day Indus). It flows from northern Bokunguo 渤昆國 (possibly referring to Greater Bolü 大勃律, the region of present-day Baltistan, north-west of Kashmir), west to the region north of Diul, where it enters the sea. From Diul going west for 20 days, we passed more than 20 small kingdoms and reached Tiluoluhe guo 提羅盧和國 (Djerrarah, near present-day Abadan, at the Persian Gulf in western Iran), also called Luoheyi guo 羅和異國 (Larwi). The people there have set up a splendid pillar in the sea, where at night they installed a torch to help prevent sailors from getting lost after dark. After sailing west for one day we reached Wulaguo 烏剌國 (present-day Al-Ubullah in south-western Iran), and then the Fulila 弗利剌 River (the present-day Euphrates) of Arabia,

26 Pelliot thinks that the word "north" (*bei* 北) here is an error for the word "10" (*shi* 十) or "20" (*nian* 廿). Paul Pelliot, *Jiao Guang Yindu liang dao kao* 交廣印度兩道考, trans. by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 of Pelliot's "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle" (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), p. 281.

> where it heads south into the sea. We then took small boats upstream, and in two days reached Moluoguo 末羅國 (present-day Basra, Iraq), an important city of the Arabs. Further north-west by land we travelled a thousand *li* and reached Fudacheng 縛達城 (present-day Baghdad), the city which King Maomen 茂門 (Amīr al-Mu'minīn) made his capital.

Note that Jia Dan took up his post as Minister of Works in the 1st year of the Xingyuan reign period (784). In the 2nd month of the 1st year of the Zhenyuan reign period (785), Jia Dan and Liu Taizhen 劉太真, attendant gentleman (*shilang* 侍郎) in the Ministry of Works, were sent to inspect the Eastern Capital (Luoyang 洛陽), as well as Henan 河南 and Hebei 河北, respectively. In the 6th month, in addition to the ranks he already had, he was also given the titles of censor-in-chief 御史大夫, Eastern Capital regency judge 東都留守, minister of the Eastern Capital 東都尚書, and chief defence commissioner of Ruzhou in the metropolitan area of the Eastern Capital 東都畿汝州都防禦使. In the 9th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (793) he had an audience at the court and was promoted to right vice director 右僕射 and joint manager of affairs with the secretariat-chancellery 同中書門下平章事. Thus he was the grand councilor 宰相. In the 10th month of the 17th year (801) Jia Dan presented the *Hainei huayi tu* 海內華夷圖 (Map of Chinese and Barbarian Lands of the World), and wrote the *Gujin junguo xiandao siyi shu* 古今郡國縣道四夷述 (Description of Commanderies, Kingdoms, Counties and Circuits Inhabited by the Four Barbarians in Ancient and Modern Times) in 40 *juan*. The memorial that accompanied it said,

> Previously, in the 1st year of the Xingyuan reign period (784), I was ordered by the court to create a map of the empire. Immediately afterwards I was sent as a messenger to Weizhou 魏州 and Bianzhou 汴州, and then went to take up my post in the Eastern Capital Luoyang. Having had many tasks at hand, I was not able to focus on this one, though I kept working on it for a long time, and I was becoming increasingly distressed and ashamed. Recently, although my energies have diminished, I exerted my mental effort and committed all the information I collected to visual media. I ordered artists to paint the *Hainei huayi tu* in one scroll, … and also wrote the *Gujin junguo xiandao siyi shu* in 40 *juan*.

The "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Treatise on Geography) in the *Xin Tangshu* says: "Grand Councilor Jia Dan of the Zhenyuan reign period analysed most accurately the distances between regions and places. He recorded everything [reported] by those who travelled beyond the frontier to foreign lands as well as what was translated [from the words of foreigners] at the Court of Dependencies".

It seems that as early as the 1st year of the Xingyuan reign period (784) Jia Dan was collecting materials in the capital and other places, interviewing Tang envoys "who travelled beyond the frontier to foreign lands", and also, via translators, debriefing foreigners from various kingdoms. In the end, he finished his work in the 17th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (801). He was in Chang'an at the same time as Yang Liangyao, and Yang's record of the routes he traversed personally must have been the most direct, authentic, and up-to-date material. How could Jia Dan not have used it?[27] For this reason we can boldly speculate that Jia Dan's record was probably based on the route that Yang Liangyao took when he commanded the Tang ships on his mission. It begins at Guangzhou and ends at Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate. This was precisely the same journey that Yang Liangyao took when he served as an envoy to the Abbasids and travelled from Guangzhou to their new capital at Baghdad. Moreover, the journey also took place shortly before Jia Dan's compilation of his work. Especially noteworthy is Jia Dan's reference to a beacon: "the people here have set up a splendid pillar in the sea, where at night they installed a torch to help prevent sailors from getting lost after dark"; this is probably what Yang Liangyao's stele refers to when it says "divine lights guided the way by night". This description came from Yang Liangyao's personal experience and may even reflect his own words. From the standard version of the text extant today, it seems that Jia Dan's description probably came from the official report of Yang Liangyao's mission,[28] and some of the description may even have been Yang Liangyao's own words.

The account of the Arabs in the second half of *juan* 100 of the *Tang huiyao* came from Jia Dan's *Gujin junguo xiandao siyi shu*, and this account has been considered, along with Du Huan's report on the Arabs, one of China's earliest and most accurate accounts of the Arab world.[29] Looking at it today, the most up-to-date and accurate information in it was very likely what Jia Dan had obtained from Yang Liangyao's report.

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27 Jia Dan and Yang Liangyao must have had a very close relationship. According to Yang Liangyao's stele inscription, in the 15th year of the Zhenyuan era (779), during Wu Shaocheng's 吳少誠 rebellion in Huaixi 淮西, Yang Liangyao adopted a policy of appeasement and this strategy was in the end accepted by Emperor Dezong. The official history records that the policy of appeasement was suggested by Jia Dan and accepted by Dezong. On this matter, Yang Liangyao and Jia Dan were in agreement, so they must have communicated with each other; we can even surmise that they probably exchanged ideas.

28 Zhang Shimin says, "The sea route from the South Seas to Baghdad as recorded by Jia Dan may have come from the maritime diary kept by Yang Liangyao when he was sent on his mission to the Abbasids". This is an insightful point.

29 Zhang Guangda, *Wenben, tuxiang yu wenhua liuchuan*, p. 145.

The Arab and Persian geographical works also record the route from Baghdad and the Persian Gulf to Guangzhou during the 8th and 9th centuries, and these corroborate the route of Yang Liangyao's mission from another point of view. For instance, the Arab historical work entitled *Akhbār al-ṣīn wa-l-hind* (Accounts of China and India), compiled in 851, describes in great detail the different seas and islands, and the routes on which Sulaiman al-Tajir or other merchants travelled between the Persian Gulf and Guangzhou, as well as what they saw and heard.[30] Ibn Khurdādhbih, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, also describes his journey from Basra to Guangzhou in the late 9th to early 10th centuries, providing a detailed record of the distances and the places they passed.[31] Scholars have done a great deal of research on this work,[32] so we shall not say more about it here.

8 The Mission's Accomplishments and Impact

As for the achievements of Yang Liangyao's mission, the stele describes them simply and concisely with these words: "They spread imperial influence to regions with diverse customs, disseminating the emperor's prestige across boundless territories. He journeyed there and back according to schedule, completing his mission without fail". Since the author of the stele inscription did not state clearly that the goal of Yang Liangyao's mission was to enter an alliance with the Arabs against the Tibetans, he naturally could not say whether this was accomplished. He could only speak about it in a vague, general way, mentioning the spread of imperial influence to diverse lands, and prestige reaching across vast areas.

In reality, Yang Liangyao's mission probably attained its goal. As mentioned above, the Arabs and Tibetans came to blows in north-west India in the latter part of the 760s; they probably realised that this struggle was not likely to end quickly. The "Dashi zhuan" 大食傳 (Account of the Arabs) in the *Jiu Tangshu*

30 Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, *Zhongguo Yindu jianwen lu*, trans. by Mu Genlai, Wen Jiang and Huang Dao, pp. 3–10.

31 Ibn Khurdādhbih (Yiben Huerdazibihe 伊本·胡爾達茲比赫), *Daoli bangguo zhi* 道里邦國志 (Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik, The Book of Roads and Kingdoms), trans. and annot. by Song Xian 宋峴 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 63–64.

32 George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 61–79; Ma Jianchun 馬建春, "Tangchao yu Dashi de haishang jiaotong" 唐朝與大食的海上交通 (Maritime Communications between the Tang Dynasty and the Arabs), in Ma Jianchun, *Dashi, Xiyu yu gudai Zhongguo* 大食、西域與古代中國 (The Arabs, the Western Regions and Ancient China) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), pp. 3–24.

舊唐書 (Old Tang History) says that in the Zhenyuan reign period "the greater part of the Tibetan troops went west to resist the Arabs". This was probably a realistic assessment, and the situation must have worsened during the second half of Zhenyuan. If so, it is possible that the Arabs were incited by the Tang to proceed with their military onslaught, which would have been a result of Yang Liangyao's efforts.

Seen from the perspective of the history of Tang foreign relations as a whole, Yang Liangyao's maritime mission to the Abbasids greatly promoted the cultural exchange between East and West along the sea route. The maritime Silk Road seems to have undergone a period of rapid development from the beginning of the Zhenyuan reign period. A memorial written by Wang Qianxiu 王虔休 (737–799) says, "[In the Zhenyuan reign period,] foreign rulers and chiefs admired the prestige of the empire, their ships loaded with treasure came in succession, doubling their usual number"; "scaling the islands and navigating the seas, they came to the Middle Kingdom year after year".[33] By the end of the Zhenyuan reign period, "every year foreign kingdoms came to trade; pearls, tortoiseshell, exotic fragrances and rhinoceros horn all came on the seas by ship".[34] Material culture from overseas came to China via the South Seas in an incessant stream.

In the middle and late Tang period the quantity and variety of goods reaching China on ships via the maritime Silk Road steadily increased. Such items have been excavated in many sites in and around Guangzhou and other cities along the south-eastern coast. Some of them were brought to Chang'an, the capital where precious objects from all over the world tended to accumulate. Here we can provide just one example: a set of 18 items of Islamic glassware discovered in 1987, buried in the late Tang in an underground chamber of the Famen Temple 法門寺 in Fufeng 扶風, Shaanxi. The objects include:

- a vase with a relief design;
- an undecorated blue glass vase;
- a lustreware plate with a poppy flower design;
- a blue glass plate with a cross pattern (scratch-engraved, gilded);
- a blue glass plate with a circular wavy line (scratch-engraved, gilded);
- a blue glass plate with a design of four-fold petal clusters (scratch-engraved, gilded);

33 Wang Qianxiu's 王虔休, "Jin Lingnan guan wang shiboshiyuan tubiao" 進嶺南館王市舶使院圖表, in *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers from the World of Letters), *juan* 613.

34 Li Xu 李栩, "Jianjiao Libu shangshu Donghai gong Xu Shen xingzhuang" 檢校禮部尚書東海公徐申行狀 (On Xu Shen, Minister of Rites and Duke of Donghai), *Wenyuan yinghua*, *juan* 976.

– a blue glass plate with a floral pattern of circular wavy lines (scratch-engraved, gilded);
– a blue glass plate with a Mihrab floral motif on a net pattern (scratch-engraved).

All these intact items of Islamic glassware seem to have come to Central China by sea, rather than overland routes.

According to the research of Ma Wenkuan 馬文寬, a specialist in Islamic artefacts, this group of glassware was originally produced in Iraq,[35] i.e. by the Abbasids, and I think this is consistent with the historical background of the period. We can go even further and speculate that these artefacts found in the underground room of the Famen Temple were originally preserved or used in the imperial palace at Chang'an. We cannot exclude the possibility that some were tribute items brought back by Yang Liangyao from the Abbasids in the beginning of the Zhenyuan reign period.

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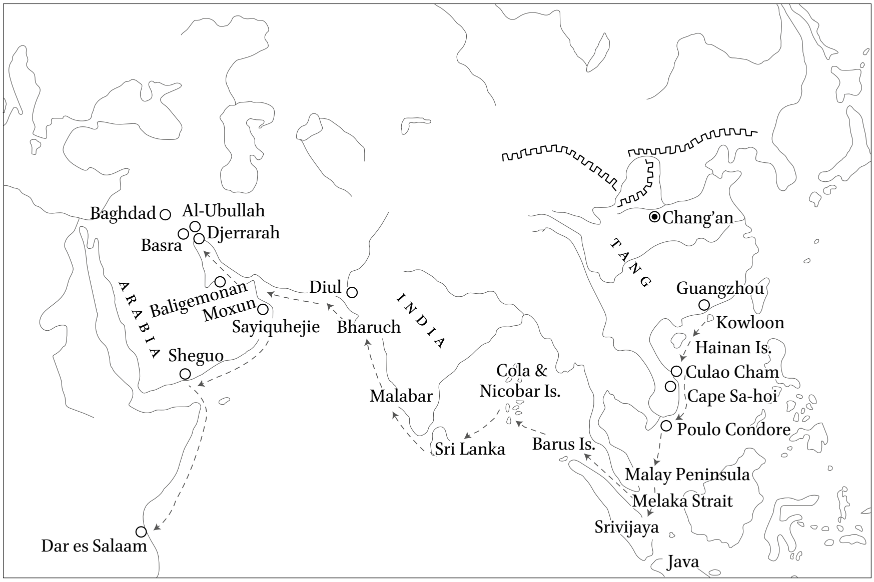
35 Ma Wenkuan 馬文寬, *Yisilan shijie wenwu zai Zhongguo de faxian yu yanjiu* 伊斯蘭世界文物在中國的發現與研究 (The Discovery and Study of Material Culture from the Islamic World in China) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2006), pp. 1–26.

FIGURE 7.1 Yang Liangyao's stele in the Jingyang County Museum
PHOTO BY ZHANG JIANLIN



MAP 7.1 The route from Guangzhou to Baghdad according to Jia Dan, taken from Chen Jiarong 陳佳榮, *Zhongwai jiaotong shi* 中外交通史 (History of Sino-Foreign Communications)

CHAPTER 8

Cultural Contacts between China and India from the Late Tang to the Early Song in Light of the Dunhuang Manuscripts

Translated by Zhou Liqun 周利群 *and Zhu Chenfeng* 朱陳鋒

Among the documents found in the library cave at Dunhuang 敦煌 are some precious historical materials concerning Sino-Indian cultural contacts. Examples are the renowned travel account *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) by Hyecho 慧超 (704–787) as well as a fragment which sheds light on the introduction of an Indian sugar-making technology into China.[1]

Regarding the materials related to Sino-Indian contacts in the late Tang, Five Dynasties (907–960) and early Northern Song (960–1127), which in Dunhuang corresponds to the Guiyijun period 歸義軍 (851–1036), most of the studies that have been published so far are either short notes that have not made a significant impact on research, or are written from a perspective that is not relevant to this topic. Therefore, they have not attracted widespread attention in academic circles. This paper builds on former research and systematically collates relevant materials, contrasting them with Chinese historical records. In addition, it places individual cases seen in Dunhuang manuscripts within the context of contemporary Sino-Indian cultural exchanges.

After the An Lushan rebellion (755–763), Tang power and influence gradually withdrew from the Western Regions. The return of the monk Wukong 悟空 from India to Chang'an 長安 in the 6th year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (790) of Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805), coincided precisely with the Tibetan occupation of the entire Western Regions. Thereafter, Tang historical records contain very little information about the Western Regions or India, and it was not until the early Song period that the situation changed.

1 Ji Xianlin 季羡林, "Yizhang youguan Yindu zhitangfa chuanru Zhongguo de Dunhuang canjuan" 一張有關印度制糖法傳入中國的敦煌殘卷 (A Dunhuang Fragment concerning the Transmission of an Indian Method of Making Sugar to China), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Studies), No. 1, 1982, pp. 124–136; with addendum in *Lishi yanjiu*, No. 3, 1982, pp. 93–94. A revised version is reprinted in Beijing daxue Dongfang yuyan wenxue xi 北京大學東方語言文學系, ed., *Dongfang yanjiu lunwen ji* 東方研究論文集 (Papers in East Asian Studies) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 1–17.

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Thus, transmitted histories give the impression that Sino-Indian contacts ceased completely during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods. However, the Dunhuang manuscripts have provided evidence that contacts did not stop during this period. Even though the level of contact at this time cannot be compared to what it had been during the early Tang, when relations flourished, preparations were being made in the early Song for large numbers of monks to go west in search of scriptures. Moreover, the writings of Buddhist monks who went "in search of the dharma" also provide valuable material for assessing their accomplishments.

1 Records of Chinese Pilgrims

What follows is a survey and analysis of the information contained in the Dunhuang manuscripts concerning Chinese monks who travelled west in search of the dharma during this period. They are arranged in chronological order.

1.1 *Hva Shang* (*Ch.* heshang 和尚, *'Monk'*)

Among the Tibetan manuscripts in the India Office Library collection, there is a long scroll in Tibetan and Chinese (Stein number: Ch.83.XI; current pressmark: IOL Tib J 754). On the front of folios 74–76 are two texts: a Chinese copy of *juan* 3 of the *Da fangbian Fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經 (Sutra on the Great Skillful Means of the Buddha's Repayment of Kindness) and Tantric ritual texts in Tibetan. On the verso are copies of five Tibetan letters (Fig. 8.1), with some Chinese characters. At the end is a Chinese text with the title *Liangzhou Yu*[*rong*]*shan Gantong si ruixiang ji* 涼州御〔容〕山感通寺瑞像記 (Record of the Auspicious Image at the Gantong Monastery at Mount Yu[rong], Liangzhou).[2] As early as 1927, Frederick William Thomas (1806–1866) published a preliminary transcription and translation of the five Tibetan letters,[3] unfortunately without any images. The catalogue of Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1869–1938), with an appendix by Enoki Kazuo 榎 一雄 (1913–1989), contains a brief description.[4] Volume 12 of the Tōyō bunko catalogue of Tibetan manuscripts in the Stein collection contains parts of the content in Tibetan script,

2 Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 236, 245, 259 and 265; Nos. 754 C1, C98 and C121.

3 Frederick William Thomas, "A Chinese Buddhist Pilgrim's Letters of Introduction", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 3, 1927, pp. 546–558.

4 de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, pp. 236, 245, 259 and 265; Nos. 754 C1, C98 and C121.

but these are only the beginning and end of the letters, not the entire text.[5] To date, I have been unable to verify Thomas's reading against the original manuscript, or images thereof. I am also not aware of any other scholar having done further research on this manuscript. Therefore, I can only make a summary of its content based on Thomas's preliminary study and the descriptions available in the above catalogues. I have no way of transcribing or translating the original text.

The main content of the five letters concerns a Chinese (Rgya yul) monk (Hva Shang), who was travelling to India (Rgya gar yul) in search of scriptures. The senders of the letters were the Tibetan officials To Le'u Stag gsum, Nogs Lu zhi Nam ka, Smir kham Rin chen rdo rje, and Dmag 'bu cang (two letters). The recipients were local officials or eminent monks of monasteries in the places where the monk was going to stay on his journey westward. The officials were requesting that the locals in charge look after the monk during his visit. The letters mention that the monk started from Wutaishan 五臺山 ('go de shan), and passed through Leng chu (Lingzhou 靈州 or Liangzhou 涼州), Ga lu, Dan tig shan, Tsong ka (Zongge city 宗哥城), Kam cu (Ganzhou 甘州) and Sha cu (Shazhou 沙州). His purpose was to visit eminent monks in the Nālandā (Nalenta) Monastery and make a pilgrimage to the holy sites of Śākyamuni on Vulture Peak (Bya rgod, Gṛdhra-kūṭa). The five letters were written successively in a single scroll, making it clear that this was a copy that the monk made and carried with him along his journey; the originals had been sent to the recipients. The list of places visited by the monk mentions Shazhou (i.e. Dunhuang) last, and the letters in Tibetan script include the three Chinese characters "Longxing si" 龍興寺 (Longxing Temple).[6] This must have been the name of the temple where the monk stayed in Shazhou. Once he reached Shazhou, these copies of the letters would have been useless, thus he left them there. Given that the senders were mostly Tibetan officials, the monk's journey from Wutaishan to India must have taken place between the late 8th and middle of the 9th centuries when the Hexi 河西 region was ruled by the Tibetans. We can see that the Tibetan occupation of the Helong 河隴 region did not interrupt the travels of Buddhist monks between China and India. The Longxing Temple in Shazhou was the official temple of the Tibetans at that time, and the fact that Chinese monks were able to stay there reveals the hospitality shown by

5 *Sutain shūshū Chibetto-go bunken kaidai mokuroku* スタイン蒐集チベット語文獻解題目録 (Annotated Catalogue of the Stein Collection of Tibetan Texts), Vol. 12 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko, 1988), pp. 85–89.

6 de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, p. 259, No. C98.

Tibetan officials to itinerant monks travelling along this route. Their hospitality must have had something to do with the Tibetan ruler's enthusiastic support of Buddhism at the time. In 824, the Tibetans sent envoys to the Tang court to obtain an image of Wutaishan.[7] We do not know why these envoys were sent there to do this precisely at the time when the Tang and Tibetans were in the middle of a confrontation, but it may be related to our monk's journey from Wutaishan to India through territory occupied by the Tibetans. Whatever the reason, although at present we do not have access to the complete text of the Tibetan letters, we are still able to extract some new information from it: that is, when Hexi was ruled by the Tibetans, Chinese monks from Central China were still going to India in search of scriptures, and that these activities were wholeheartedly supported by local officials of the Tibetan empire.

1.2 *Zhiyan* 智嚴

Manuscript S.5981 has a text written by Zhiyan in memory of his visit to Shazhou, where he made a pilgrimage to the sacred sites. The text reads as follows:

> 大唐同光二年三月九日時來巡禮聖跡，故留後記。鄜州開元寺觀音院主臨壇持律大德智嚴，誓求無上，普願救拔四生九類；欲往西天，求請我佛遺法回東夏。然願我今皇帝萬歲，當府曹司空千秋，合境文武崇班，總願歸依三寶，一切士庶人民，悉發無上菩提之心。智嚴回日，誓願將此凡身於五臺山供養大聖文殊師利菩薩，焚燒此身，用酬往來道途護衛之恩。所將有為之事，回向無為之理。法界有情，同證正覺。
>
> Written on the 9th day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang 同光 reign period (924) as a record of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites [of Shazhou]. I, Zhiyan, known as the Noble One Who has Come to the Altar and Observes the Discipline, abbot of the Guanyin Cloister at the Kaiyuan Monastery in Fuzhou, have vowed to seek liberation and to save the sentient beings of the four kinds of birth and the nine categories, so I intend to journey to the West to pursue the teachings that our Buddha left behind, and then return to China. I hope that our current Emperor lives for 10,000 years, and that Cao [Yijin], Minister of Works of our administration, lives for a thousand autumns. May all high-ranking civil and military officials find refuge in the Three Treasures.

7 "Jingzong ji" 敬宗紀 (Annals of Emperor Jingzong), *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 17a, p. 512; "Tubo zhuan" 吐蕃傳 (Account of Tibet), *juan* 196b, p. 5266.

> May all common people initiate the mind of the supreme enlightenment. When I, Zhiyan, return, I shall offer this mortal body as an offering to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Wutaishan and immolate it out of gratitude for his protection along the journey. May all the promising deeds return the merit of the unconditional law. May all sentient beings of the dharma-realm attain enlightenment.

From this passage, we know that Zhiyan was the abbot of the Guanyin Cloister of the Kaiyuan 開元 Monastery in Fuzhou 鄜州 (now Fu county 富縣, Shaanxi) and was called the Noble One Who has Come to the Altar and Observes the Discipline. At the beginning of the 3rd month in the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period (924), he returned from his journey to India, where he had gone in search of scriptures. When he reached Shazhou,[8] he visited the sacred sites in Dunhuang, and offered a benediction for the emperor of the Later Tang 後唐 dynasty (923–937) and Cao Yijin 曹議金 (d. 935), military commissioner 節度使 and Minister of Works 司空 in Shazhou. Zhiyan especially emphasized that when he returned to China, he would go to Wutaishan to make offerings to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī out of gratitude for protecting him along his journey. Moreover, manuscript S.4793 has a copy of "Gongde baohuafu Pusa hui" 功德寶華敷菩薩會 (Merit Treasure Flowers Laid Down at the Bodhisattva Assemblage), which is Volume 101 of Bodhiruci's (d. 727) translation of the *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (Sutra of the Great Treasure Collection, Skt. *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*). On the verso of the scroll is a colophon saying, "On the 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period (924), […] of the Guanyin [Cloister] in Fuzhou, Eastern Han kingdom", which

8 Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, "Chigon no *Junrei seiseki koryū kōki* ni tsuite" 智嚴の巡禮聖跡故留後記について (On Zhiyan's Note of his Pilgrimage to Sacred Sites), *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō, Bukkyō gakubu Bungakubu* 大正大学研究紀要, 仏教学部・文学部 (Memoirs of Taishō University, The Department of Buddhism and Literature), Vol. 61, No. 11, 1975, p. 61; and Liu Mingshu 劉銘恕, "Dunhuang yishu zaji sipian" 敦煌遺書雜記四篇 (Four Notes on Dunhuang Manuscripts), in Gansu sheng shehui kexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo 甘肅省社會科學院文學研究所, ed., *Dunhuangxue lunji* 敦煌學論集 (Papers on Dunhuang Studies) (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 46; both of the above argue that this was recorded when Zhiyan was first setting out on his journey. However, based on the context surrounding the words "returned east to Xia" (*hui dong xia* 回東夏), he must have written this on the way back to China. See Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和, "Kigigun" 歸義軍 (The Guiyijun), *Kōza Tonkō* 講座燉煌 (Lectures on Dunhuang), Vol. 2, *Tonkō no rekishi* 燉煌の歷史 (History of Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), pp. 267–268. Dohi Yoshikazu's point that the term Xitian 西天 in the Dunhuang manuscript should be understood as Xi Tianzhu 西天竺 (Western India) does not seem to be correct. In texts of this period Xitian should be interpreted as ancient India as a whole, because it is impossible that all the monks mentioned in the texts went to Western India.

must be a reference to Zhiyan.[9] Also, manuscript S.2659 with the Manichaean *Hymnscroll* (*Monijiao xiabu zan* 摩尼教下部讚) and *juan* 1 of the *Seng jiemo* 僧羯磨 (Karma of the Saṃgha), has on its verso, in the same handwriting, a copy of the first chapter of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Record of the Western Regions during the Great Tang), as well as the texts *Wang sheng li zan wen* 往生禮贊文 (Eulogies on Rebirth), and *Shier guang lichan wen* 十二光禮懺文 (Confession Liturgy for the Twelve Manifestations of Light). After this, we find the following two lines:

> *Wang Xitian zhuan* 往西天傳 (On Going West to India), in one scroll
>
> *Wang Xitian qiufa shamen Zhiyan xi zhuanji xie xia yijuan* 往西天求法沙門智嚴西傳記寫下一卷 (Śramaṇa Zhiyan's Travels Westward Toward India in Search of the Dharma), in one scroll

Here, of course, the name Zhiyan refers to the person mentioned above.[10] However, we cannot be certain that the *Wang Xitian zhuan* and *Xizhuan ji* 西傳記 that he copied were accounts written by him about his own journey to the West.[11] From the fact that the same side of this manuscript has a portion of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, written in the same hand, it seems that the *Wang Xitian zhuan* and *Xizhuan ji* refer to the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, rather than to texts written by Zhiyan himself. The texts copied on this side of the scroll were probably practical texts that Zhiyan carried with him on his journey; clearly, Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602–664) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was used at the time as a guide by Buddhist pilgrims travelling to India.[12]

In addition, manuscript P.2054 with the *Shiershi puquan sizhong yijiao xiuxing* 十二時普勸四眾依教修行 (The Twelve Hours, Universally to Persuade the Four Communities to Practice in Accordance with the Teachings) contains a colophon saying that it was copied by the student Xue Anjun 薛安俊 on the 17th day of the 5th month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period (924) and recited by the lay disciple Li Jishun 李吉順 "to encourage good behaviour". The verso has a colophon written in light ink: "Master Zhiyan's *Twelve Hours*, in one *juan*" 智嚴大師十二時一卷. "Master Zhiyan" here probably refers to

9 Makita Tairyō, "Chigon no *Junrei seiseki koryū kōki* ni tsuite", p. 60.
10 Makita Tairyō, "Chigon no *Junrei seiseki koryū kōki* ni tsuite", pp. 60–61.
11 Liu Mingshu, *Dunhuang yishu zaji sipian*, p. 46, takes an affirmative view.
12 For an overview of this manuscript and its images, see Xiang Da 向達, ed., *Da Tang Xiyu ji guben sanzhong* 大唐西域記古本三種 (Three Early Editions of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981).

Zhiyan of the Kaiyuan Monastery,[13] revealing that Shazhou students made copies of his works for chanting purposes.

1.3 *Guiwen* 歸文

Manuscript S.529 contains copies of six letters by Guiwen, a monk from the Kaiyuan Monastery of Dingzhou 定州 (present-day Dingxian 定縣, Hebei). Their contents are as follows (see also Fig. 8.2):

Letter A

季夏極熱，伏惟
和尚尊體起居萬福。即日歸文蒙
恩，不審近日　體氣何似？伏惟以
時強為茶藥，卑情懇望。歸文自恨
生末代，謬聞玄風，敢將螻蟈之心，再答
崇山之翠。去年東返，烈腹誰看？今遂
西行，死生無恨。昨於五月中旬以達靈州，
甚獲平吉，勿賜憂念。即候夏滿已來，
漸謀西進。黃沙萬里，音信應待東歸，方
申卑懇。今因人使，謹附狀
起居，伏惟
慈悲，府垂　　念察，謹狀。
　五月廿九日定州開元寺參學比丘歸文狀上。
和尚案前謹空

It is extremely hot in the 3rd month of summer. I humbly wish you good health and a happy life. You have been very kind to me. I wonder how your health has been recently? With all humility, I hope you take your tea and medicine in a timely fashion. I regret that I was born in the final age of the Dharma, and learned the profound teaching in an improper way. But I dare to use the mind of a frog to grasp the beautiful green colour of

13 See Jao Tsung-i and Paul Demiéville, *Airs de Touen-houang: Touen-houang k'iu, textes à chanter des VIII*[e]*–X*[e] *siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971), p. 24. However, Jao identifies the Xitian where Zhiyan and Zhijian 志堅 travelled (see manuscript S.3424 below) as Xitian at Mount Wutai, which does not seem to be correct. It would have been a short journey for Zhiyan from Fuzhou 鄜州 to Wutai; he would not have had to go to Dunhuang to offer benedictions for Cao Yijin. Indeed, his Dunhuang manuscript, especially the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* that he copied, proves that Xitian refers to India.

the high mountains. Last year, when I returned to the East, I disclosed my heart but there was no one to see. This year I head west again; without regard for my own life or death. Earlier, when I arrived in Lingzhou in the middle of the 5th month, everything went smoothly. Please don't worry about me. I wait for the height of the summer and then I will start making plans for going west. There are ten thousand *li* of desert to cross. Please wait until I come back to the East for news about my journey. I send this letter now, conveying my greetings via a messenger. Wish you well! I am greatly indebted for your consideration.

Presented on the 29th day of the 5th month by Bhikṣu Guiwen, who practices and studies at the Kaiyuan Monastery in Dingzhou. To the front of your desk. I humbly await your reply.

Letter B

定州開元寺僧歸文:
右歸文謹詣
衙祗候
起居
令公，伏聽 處分。
牒件狀如前，謹牒。
同光二年六月 日定州開元寺僧歸文牒。

The monk Guiwen from the Kaiyuan Monastery in Dingzhou:
The above-mentioned Guiwen, with deference has arrived at the administrative office and waits to send his greetings to the Secretariat Director, prostrating himself and awaiting his instructions and resolution.

My letter is as above, I am humbly sending it to you. Sent on the [...] day of the 6th month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period (924) by Guiwen, monk of the Kaiyuan Monastery in Dingzhou.

Letter C

開元寺僧牒，候 評事起居
歸文啟:季夏極熱，伏惟
評事尊體動止萬福，即日歸文蒙
恩，不審近日
尊體何似，伏惟以時倍加
保重，遠情禱望。歸文伏自去載、今年
皆蒙供養，獎顧之外，銘荷空深。

Letter from this humble monk of the Kaiyuan Monastery. I hope you, Case Reviewer, are well. I, Guiwen, write the following: It is extremely hot in the 3rd month of summer, I humbly wish you, Case Reviewer, good health. You have been very kind to me. I wonder how your health has been recently? I humbly hope you take care of yourself and be mindful of the seasons. I wish you all the best from afar. I, Guiwen, humbly thank you for your support of last year and this year. I am profoundly grateful for your encouragement and concern.

Letter D

定州開元寺僧歸文、德全等:
右歸文等鷲嶺微塵，漕溪末胤，幸因雲
水，獲寄
王都，滿川之花木。

The monks Guiwen, Dequan 德全 and others from the Kaiyuan Monastery in Dingzhou. The above-mentioned Guiwen and his companions are like particles of dust on Vulture Peak, successors of the Caoxi 漕溪 [school], they are fortunate as itinerant monks, to have the opportunity to come to the capital, on a plain full of flowers and trees.

Letter E

歸文啟:歸文伏自
辭違後，雖曾有狀，難忘 攀戀之懷。
况寄塞途，誰是堪依之者？終期再敘，
方遣愁眉，未遂寸心，故難東返。昨於
四月廿三日已達靈州，兼將緣身衣物，買得
駝兩〔頭〕，准備西登磧路。此後由恐平沙萬里，雪
嶠千尋，魚鳥希逢，歸文罕遇，切望相時
度日，以道 為懷。

Guiwen writes: I, Guiwen, prostrate myself to bid farewell. I cannot forget your previous letter and send this letter to express my nostalgia. If the road is blocked, who can I rely on to take a letter? Only after I return can we reunite; only then will my sadness be dispelled. Until my goal is accomplished, I cannot return eastward. Previously, I arrived in Lingzhou on the 23rd day of the 4th month. I sold my old clothes to buy two camels, to prepare for the long westward journey through the desert. From

now on I'm afraid there will be nothing but ten thousand *li* of desert, and snowy mountains thousands of *xun* high, with very few living beings in sight. I have seldom experienced such a situation and hope to be lucky enough to survive, and focus on the Way …

Letter F

敕旨往詣西天取經。近届
府庭，已經旬日。今因巡禮聖跡，得寄
貴封，於寶勝寺安下訖。謹專詣
衙祉候
起居
尚書，伏聽 處分。
牒件狀如前，謹牒。
同光二年五月 日定州開元寺僧歸文牒。

Sanctioned by the court, I headed to Xitian to obtain scriptures. I have been staying in this district for over ten days. Now on my pilgrimage to sacred sites, I can visit you. I am writing this while I am staying at the Baosheng Temple. Respectfully I visit the administrative office and wait to convey my greetings to you, Minister 尚書; I prostrate myself and await your instructions. My letter is as above, I am humbly sending it to you. Sent on the […] day of the 5th month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period (924) by Guiwen, monk of the Kaiyuan Monastery in Dingzhou.

Guiwen wrote these letters in the course of his westward journey and either sent or delivered them in person to secular or religious administrators, including a monk, a secretariat director, a judicial case reviewer, and a minister. The names and locations of the recipients are unknown, but we can speculate that they were in the region east of Shazhou.[14] The content of these letters is

14 Makita Tairyō, "Chigon no *Junrei seiseki koryū kōki* ni tsuite", pp. 62–63, and Liu Mingshu, *Dunhuang yishu zaji sipian*, pp. 46–47, both interpret the term *shangshu* 尚書 in Letter F as a reference to Cao Yijin of Shazhou. However, at this time, Cao Yijin already had the title Sikong 司空 (Minister of Public Works), so he should not have been called *shangshu*. See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Shazhou Guiyijun liren jiedushi chenghao yanjiu" 沙州歸義軍歷任節度使稱號研究 (Study of the Appellations of Successive Guiyijun Military Commissioners in Shazhou), in Zhongguo Dunhuang Tulufan xuehui 中國敦煌吐魯番學會, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan xue yanjiu lunwenji* 敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集 (Research Papers in Dunhuang and Turfan Studies) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 1990), pp. 792–793. Moreover, there is also no evidence that the Baosheng 寶勝 Monastery mentioned in this manuscript was a monastery in Shazhou; see Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Tonkō no sōni seki" 燉煌の僧尼籍 (Registers of Dunhuang Monks and Nuns), *Tōhō gakuho*

similar to that of the five Tibetan letters copied on scroll IOL Tib J 754; these were probably also copies kept by Guiwen. For this reason, the beginning and end of some letters were not copied. However, we can still learn quite a bit about Guiwen's experience of travelling west in search of the dharma. In the 1st year of the Tongguang reign period (923), Guiwen headed west (Letter C) but failed and was forced to return (Letter A). The following year he travelled west again, without regard for his life or death, accompanied by the monk Dequan 德全 and others. They arrived in Lingzhou on the 23rd day of the 4th month (Letter E). The secretariat director in Letter B probably refers to Han Zhu 韓洙, military commissioner of Lingwu 靈武.[15] After the 6th month, Guiwen bought two camels and headed west through the desert (Letter E). Undoubtedly, this was a difficult journey. It is worth noting that Letter F specifies that his journey was sanctioned by the court, an important historical detail that has been overlooked, namely, that in the early years of the Tongguang reign period, Emperor Zhuangzong 莊宗 (r. 923–926) of the Later Tang dynasty sent monks west in search of scriptures. The Later Tang's enthusiasm for contacts with the West can also be confirmed by Emperor Zhuangzong's recognition of Cao Yijin as military commissioner of the Guiyijun in Shazhou in the 5th month of the 2nd year of the Tongguang reign period.[16] The date of Guiwen's arrival in Shazhou is unknown, but we find his name in lines 49–50 of a report by the administrator of monastic donations in Shazhou (manuscript P.2638). The report includes expenditures between the 1st day of the 6th month of 933 and the 1st day of the 6th month of 936. Since the report records that eight feet of

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東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), Vol. 29, 1959, pp. 287–290; Dohi Yoshikazu, "Bakkōkutsu senbutsudō to daiji to rannya to" 莫高窟千仏洞と大寺と蘭若と (The Thousand Buddha Caves at Mogao and the Great Temples and Hermitages), *Kōza Tonkō* (Lectures on Dunhuang), Vol. 3: *Tonkō no shakai* 燉煌の社会 (The Society of Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), pp. 355–362; Li Zhengyu 李正宇, "Dunhuang diqu gudai cimiao siguan jianzhi" 敦煌地區古代祠廟寺觀簡志 (A Brief Record of Ancient Shrines and Temples in the Dunhuang Region), *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Dunhuang Studies Journal), Nos. 1 and 2, 1988, pp. 74–85.

15 See *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, *juan* 980, "Waichen bu; Tonghao men" 外臣部・通好門 (Section on Foreign Officials; Subsection on Friendly Relations), entry for the 10th month of the 2nd year of Guangshun 廣順 (952).

16 *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 170, "Diwang bu; Laiyuan men" 帝王部・來遠門 (Section on Emperors and Kings; Subsection on Those Coming from Afar), entry for the 5th month of the 2nd year of Tongguang (924).

juan 絹 silk were used by Guiwen to write letters,[17] it is clear that he was still in Shazhou during this period.

1.4 *Preaching Monks*

The beginning of the *Foshuo Amituo jing jiangjingwen* 佛說阿彌陀經講經文 (Sūtra Lecture on the Amitābha Sutra Spoken by the Buddha) in manuscript S.6551 reads as follows:

> 但少（小）僧生逢濁世，濫處僧倫，全無學解之能，虛受人天信施。東遊唐國幸（華）都，聖君賞紫，丞（承）恩特加師號。擬五臺山上，松攀（攀松）竹以經行；文殊殿前，獻香花而度日。欲思普化，爰別中幸（華），負一錫以西來，途經數載；制三衣於沙磧，遠達昆崗。親牛頭山，巡于闐國。更欲西登雪嶺，親詣靈山。自嗟業鄣（障）尤深，身逢病疾。遂乃遠持微德，來達此方，睹我聖天可汗大回鶻國，莫不地寬萬里，境廣千山。
>
> I, this humble monk, was born into the impure world and undeservedly became a monk. Without any ability for learning and understanding, I have been unworthy of the gifts and faith placed in me. When I travelled east to the capital of the Tang, our sage Emperor awarded me the purple robe and graciously conferred on me the title of Master. I intended to climb Mount Wutai by pulling myself up with the pine trees and bamboos, and spend my days offering incense and flowers in the hall of Mañjuśrī. Wishing to bring about universal transformation, I left China and headed west with a single monk's staff, and have been on the road for several years; only after having worn through three robes journeying through the desert, did I arrive at the distant Kunlun Mountains. I visited the Oxhead Mountain. I still wanted to cross the Snowy Mountains (Hindu Kush) and visit Vulture Peak, but due to the grave hindrances of my past karma, I have succumbed to illness. Thus, carrying with me my miniscule amount of merit, I came here, to the kingdom of my sage ruler the Heavenly Qaghan of the great Uighur Kingdom, who has land stretching for ten thousand *li* and territory spanning thousands of mountains.

17 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū: Gaikan, rokubun* 中國古代籍帳研究：概観・録文 (Ancient Chinese Household Registers: Overview and Transcription of Texts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1979), p. 649.

According to my understanding, this sutra-preaching monk probably made his first tour eastward to Wutaishan in about the year 930, and then went west to the kingdom of Khotan. He was preparing to travel further west across the Hindu Kush to the Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa) on his pilgrimage to Śākyamuni's holy sites. However, due to illness, he turned back, stopping in the kingdom of the Western Uighurs where he wrote this document.[18] Although he was unable to reach India, this journey shows that it was not rare for monks, at this time, to journey to the Western Heavens (i.e. India) in search of scriptures.

1.5 *Yanxi* 彦熙

Manuscript P.2605 contains a text entitled *Dunhuang jun Qiang Rong buza dezheng xu* 敦煌郡羌戎不雜德政序 (Preface to the Benevolent Policy regarding the Disharmony between the Qiang and Rong in Dunhuang Commandery). A note at the beginning states that it was written by "the *śramaṇa* Yanxi of the Fuxian 福先 Temple in Luoyang 洛陽, who lectured on the *Weishi baifa yinming lun* 唯識百法因明論 (The Hundred Divisions of the Consciousness-only School and the Logic of Causality) and practised the *dharma-dhātu* (*fajie* 法界) of Mañjuśrī, travelled to India to obtain scriptures, and was awarded a purple robe". The lecture primarily praises the merits of the Guiyijun's military commissioner Cao Yijin.[19] Only at the end do the words "My aim is to cross the Snowy Mountains and to change the customs of the world" reveal Yanxi's ambition to travel west. Unfortunately the end of the manuscript is missing, so we do not know more about this aspect of his life. This preface was completed between 931 and 935 when Cao Yijin was the ruler of the region. It would be fascinating to know about the activities of this eminent monk Yanxi, from the capital, on his journey to India, but to date we have no more information.

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18 Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang, "Youguan Xizhou Huihu de yipian Dunhuang Hanwen wenxian" 有關西州回鶻的一篇敦煌漢文文獻 (A Dunhuang Chinese Document Concerning the Xizhou Uighurs), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Journal of Peking University), No. 2, 1989, pp. 24–27.

19 Jō Sōi [Rao Zongyi] 饒宗頤, *Tonkō shohō sōkan* 燉煌書法叢刊 (Dunhuang Calligraphy Series), Vol. 19 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1984), p. 101, argues that the "great king" (*dawang* 大王) mentioned in the note refers to Cao Yanlu 曹延祿. I do not agree with this view. Cao Yanlu was called *dawang* between 984 and 1002. At this time the Northern Song capital was at Bianliang 汴梁 (i.e. Kaifeng 開封), not Luojing 洛京 (Luoyang 洛陽). Also, Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 was called *dawang* in 964–974, and during the Song period. The only possibility is that *dawang* here is Cao Yijin, who was called *dawang* in 931–935. At this time, the Later Tang capital was at Luoyang, and "Luojing" was the name used for Luoyang. See *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 (New History of the Five Dynasties), *juan* 60, "Zhifang kao" 職方考 (On Regional Geography); *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要 (Important Documents of the Five Dynasties), *juan* 19, entry on Henan fu 河南府.

1.6 *Shanguang* 善光

Manuscript S.4537 includes a letter by the monk Shanguang from the 9th year of the Tianfu 天福 reign period (944), which reads as follows:

> 太傅之恩敢賀 [
> 合，不犯威儀，先有鴻願之期，巡禮西天之境。今者
> 向西路發，般次往行，雖有此心，不能前進。伏望
> 太傅鴻造，特賜去往之由，比此般次回時，容舍（設）方求
> 道具，伏聽 裁下 處分。
> 牒件狀如前，謹狀。
> 天福九年正月 日釋門僧正沙門善光牒。

> I dare to praise the kindness of the Taifu … gather, not to violate the rules of etiquette. Formerly I had the grand wish to go on a pilgrimage to India. Now, as I set off on the road to the West, I desire to continue further and further west, but although I have this heartfelt desire, I cannot proceed. I prostrate myself, hoping that your Excellency Taifu, who in your great generosity has granted me the means to make this journey, will forgive my need to request assistance in support of my return journey. I prostrate myself, awaiting your instructions. The letter is as above; I am humbly sending it to you. Please accept this document. Written by Saṃgha Regulator *śramaṇa* Shanguang on the [...] day of the 1st month of the 9th year of the Tianfu reign period (944).

In this text, Taifu 太傅 (grand mentor) clearly refers to Military Commissioner Cao Yuanshen 曹元深 (fl. 942–946).[20] Because neither a place name nor temple name is given for him, we can surmise that Shanguang was a monk native to the Dunhuang area. This letter shows that monks from Shazhou also joined the ranks of those travelling to India in search of scriptures.

1.7 *Fazong* 法宗

The verso of manuscript Dong 冬 62 (new pressmark: BD02062) from the Beijing Library (now the National Library of China) collection contains a section of the *Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 (Sutra Spoken by Vimalakīrti), followed by this colophon:

> 大周廣順捌年歲次七月十一日，西川善興大寺西院法主大師法宗，往於西天取經，流為郡主 太傅

20 Rong Xinjiang, "Shazhou Guiyijun liren jiedushi chenghao yanjiu", p. 798.

> On the 11th day of the 7th month of the 8th year of the Guangshun 廣順 reign period (958) of the Great Zhou (i.e. Later Zhou 後周, 951–960) dynasty, Master Fazong, abbot of the West Cloister of the Great Shanxing Temple in Xichuan, on his way to India to obtain scriptures, circulated [this] for the commandery princess; the Taifu (grand mentor) …

The 8th year of the Guangshun reign period (958) was the 21st year of the Later Shu 後蜀 dynasty (934–966), during the Guangzheng 廣政 reign period (938–965) of the second Later Shu emperor Meng Chang 孟昶 (r. 934–965). Ever since the Late Tang period, relations between Sichuan and Dunhuang were very close,[21] and monks from Sichuan who went to India chose to pass through Dunhuang on the way. This shows that westbound monks were not only from the north, but also from the Sichuan basin.

1.8 *Daoyuan* 道圓

Manuscript S.6264 is an ordination certificate by the monk Daoyuan from the 12th year of the Khotanese reign period Tianxing 天興 (961). It includes the following information:

> 南閻浮提大寶于闐國匝摩寺八關戒牒
> 　受戒弟子曹清淨牒。
> […]
> 　　天興十二年二月八日，受戒弟子清淨牒。
> […]
> 授戒師:左街内殿講經談論興教法幢大師賜紫沙門道圓。
>
> Ordination certificate of the Eight Precepts, Zamo Temple at Khotan, the Great Jewel of South Jambudvīpa
> 　Ordination received by the disciple Cao Qingjing 曹清淨.
> […]
> On the 8th day of the 2nd month of the 12th year of the Tianxing reign period (961), ordination received by the disciple Qingjing.
> […]

21 Chen Tsu-lung 陳祚龍, "Zhongshi Dunhuang yu Chengdu zhijian de jiaotong luxian" 中世敦煌與成都之間的交通路線 (Communication Routes between Dunhuang and Chengdu in the Medieval Period), *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 (Dunhuang Studies), Vol. 1, 1974, pp. 79–86; Long Hui 龍晦, "Dunhuang yu Wudai Liang Shu wenhua" 敦煌與五代兩蜀文化 (Dunhuang and the Culture of Sichuan in the Five Dynasties), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Research on Dunhuang), No. 2, 1990, pp. 96–102.

> Ordination master: Śramaṇa Daoyuan of the Palace of Left Avenue, who lectures on scriptures and promotes the teaching, the Master of the Dharma Flag, Recipient of the Purple Robe.

The ordination master here refers to Daoyuan, a monk from Cangzhou 滄州 who returned from the Western Regions in the 3rd year of the Qiande 乾德 reign period (965).[22] Both the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編 (Expanded Continuation of the *Zizhi tongjian*) and the *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song Dynasty) mention Daoyuan and his travels. His return from India is described as follows:[23]

> 乾德三年十一月…先是，沙門道圓出遊西域二十餘年，於是與于闐朝貢使者俱還，獻貝葉經及舍利。癸亥，上召見之，問其山川道路及風俗，一一能記。上喜，賜以紫衣及金幣。

> In the 11th month of the 3rd year of the Qiande reign period (965) […], Śramaṇa Daoyuan had travelled through the Western Regions for over twenty years. Then he returned together with the tributary envoys from Khotan, and presented [to the court] sutras written on palm leaves and relics. On the *guihai* day, the Emperor (i.e. Song Taizu 太祖, r. 960–976) had an audience with him, and asked him about the mountains, rivers, routes, and customs of the [places he had visited]. [Daoyuan] gave a detailed account of everything he had witnesssed. The Emperor rejoiced and bestowed on him the purple robe and gold coins.

The "Account of Foreign Countries" (*Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳) chapter of the *Songshi* also says that "Daoyuan went to the Western Regions in the Tianfu reign period of the Later Jin dynasty" 道圓晉天福中詣西域. He may have gone west along with the envoys Zhang Kuangye 張匡鄴 and Gao Juhui 高居誨 of the Later Jin, who went to Khotan in the 3rd year of Tianfu (938), and continued on alone from Khotan to India. Then after his pilgrimage to India, he probably returned to Khotan, where he ordained monks. Thus we can see that he was highly regarded among Buddhists in Khotan. Later he may have travelled together with envoys back to Central China. A colophon at the end of scroll

22 Inoguchi Taijun 井ノ口泰淳, "Uten-go shiryō ni yoru Visa ōke no keifu nendai" ウテン語資料による Visa 王家の系譜年代 (Genealogy of the Visa House in the Khotanese Language), *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 (The Journal of Ryukoku University), Vol. 364, 1960, pp. 27–43, esp. pp. 36, 42–43.

23 *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編 (Expanded Continuation of the Zizhi tongjian), *juan* 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), Vol. 2, 161.

P.2893 to the *Foshuo baoen jing* 佛說報恩經 (Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on Repaying Kindness) contains the words, "Record of copying done by a scribe hired by the monks Xingkong and Daoyuan" 僧性空與道圓雇人寫記. On the back are medical prescriptions in Khotanese.[24] This scroll was probably left behind by Daoyuan when he was passing through Dunhuang.[25] The Sanskrit palm-leaf sutras brought back by Daoyuan are said to be in the collection of the Historical Relics Museum of Jiuhuashan 九華山.[26] Daoyuan and Emperor Taizu were on good terms despite their differences in status.[27] Daoyuan's description of the mountains and rivers, customs, as well as the conditions of the routes in the Western Regions played a decisive role in encouraging a large number of monks to go west in search of scriptures during the early years of the Song dynasty.

1.9 *Jicong* 繼從

The Dunhuang manuscript Xin 新 002 (new pressmark: BD13802) of the *Lotus Sutra* 妙法蓮華經, obtained by Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超 (1890–1968) and presently kept in the Beijing Library (i.e. the National Library of China), contains the following colophon:

> 西天取經僧繼從，乾德六年二月 日科記。[28]
>
> Record of segmenting [the text] on the [...] day of the 2nd month of the 6th year of the Qiande reign period (968) by the monk Jicong, who has made a pilgrimage to the West to obtain scriptures.

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24 Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 83–93.

25 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tangmo Songchu Yutianguo de guohao, nianhao ji qi wangjia shixi wenti" 關於唐末宋初于闐國的國號、年號及其王家世系問題 (On the Names of the Dynasty, Reign Titles and Royal Lineage of the Kingdom of Khotan in the Late Tang and Early Song Periods), in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Research Papers on the Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), pp. 192–193.

26 Xiong Huojian 熊火箭, "Lianhua foguo de jing zhong sanbao" 蓮花佛國的經中三寶 (The Three Treasures in the Buddhist Kingdom of the Lotus Flower), *Zhongguo wenwubao* 中國文物報 (Chinese Relics News), 17 May 1990.

27 Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 and Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹, "Santō ryokō nikki" 山東旅行日記 (Shandong Travel Diary), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), Vol. 8, 1937, pp. 319–321, entry for Xingguo Guanghua Zen Temple 興國廣化禪寺 in Linzi 臨淄 county.

28 For an image, see Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超, ed., *Niraku sōsho* 二樂叢書 (Niraku Collections), No. 2, 1912.

And a colophon following a eulogy on the *Lotus Sutra* in manuscript P.3023 says the following:

> 伏惟大王采覽，賜紫沙門繼從呈上
>
> For the perusal of the Great King, presented by Śramaṇa Jicong, recipient of the purple robe.

The Great King (*dawang* 大王) he is addressing, roughly in the 6th year of the Qiande reign period (968), undoubtedly refers to Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 (944–974), military commissioner of the Guiyijun. In these two documents, Jicong is the same Jicong of the Kaibao Temple mentioned in *juan* 43 of the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 (Chronicle of Buddhist Patriarchs),[29] which reads as follows:

> 太平興國三年三月，開寶寺沙門繼從等自西天還，獻梵經、佛舍利塔、菩提樹葉、孔雀尾拂，並賜紫方袍。
>
> In the 3rd month of the 3rd year of the Taiping xingguo reign period (978), Śramaṇa Jicong of the Kaibao Temple and others returned from India. He presented [to the court] palm-leaf scriptures, stupas containing relics, leaves from the Bodhi tree and peacock feather dusters, and was presented with a purple robe.

The Dunhuang manuscripts show that Jicong set off from India some time before the 6th year of the Qiande reign period (968), and that after his return in that year he stayed in Dunhuang to copy scriptures.

1.10 *Fajian* 法堅

Manuscript P.2726 contains a prayer (*yuanwen* 願文) written by the monk Fajian, who had travelled west in search of scriptures. The part of the prayer that comes after a discussion of the spread of Buddhism into China is as follows:

> 但法堅釋門末輩，秦苑微人，學無積雪，功闕聚螢。昨奉聖命，西放遣形，叨習未來梵夾，東化群生。路遭殘破，得免餘生。獲瞻仰於上臺，已光輝於末釋。起為故鄉頗厚，寵賜尤多。遺度訪法之心，上報均慈之德。又蒙大王留連，且住未得西行。輒陳虛寡，謬贊傳燈。

29 Dohi Yoshikazu, “Kigigun”, pp. 270–271; Liu Mingshu 劉銘恕, “Dunhuang yishu kao” 敦煌遺書考 (Study of the Dunhuang Manuscripts), Part 1, *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature and History), Vol. 29, 1988, p. 276.

> I, Fajian am a humble student of the Buddhist community, an insignificant person of the gardens of Qin, whose learning did not yield any achievements and whose accomplishments are unimpressive. Previously, on imperial orders, I headed west, hoping to learn unfamiliar Sanskrit scriptures written on palm leaves to enlighten the people of the East. I experienced troubles along the way, but survived in the end. I have received esteem from the throne and have been exalted despite being the least of the monks. Since the beginning, my old acquaintances have treated me with generosity and showered me with favours. I have delayed my goal of seeking the dharma in order to repay your kindness. I have also received the Great King's hospitality, and thus have temporarily halted my westward journey. Although I have confessed my ignorance, you praised me as one who has transmitted the lamp.

After this, he wishes well successively to the Emperor, the Great King, Lady of Liangguo 梁國, the wife, the princess, the wife from the Luo 羅 family, the wife from the Da 達 family, and various other members of the ruler's household, top officials of the Guiyijun administration and leaders of the monastic community, down to other monks travelling westward in search of scriptures, as well as ordinary clergy and lay believers. Two of these prayers are as follows:

> 若乃專心西往，慕仰菩提，學法東歸，為救群迷。諸同志往西天取經座主之德也。伏願大王早放，西禮菩提，學法殷勤，卻向東歸。為同取經座主。

> As for devoting myself to travelling westward to pursue Bodhi and returning east with the Teaching, in order to save sentient beings from delusion, it is due to the merit of my peers who have had the same goal of travelling west in quest of scriptures. I pray that the Great King will let me go as soon as possible, to pay my respects to the Bodhi tree in the West and study assiduously, and then to return east, so that, like them, I can master the scriptures.

Here, Great King refers to Cao Yuanzhong. Lady of Liangguo 梁國夫人 was Cao Yuanzhong's wife, Lady of Liang 涼國夫人 from the Zhai 翟 family.[30] For this reason we estimate that this prayer was written between 964 and 974. The recto of the manuscript contains a few miscellaneous lines, one of which refers to the 7th month of the 3rd year of the Duangong 端拱 reign period (990); this must

30 Dohi Yoshikazu, "Kigigun", pp. 266–267.

have been a note added when the paper was re-used 20–30 years later. From Fajian's prayers, we know that he went on his westward journey with some companions, and stayed in Shazhou for a period of time, seeking help from Cao Yuanzhong to continue his journey to the West in search of scriptures and the true teaching. It is possible that they started their journey together with the 157 monks who departed in the 4th year of Qiande (966) from the Northern Song capital Kaifeng 開封. Fajian may have been one of them,[31] because he wrote that he went west by imperial order.

1.11 *Zhijian* 志堅

The recto of manuscript S.3424 with the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (Vimalakīrti Sutra) contains the *Pusajie fa* 菩薩戒法 (The Methods of Bodhisattva Precepts) and the *Chuanshou pusajie fa* 傳授菩薩戒法 (The Method of the Transmission of the Bodhisattva Precepts) written by Zhijian, which begin and end with the following words:

> 往西天取菩薩戒兼傳授菩薩戒僧志堅敬勸受戒弟子
>
> The monk Zhijian, who travelled to India to obtain the Bodhisattva precepts and to transmit the Bodhisattva precepts, respectfully exhorts the disciples who have received the precepts …
>
> 端拱二年九月十六日往西天取菩薩戒兼傳授菩薩戒僧志堅狀。
>
> Written by the monk Zhijian, who travelled to India to obtain the Bodhisattva precepts and to transmit the Bodhisattva precepts, on the 16th day of the 9th month of the 2nd year of the Duangong reign period (989).[32]

Zhijian was a Vinaya specialist, so he transmitted to the saṃgha of Shazhou the esoteric system of Bodhisattva precepts he had acquired in India.

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31 *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Draft of Important Documents of the Song), Vol. 200, entry for the Chuanfa yuan 傳法院 (Bureau for the Transmission of the Dharma).

32 Tsuchihashi Shūkō 土橋秀高, "Tonkō bon ni mirareru shuju no bosatsu kaigi" 燉煌本にみられる種種の菩薩戒儀 (The Bodhisattva-Precept Rituals Found in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究 (Studies in the Cultures of the Western Regions), No. 6 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1963), pp. 112–116, 148–149.

1.12 *Daoyou* 道猷

Manuscript Shou 收 4 (new pressmark: BD01904) at the National Library of China is a letter from the 1st year of the Zhidao 至道 reign period (995) by the monk Daoyou on his way to India in search of scriptures:[33]

奉宣往西天取經僧道猷等
　右道猷等謹詣
　衙祇候
　起居，伏聽處分。
　賀，伏聽處分。
牒件狀如前，謹牒。
　　至道元年十一月廿四日，靈圖寺僧寄住。

Under imperial orders Daoyou and others who are heading west to obtain scriptures
The above-mentioned Daoyou and others respectfully visit the administrative office in anticipation of conveying greetings, prostrating themselves to receive your instructions.
With compliments, prostrating ourselves to receive your instructions.
Our letter is as above, we send it respectfully to you.
[written on] the 24th day of the 11th month of the 1st year of the Zhidao reign period (995) by monks lodging in the Lingtu Temple.

In addition, there are two manuscripts written by Daoyou, formerly in the collection of Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940).[34] One of these (Fig. 8.3) includes the following words:

靈圖寺寄住僧道猷
右道猷輒有卑事，上告大王。

33 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中國古代寫本識語集錄 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1990), p. 542.

34 The text is included in Luo Fuchang 羅福萇, *Shazhou wenlu bu* 沙州文錄補 (Supplement to Texts from Shazhou). The original manuscript is now in the Peking University Library. See Zhang Yufan 張玉範, "Beijing daxue tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishumu" 北京大學圖書館藏敦煌遺書目 (Catalogue of Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Peking University Library), in Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji*, Vol. 5 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1990), p. 556, No. 185.

The monk Daoyou, lodging in the Lingtu Temple
The above-mentioned Daoyou wishes to report a small matter to the Great King.

(The subsequent entries addressed to others are omitted.)

The other manuscript contains a fragmentary poem by Daoyou:

夫以因於閑暇，採集巴句，幸寄孔目五言二十韻，伏惟不阻為幸。寄靈圖寺沙門道猷上。
多幸遭逢處，知交信有恩。
偏承相見重，頻沐厚光榮。
眷戀常推許，人情每普平。

In my leisure I have collected some of my simple, crude lines of poetry, and have the good fortune to send the clerk twenty rhymes of five-character verse. I am thankful that I am not obstructed in reverently presenting them. Sent by the monk Daoyou, lodging in the Lingtu Temple.

Whenever I confront adversity, my friend faithfully gives me a helping hand.
I receive this special care because of our encounter, and often bathe in this glorious light.
With esteem and commendation I think fondly of you, and human kindness spreads everywhere …

The term "under imperial orders" (*fengxuan* 奉宣) shows that Daoyou was sent by the Northern Song court to obtain scriptures. He stayed in the Lingtu Temple in Shazhou during the 1st year of the Zhidao reign period (995) and corresponded with local officials. He also sent a letter to Military Commissioner Cao Yanlu 曹延祿 (d. 1002) to ask for the release of a monk who was accused of a crime, demonstrating his kindness.

In addition to the above manuscripts mentioning monks who travelled in search of scriptures, manuscript S.383 contains a text entitled *Xitian lujing* 西天路竟 (Route to India), recording the concise route from the Eastern Capital (i.e. Kaifeng), through Lingzhou and Hexi, to the Western Regions and on to India. When we compare it to the route taken by Jiye 繼業, preserved in Fan Chengda's 范成大 (1126–1193) *Wu chuan lu* 吳船錄 (Record of a Boat Trip to Wu),[35] we find that the *Xitian lujing* may also have been written and left in

35 Edouard Huber, "L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki Ye dans l'Inde", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 11, 1902, pp. 256–259; Édouard Chavannes, "Notes sinologiques", *Bulletin*

Dunhuang in the early years of the Song period by a westbound monk on his journey to India in search of scriptures.[36]

The materials introduced above show the following. (1) From the late Tang to the early Song, there was a continuous stream of monks going to India. They were coming from many different places, such as Wutaishan, Luoyang, Kaifeng, Fuzhou, Dingzhou, Cangzhou, Xichuan and Dunhuang, but most notable was the close relationship between these monks and Wutaishan, which attests to the popularity of the cult of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Wutaishan at that time. (2) Some monks were commissioned by the courts of the Later Tang or the Northern Song to make the journey west to acquire scriptures and received enthusiastic support from local officials along the way. Even during the period of confrontation between the Tang and the Tibetans, both sides extended their protection to the travelling monks. These monks who travelled in both directions also played an important role in the cultural exchange between different peoples and political powers. Some monks presented Shazhou officials or clergy with scriptures brought back from India, or copies of them, thus enriching Dunhuang's Buddhist culture. (3) On the whole, before the Song period, journeys to obtain scriptures were not organised, and the difficulties encountered by the travelling monks were many. Since each monk went for a different purpose, their results and influence were typically not substantial. From historical records and travel accounts we know that in the beginning of the Song period there were organised deputations of monks to India in search of scriptures, and that the monks who returned to China had a direct impact on the translation projects at the Bureau for the Transmission of the Dharma.[37]

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de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. IV, 1904, pp. 75–81; Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, "Keigyō no Saiiki kōtei shōkō" 繼業の西域行程小考 (A Brief Study of Jiye's Journey to the West), in Nagasawa Kazutoshi, *Shiruku rōdo shi kenkyū* シルク・ロード史研究 (The History of the Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1979), pp. 564–585; Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, "Jiye Xiyu xingji lishi dili yanjiu" 繼業西域行記歷史地理研究 (A Study of Historical Geography in Jiye's Travels to the Western Regions), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Xinjiang Artefacts), No. 3, 1990, pp. 42–54.

36 Huang Shengzhang, "Dunhuang xieben 'Xitian lujing' lishi dili yanjiu" 敦煌寫本《西天路竟》歷史地理研究 (Study of the Historical Geography in the Dunhuang Manuscript *Route to India*), *Lishi dili* 歷史地理 (Historical Geography), Inaugural Issue, 1981, pp. 9–20; Huang Shengzhang, "'Xitian lujing' jianzheng" 《西天路竟》箋證 (Notes on the Route to India), *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Dunhuang Studies Journal), Vol. 2, 1984, pp. 1–13.

37 Yun-hua Jan, "Buddhist Relations between India and Sung China", *History of Religions*, Vol. VI, No. 1–2, 1966, pp. 24–42, 135–168; Mano Senryū 間野潛龍, "Sōdai no saigyō guhō to sono igi" 宋代の西行求法とその意義 (Song Dynasty Travels to the West in Search of Scriptures and their Significance), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 (Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies), Vol. 14, No. 2, 1966, pp. 248–252; Nakamura

2 Records of Indian Monks Who Made Pilgrimages to the East

The transmitted literature includes records of monks coming from India to China to spread the dharma or on pilgrimage in the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, whereas in comparison, most of the westward bound journeys were in search of the dharma. For instance, the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) recorded in his travel account *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of the Law) that during the Kaicheng 開成 (836–840) and Huichang 會昌 (841–846) reign periods monks from Northern India came to Wutaishan, and Tripiṭaka Masters from Southern and Northern India also lived in Chang'an. Chan Master Guanxiu 貫休 (832–912), active during this period, wrote five poems called *Yu Wutian seng ru Wutai* 遇五天僧入五臺 (Meeting Monks from India on their Way to Wutaishan).[38]

Perhaps the most detailed information about the eastward journeys of Indian monks is presented in manuscript P.3931. It contains copies of several tables, as well as sample letters and copies of actual letters. The following three texts are all requests or travel accounts of Indian monks who have come east:[39]

(A)

僧牒:法師者，中印度之人也，利名如來賢，歷代為君，霸化氏國，乃釋種之苗矣。自幼出家，會五明□，解八般書，諸國宗師，推為法器。遊方志切，利物情殷。爰别梵遐，登雪嶺。萬里冰山，曉夜豈詞（辭）于涼山〔之〕列；千重沙漠，春秋不憚于暑寒之苦。曾達朕封，淹停歲月。今則言旋震域，誓謁清涼。經行恐濫于時流，解學全

Kikunoshin 中村菊之進, "Sō Denpōin yakukyō sanzō Yuijō no denki oyobi nenpu" 宋伝法院訳経三蔵惟浄の伝記及び年譜 (The Legend and Chronology of the Eminent Translator Weijing at the Song Bureau for the Transmission of the Dharma), *Bunka* 文化 (Culture), Vol. 41, Nos. 1–2, 1977, pp. 1–59; Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄, "Sōchō yakukyō shimatsu kō" 宋朝譯經始末考 (Sutra Translations in the Song Dynasty), *Kansai daigaku bungaku ronshū* 関西大学文学論集 (Kansai University Literary Studies, Centennial Volume), Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 399–428.

38 Guanxiu 貫休, *Chan yue ji* 禪月集 (Collected Works of Chanyue), *juan* 14, *Sibu congkan* (*chubian*) 四部叢刊(初編) edition.

39 For images and text of the entire manuscript, see Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 and Lu Hongji 陸宏基, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真跡釋錄 (Images and Transcription of Dunhuang Manuscripts concerning Social and Economic Matters), Vol. 5 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), pp. 332–349. For passage (B), see Chen Tsu-lung 陳祚龍, *Dunhuang xuelin zhaji* 敦煌學林札記 (Notes on Dunhuang Studies), Vol. 1 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1987), pp. 91–95. A French translation and study is available in Richard Schneider, "Un moine indien au Wou-t'ai chan: Relation d'un pèlerinage", *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie*, Vol. 3, 1987, pp. 27–39.

高於往哲。華區英彥，京府王臣。請閱梵文，便知懋昧。願為檀越，勿見俪遲。共成有學之心，必獲無疆之福。

Letter of Introduction:
This Master is from Middle India and is named Rulaixian. He comes from a ruling family, which reigned over the Huashi kingdom and is a descendant of the Śākya clan. He became a monk as a child and is now skilled in the five sciences of India (Skt. *pañcavidyā*). He reads eight languages and is a spiritual teacher in various kingdoms, who is recognised as a dharma vessel. He has an earnest resolve to make a pilgrimage, wishing to benefit all sentient beings. So he departed from the land of India and crossed the Himalayas. Traversing ten thousand *li* of frozen mountains, morning or night, he had no respite from the cold. Across thousands of *li* of desert, he was not afraid to suffer hot or cold all year round. He has reached our land and has been there for months. Now his words are like a cyclone, churning up the land [of China], promising to visit [Mount] Qingliang (Wutaishan). While on his journey he felt swept along by the flow of time; his learning now towers over that of previous masters. Brilliant ones of the Chinese regions, elite officials of the capital, please read the Sanskrit text, and you will know his worth. I hope you will support him financially so he is not detained. Together you can realise his goal of learning, and you will surely obtain boundless blessings.

(B)

夫周昭王代，佛出西天。漢明帝時，法傳東夏。自後累有三藏，攜瓶來至五峰。玄奘遇於德（太）宗，波利逢於大聖。前后垢藏，幸遇莊皇。此吉祥天，喜逢今聖。師乃生長在摩竭陁國內，出家於那爛陁寺中。唐標三藏普化大師，梵號囉麼室利禰嚩［囉摩］。早者，別中天之鷲嶺，趨上國之清涼。歷十萬里之危途，豈辭艱阻。登百千重之峻嶺，寧憚劬勞。

At the time of King Zhao (r. 1018–977 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty, the Buddha emerged in India. At the time of Emperor Ming (r. 58–75 CE) of the Han dynasty, the Teaching spread to China. Later erudite monks came one after another carrying their alms bowls to the Five Sacred Mountain Peaks [of China]. Xuanzang was granted an audience with Emperor Taizong; Buddhapāli encountered the Great Sage Emperor (i.e. Empress Wu). Formerly, Wugouzang was fortunate to meet Emperor

Zhuang, and Jixiangtian 吉祥天 (i.e. Daoxi 道希, Skt. Śrīdeva) was privileged to meet our current Emperor. The Master grew up in Magadha and became a monk at the Nālandā Monastery. In China, he is called Tripiṭaka Master Puhua, and his Sanskrit name is Luoma Shilimimo 囉麼室利禰嚩 (Rama Srīnivāsa?). Early on, he left Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa in Magadha for Mount Qingliang in our land. He traversed 100,000 *li* of difficult paths; how could he refuse the obstacles? He climbed the hundreds of steep mountains; how could he fear the exhaustion?

昨四月十九日平〔旦〕，達華嚴寺。尋禮真容，果諧夙願。瞻虔至夜，宿在殿中。持念更深，聖燈忽現。舉眾皆睹，無不忻然。廿日，再啟虔誠，重趨聖殿。夜觀真相，忽現毫光。晃輝尊顏，如懸朗月。睹斯聖瑞，轉切殷勤。廿一日，登善住閣，禮肉羅睺。嘆文殊而化現真身，嗟栢氏而生聖質。廿二日，遊王子寺，上羅漢堂。禮降龍大師真，看新羅王子塔。廿三日，入金剛聖窟，訪波利前蹤。翫水尋山，回歸寺內。廿四日，上中臺，登險道，過玉華之故寺，歷菩提之新庵。齋畢沖雲，詣西臺頂。尋維摩對談法座，睹文殊師子靈蹤。巡禮未周，五色雲現。攀綠岫，踏青莎。恣意巡遊，回歸宿舍。廿五日，往北臺，穿碧霧。過駱駝島，渡龍泉水。

Recently, on the 19th day of the 4th month, he arrived at the Huayan Temple. He paid homage to the True Countenance as he fulfilled his long-cherished wish. He remained in contemplation until the night and slept in the hall. He was immersed in chanting, when a holy light appeared. All the people in the hall witnessed this and were overjoyed. On the 20th day, he approached the holy hall once again with a devoted heart. At night, he was contemplating the *lakṣaṇa*, when a ray of light appeared. It illuminated the Venerable Face [of Mañjuśrī] like a bright moon. After witnessing this holy miracle, he became even more earnest. On the 21st day, he climbed up to the Shanzhu Pavilion and paid his respects to Rāhu in the flesh. He praised the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and it appeared in person; he admired Baishi and the substance of the saint appeared to him. On the 22nd day, he made a trip to the Wangzi Temple and ascended the Arhat Hall. He worshipped the image of Master Jianglong 降龍 and visited the stupa of the Prince of Silla. On the 23rd day, he entered the holy Diamond Cave and followed the traces of Buddhapāli. Then, after a pleasant journey among the rivers and mountains, he returned to the temple. On the 24th day, he climbed the middle platform, ascending the steep path and passing the former temple of Yuhua and the new hermitage of

Bodhi. After finishing his vegetarian meal, he visited the summit of the west platform and immersed himself in the clouds. He looked for the seat where Vimalakīrti debated the teaching and saw the blessed footprints of Mañjuśrī's lion. Before he finished his pilgrimage, a five-coloured cloud appeared. Later he climbed up the green peak and stepped on the bluish sedge. He continued his tour contentedly and then returned to the lodge. On the 25th day, he went to the northern platform through the emerald-green fog. He passed Camel Island and forded Dragon Spring.

啟告再三，至東臺宿。晚際，有化金橋，久而方滅。來晨，齋上米鋪。却往華嚴，駐泊一宵。次遊竹林、金閣，過南臺，宿靈境，看神鐘，禮聖金剛。拂旦，登途，至法花寺，齋羞而別。奔赴佛光寺，音樂喧天，幡花覆地。禮彌勒之大像，遊涅槃之臣藍。焚香解脱師前，虔祈於賢聖樓上，宿於常住。發騎來晨，齋於聖壽寺中，宿在福聖寺內。禮佛之次，忽有祥雲，雲中化菩薩三尊，舉眾皆禮敬。次至文殊尼寺，兼遊香谷梵宮，宿在清涼。登崚層道，謁清峰道者，開萬菩薩堂，遊翫侵宵。來朝過嶺，兼諸寺院蘭若，並已周遊。却到華嚴，設齋告別。臨途之際，四眾攀留。既逞速已再三，伏惟千萬。

He made repeated proclamations and then went to lodge on the eastern platform. As the evening approached, a golden bridge appeared; it lasted a long time before vanishing. The next morning, he had a vegetarian meal at the Shangmi Tavern. He returned to the Huayan Temple and stayed there overnight. Then he visited the Bamboo Forest [Temple] and the Golden Pavilion [Temple], passed by the southern platform and stayed overnight. In this spiritual realm he observed the sacred bell and worshipped the holy *vajra*. The next day at daybreak, he ascended further to the Fahua Temple, departing from there after a vegetarian meal. He then went to the Foguang Temple, where the music rose to the heavens and flower garlands covered the ground. He paid respects to the great statue of Maitreya and visited the Monastery of Nirvana. He burned incense in front of the [stupa of] Master Jietuo, prayed respectfully in the Pavilion of the Saints and Sages, and lodged in the residence. He departed on horseback the next morning, had his vegetarian meal at the Shengshou Temple, and stayed the night inside the Fusheng Temple. After he worshipped the Buddha, an auspicious cloud suddenly appeared with the Three Honoured Ones on it and the entire assembly worshipped them. Then he went to the nunnery of Mañjuśrī, visited the Xianggu Monastery, and stayed at the Qingliang [Monastery] for the night. He climbed tiers

of steep paths and paid a visit to the Qingfeng Master, opened the Hall of the Ten Thousand Bodhisattvas, and remained there until nightfall. The next morning he crossed the summit, having toured all the temples and hermitages. He returned to the Huayan Temple for a farewell vegetarian meal, and as his departure was nearing, everyone in the fourfold assembly tried to convince him to stay. However, he had already delayed too long. He prostrated himself several times and said goodbye.

(C)

僧牒:高超像秀，迴達真宗。五乘馳驟於心田，三藏波飛於口海。攜囊鷲嶺，早聞吼石之能。振錫金河，每聽鞭屍之力。悲心普化，志存遊方。遂乃遠別中天，來經上國，翻傳妙典，譯布靈筌。為梵宇之笙簧，作緇徒之龜鏡。今則誓遊震旦，願睹文殊，繼往哲之遺蹤，踵前賢之令跡。所經郡國，要在逢迎，共助良緣，同修上善。

Letter of Introduction:
He is beyond the best, well advanced in the true teaching. The five vehicles charge ahead in his mind, and the Tripiṭaka emerge in waves from his mouth. He carried his bag to the Vulture Peak, having long heard of the ability to make the rocks roar; he travelled with his monk's staff to the Golden River and often heard of the power of whipping the corpse. With a compassionate mind, he preached to all people and was determined to make his pilgrimage. So he said farewell to Middle India and set off on his distant journey, arriving in this country to translate and propagate the wonderful teachings and the numinous skilfull means. He was the spokesman of the monastery, the model for the black-clothed ones (i.e. monks). Now he has vowed to travel to China, wishing to see the image of Mañjuśrī and to follow in the footsteps of former sages. The counties and kingdoms he passes through have all welcomed him, supporting him in his quest and cultivating along with him the highest good.

Both (A) and (C) were introductory letters written by local government officials for Master Puhua. Letter (B) is a record of Master Puhua's pilgrimage to Wutaishan. Later on in the same manuscript, we find colophons from the 4th year of the Tianfu 天福 reign period (939) and from the 7th month of the 3rd year of Tianfu (938), showing that Puhua's eastward visit was no later than the 7th month of 938. At the same time, based on the model memorials in the

same manuscript we also know that it could not have been earlier than the Tongguang reign period (923–925).[40] In the "Annals of Emperor Gaozu (r. 936–942) of [the Later] Jin" (*Jin Gaozu ji* 晉高祖紀) in the *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (*juan* 76), we have the following passage:

> 天福二年正月丙寅，詔曰:"西天中印土摩竭陀舍衛國大菩提寺三藏阿闍梨沙門室利縛羅，宜賜號弘梵大師。"
>
> On the *bingyin* day of the 1st month of the 2nd year of the Tianfu period, an imperial edict was issued, saying "Shili Fuluo, the *tripiṭaka ācārya* and *śramaṇa* from the Mahābodhi Temple in the kingdom of Śravastī, Magadha, Middle India, shall be honoured with the name Master Hongfan".

The name and background of this Master Hongfan 弘梵大師 has certain similarities to Master Puhua, but we cannot say for certain that he is the same person.

Another monk from India who made a pilgrimage to Wutaishan appears in the colophon of manuscript P.t.845 (= P.3531), written in Sanskrit and Tibetan. This monk wrote the manuscript in the middle of the 10th century in Suzhou 肅州 (Sug chu), on his way back from Wutaishan to India.[41]

There is also the Khotanese manuscript P.5538, which has on the recto a formal letter from Viśa Śūra, king of Khotan (r. 967–977), to Cao Yuanzhong, the "Great King" of Shazhou, dated the 9th day of the 1st month of the 4th year of the Tianzun 天尊 reign period (970).[42] On the back are some parallel phrases and sentences in Sanskrit and Khotanese, some of which seem to have been

40 See Dohi Yoshikazu, "Tonkō hakken Tō-Kaikotsu-kan kōeki kankei kanbun monjo dankan kō" 燉煌発見唐·回鶻間交易関係漢文文書断簡考, in Kurihara Masuo sensei koki kinen ronshū henshū iinkai 栗原益男先生古稀記念論集編集委員会, ed., *Chūgoku kodai no hō to shakai: Kurihara Masuo sensei koki kinen ronshū* 中國古代の法と社会：栗原益男先生古稀記念論集 (Law and Society in Ancient China: Essays in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Professor Kurihara Masuo) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1988), pp. 416–418; Chinese version: Dohi Yoshikazu, "Dunhuang faxian Tang, Huihu jiaoyi guanxi Hanwen wenshu canpian kao" 敦煌發現唐、回鶻交易關系漢文文書殘片考, trans. by Liu Fang 劉方, *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 (Studies of North-western Minorities), No. 2, 1989, pp. 201–204.

41 Joseph Hackin, ed. and trans., *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain du Xe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924).

42 Harold W. Bailey, "Śrī Viśa Śūra and the Ta-Uang", *Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1946, pp. 17–26.

specially prepared for travellers, and some seem like records of conversations.[43] Below I have selected three examples:

A. [lines 4–9]

Whence have you come?
I have come from Khotan.
When did you come from India?
Two years ago.
Where did you stay in Khotan?
I stayed in a saṅghārāma.

B. [lines 13–18]

Now where are you going?
I am going to China.
What is your business in China?
I shall see the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.
When will you return here?
I shall see China and afterwards return.

C. [lines 26–30]

Have you books or not?
I have some.
[*Skt. adds*: Which books?] Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayāna.
Which book do you like?
I like Vajrayāna. Please teach it.

The three passages quoted above form a relatively complete whole. They record the situation of an Indian monk on a pilgrimage to China who is passing through Khotan along the way. His main purpose in coming to China was to go to Wutaishan and worship the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The monk specifically emphasised his preference for Vajrayāna texts, which is consistent with our

43 Harold W. Bailey, "Hvatanica III", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1938, pp. 528–529; Kumamoto Hiroshi 熊本裕, "Saiiki ryokōshayō Sansukuritto-Kōtango kaiwa renshūchō" 西域旅行者用サンスクリット = コータン語會話練習帳 (A Sanskrit -Khotanese Conversation Manual Used by a Traveller in the Western Regions), *Seinan Ajia kenkyū* 西南アジア研究 (South-west Asian Studies), No. 28, 1988, pp. 53–82, esp. 58–61.

knowledge that Indian Esoteric Buddhism flourished at that time and increasingly spread into China.

Manuscript P.2703 contains several letters, the second of which is from Cao Yuanzhong, the military commissioner of the Guiyijun. It reads as follows:

> 早者安山胡去後，倍切
> 攀思，其於衷腸，莫盡披剖。在此遠近
> 親情眷屬，並總如常，不用憂心。今西天
> 大師等去，輒附音書。其西天大師到日，
> 希望重迭津置，疾速發送。謹奉狀
> 起居，伏惟
> 照察，謹狀。
> 舅歸義軍節度使特進檢校太師兼中書令敦煌王曹 狀。

> Ever since An Shanhu left, I have missed him very much. My heart is in great pain, and the feeling will not go away. The relatives here are all fine and there is no need to worry about them. Today Master Xitian and the others have taken a letter from me with them. I hope that when he arrives, you will expedite the process as quickly as possible, so he can start his journey. I send this letter especially to convey my greetings to you. I prostrate myself and submit this to your observation.
> Humbly written by Your uncle, Guiyijun Military Commissioner
> Specially Promoted Acting Grand Preceptor and concurrently
> Secretariat Director, King of Dunhuang, Cao [Yuanzhong].

"Master Xitian" 西天大師 undoubtedly refers to an eminent monk from India. The letter may have been a draft written by Cao Yuanzhong, military commissioner of the Guiyijun, to the Uighur Qaghan in Ganzhou. It is a letter to inform him that Master Xitian would be passing through Ganzhou on his way to Central China.[44] According to the timeframe when Cao Yuanzhong was called "king", the master must have come to China between 964 and 974.

Manuscript S.1366, a ledger of the use of flour and oil for banquets, mentions that "three Chinese monks, one Khotanese monk, one Brahman (i.e. Indian) monk, and one monk from Liangzhou" were looked after by the official administration. This must have been a group of Chinese and Indian monks who were travelling together either heading west or coming east.

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44 Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, "Sashū Kigigun setsudoshi shimatsu" 沙州歸義軍節度使始末 (The Guiyijun Military Commissioners of Shazhou), Part 4, *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), Vol. 13, No. 2, 1943, pp. 65–66.

From the Chinese, Tibetan and Khotanese materials presented above, we can see that from the late Tang period onward Indian monks came continuously through Dunhuang to Central China. One of the most important pilgrimage destinations was Wutaishan. Most of the monks who came east must have been masters of Vajrayāna or Esoteric Buddhism. This was closely related to the fact that, at the beginning of the Song period, believers in the Indian Tripiṭaka Masters who organised the transcription of scriptures in the regions occupied by the Song and the Liao all belonged to the esoteric school.

This paper has assembled materials from the Dunhuang documents concerning contact between China and India in the late Tang, Five Dynasties and early Song periods. It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that there was no break in communication between the two sides during this period. The events and figures appearing in the manuscripts provide us with details about the Chinese and Indian monks who travelled in search of scriptures or came on pilgrimage.

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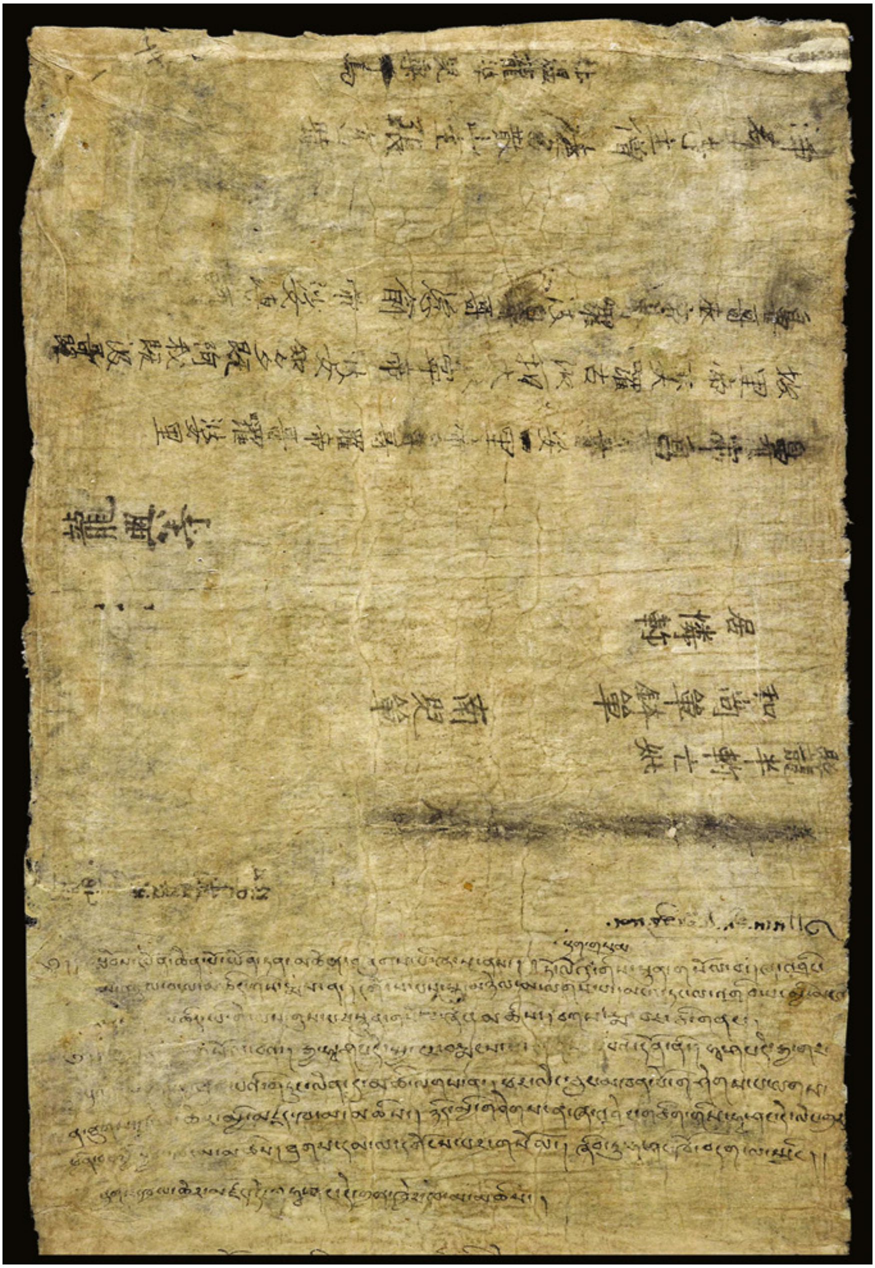

FIGURE 8.1 The five Tibetan letters on the verso of Dunhuang manuscript Ch.83.xi (IOL Tib J 754)

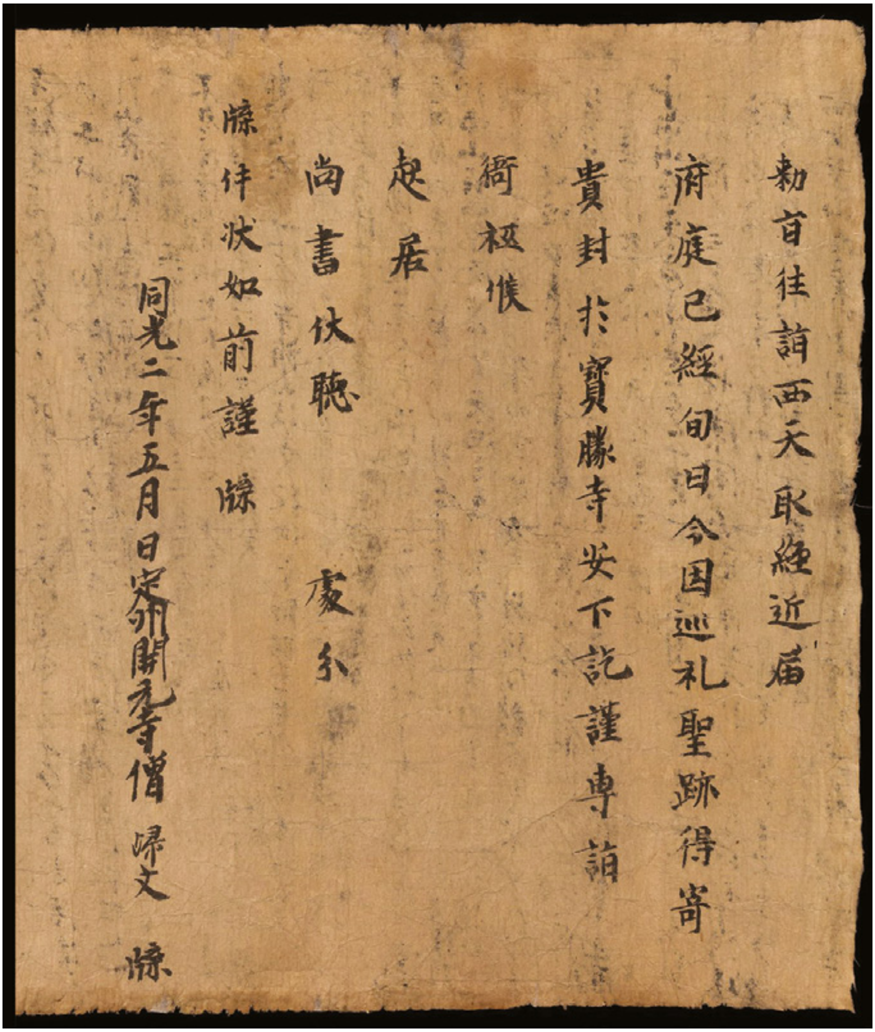
勅旨往詣西天取經近届
府庭已經旬日今因巡礼聖跡得寄
貴封於寶勝寺安下訖謹專詣
衙祗候
起居
尚書伏聽 處分
牒件狀如前謹牒
同光二年五月日定州開元寺僧歸文 牒

FIGURE 8.2 Letter by the monk Guiwen of the Kaiyuan Monastery, Dingzhou; Dunhuang manuscript S.529

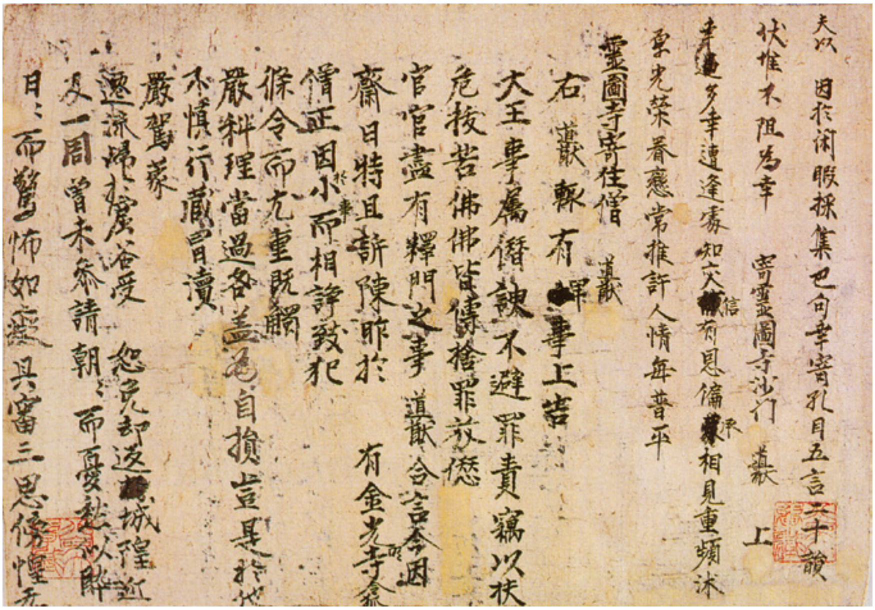

FIGURE 8.3 The Dunhuang manuscript with Daoyou's letter and poem

CHAPTER 9

Historical Evidence for Cultural Exchanges between the Tang and Silla: The Inscription for the Meditation Cloister at the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou

Translated by Li Huawei 李華偉

During the Tang 唐 period (618–907), the four counties into which Haizhou 海州 was divided, namely Qushan 朐山, Donghai 東海, Shuyang 沭陽 and Huairen 懷仁, were part of the Henan circuit 河南道, where the present city of Lianyungang 連雲港 (Jiangsu 江蘇 province) is located. Haizhou is connected to the Shandong 山東 peninsula in the north and the Chuyang 楚楊 canal in the south. To the east the region borders on the sea, and across the sea it faces the southern part of the Korean peninsula – what was then Silla 新羅 – as well as Japan. Its geographical location helped to determine the position it occupied in the contact of Tang China with Silla and Japan, as a result of which it played an extremely important role in the process of transmitting Tang culture to these kingdoms via the Maritime Silk Road.

This paper focuses on an inscription for the Meditation Cloister at the Dayun Monastery 大雲寺 in Haizhou, which was written by Li Yong 李邕 (678–747), prefect 刺史 of Haizhou, in the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741). Its purpose is to make a preliminary investigation of the position occupied by Haizhou on the Maritime Silk Road at that time, and its role in the cultural exchange between Tang China and Silla.

1

The original stele with Li Yong's inscription has been lost, but its full text has been preserved in such works as the *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers from the Garden of Letters), *Li Beihai ji* 李北海集 (Collected Works of Li Beihai) and the *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose). The text

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of the original inscription (without translation) is presented below,[1] with punctuation added:

> 天也地也，攝生之謂玄造；日也月也，容光之謂神功。然亭育之仁，可斡終滅；照明之力，未焯昏霾。故熱惱積薪，劫燒難鑠，驚波巨海，沃焦自淵。獨有導師空王，禪那宴寂，一念首安住之域，加行證無為之階。密教內修，莊嚴外度。雙引相應，並照兩忘。然後生無生淨名不去，照無照了義能覺。爇菩提之炬，則枳棘滌除；楫般若之航，則橫流既濟。湛四禪於中道，超三有以上征。精舍攸躋，度門斯盛，其此之謂矣。
>
> 粵有寺之艮背，山之前臨，有確師禪房者，武德八年邦守蕭公諱顗護法之所建也。周目環郭，澄心際海，亦既一味，實無眾生。夫憑其高，宅其勝，曾近俗諦，或乘法流。且水出於冰，凡作於聖，雖曰醜地，猶是道場。矧乃妙有孤標，寶相靈變，入我室觀我形者哉。
>
> 施及貞觀歲，有等觀禪師，繼前心，承後問。分之則別位二事，合之則同列大空，坐於期，竟於斯，於戲！四益風驅，百為火滅，棟宇崩落，象設傾低。
>
> 先天中，有惠藏禪師，聞之斯行，居而不住。妙齡強植，勁節老成，被甲律儀，下惟經藏。方丈之室，時歷十年，簞瓢之餐，日常一食。信為法本，悟實如宗，簡珠圓明，經蓮清淨。剃髮結落，亡境受除。生起了於心，緣覺被於物。是以興補舊塔，建置尊容。彌陀當其陽，菩薩侍其側。四大海水，慧眼啟明，五須彌山，毫相崇絕。有若稽義摭實，沿名討因，都極樂之大郊，壽無量之景命，備如昔者稱讚。觀厥音聲，克濟斯艱，乃復於遠，則有階地超越，自在神通。發宏願心，得大勢用，皆所以濡火宅，軔劍輪。投地者結業坐開，入影者苦趣以息。粵若殫財竭力，刻桷雕題，積四三年，模造化意。寶殿蔚以雲構，金山煥其日臨，豈徒然哉。夫壯麗者，將以重威神；儀形者，將以攝歸止。或離性解脫，或見作隨緣。藥草寓其根莖，雲雷感其方類。即說非說，若通不通。惟三獸之渡河，庶一子之來學。禪師以為默則絕教，言則牽文。苟心事於化人，豈跡留於舍法。會議斫石，僉允圖功。
>
> 邕來守是邦，偶聞茲事。依僧依佛，何日忘之？在家出家，惟其常矣。頃者下檄湖海，申明捕殺，鱗羽咸若，災疫以寧。救蟻雖尚於沙彌，涸魚每憂於釋種。祁寒則怨，童子何知！率三省於短懷，寄一塵於寶地。別駕弘農楊公守堅字越石，本枝鼎貴，冑胤嶽靈，直道守

1 *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 (Finest Flowers from the Garden of Letters), *juan* 858; "Li Beihai ji" 李北海集, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, Wenyuange 文淵閣 edition, *juan* 4; *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 264. Here we are using the *Quan Tangwen* version as the main text. We have also consulted the others, and chosen the best one.

> 公，智印觀法。司馬琅琊王公元昜字固禮，高闈襲吉，皇士令名，資位升聞，妙意融朗。盛矣美矣，左之右之。時有新羅通禪師，五力上乘，一門深入，利行攝俗，德水浮天。讚而演成，恭而有述，其詞曰:
>
> 覆燾之獘，始生終滅，昭回之明，內昏外徹。陰入不斷，心起難折，靈海欲深，洪爐火熱。倬彼大師，超然正覺，亡境息想，示法流渥。絕生死岸，破煩惱殼，度門光啟，住地玄邈。傳燈三葉，分座一義，象設儀形，莊嚴地位。有為不染，無相能離，苟曰法乘，莫非種智。古者豐石，抗之高山，紀事標柱，銘勛列班。廣茲妙有，運彼玄關，別百伊昔，粵吾無間。

The author of this inscription, Li Yong, whose courtesy name was Taihe 泰和, was the son of Li Shan 李善 (630–690), the renowned commentator on the *Wenxuan* 文選 (Anthology of Literature). Having been brought up in such a learned family, Li Yong in his youth had already become renowned throughout the empire for his literary works. He also excelled in calligraphy, especially in the cursive and semi-cursive script. Because he was once governor of Beihai 北海 (present-day Yidu 益都 in Shandong), he was called "Li Beihai" 李北海. However, because of his candid disposition, as well as his conceit about his fame and talent, his official career had its ups and downs. He successively offended powerful officials like Yao Chong 姚崇 (650–721), Zhang Yue 張說 (663–730) and Li Linfu 李林甫 (d. 753), and was repeatedly demoted. In the end, he was flogged to death by cruel officials at the advanced age of 70. His biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang), *juan* 190, says the following about him:[2]

> Yong was famous for his outstanding talent from early on, especially in writing inscriptions. Although he was removed from his official posts, many court dignitaries and monks from Daoist and Buddhist temples all over the empire offered him gold and silk in return for his compositions. Altogether, he wrote hundreds of pieces and received a great amount of money and gifts as remuneration. According to his contemporaries, among those who earned a living by their pens since ancient times, there has never been one like Li Yong.

It was not uncommon for scholars to be paid for writing temple inscriptions during the Tang dynasty. When Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) was adjutant 司馬 of Jiangzhou 江州, monks from the Donglin Monastery 東林寺 on Mount Lu 廬

2 "Li Yong zhuan" 李邕傳 (Biography of Li Yong), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, *juan* 190, p. 5043. Cf. "Li Yong zhuan", *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, *juan* 202, pp. 5754–5757.

presented him with a hundred thousand copper coins to write inscriptions for their former masters.[3] However, the above passage from Li Yong's biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* is clearly taking a critical attitude towards him for receiving remuneration. The same passage also occurs in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records Assembled in the Taiping [xingguo] era, 976–984), where its source is given as the *Tan bin lu* 譚賓錄 (Notes from Discussions with Visitors).[4] This was a work attributed in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 (Bibliographical Treatise) of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) to Hu Qu 胡璩 (courtesy name Ziwen 子溫), who lived during the reigns of emperors Wenzong 文宗 (827–840) and Wuzong 武宗 (840–846). Based on this, the passage from Li's biography in the *Jiu Tangshu*, widely cited by later generations, has close connections to the world of fiction, and one cannot be confident of its reliability as history. It may have been influenced by rumours circulating among those who opposed Li Yong at the time, though we cannot be certain. In sum, it was a rather common occurrence for someone like Li Yong to receive payment for writing temple inscriptions. Moreover, Li Yong sometimes offered to write inscriptions for temples on his own initiative, and in these cases he probably did not receive any payment. This was probably the case for the inscription from the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou. The inscription clearly states that after Li Yong took up his post as prefect of Haizhou, he heard about the history of the Dayun Monastery and this is what motivated him to write the inscription. He also extolled his own merits, and commended the family background and conduct of his subordinates, Administrative Aide 別駕 Yang Shoujian 楊守堅 and Adjutant Wang Yuanxu 王元勗; he clearly would not have included such personal information if he had been hired to write the inscription.

3 Bai Juyi 白居易, "Tang Fuzhou Jingyun si, gu lü dade Shanghong heshang shita beiming bing xu" 唐撫州景雲寺故律大德上弘和尚石塔碑銘並序 (Stone Funerary Inscription and Preface for the Late *Vinaya* Specialist of Great Virtue Shanghong of Jingyun Temple in Fuzhou) in *Tang wen cui* 唐文粹 (Gems of Tang Literature), *juan* 62.

4 The original is as follows: 邕早擅才名，尤長碑記，前後所制，凡數百首，受納饋送，亦至巨萬，自古鬻文獲財，未有如邕者 "Yong was famous for his outstanding talent from early on; he was especially good at writing stele inscriptions. Altogether he wrote hundreds of pieces and received a great amount of money and gifts as remuneration. Among those who earned a living by their pens since ancient times, there has never been one like Yong". (Li Fang 李昉 et al., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, *juan* 201; *Tan bin lu* 譚賓錄 is listed in "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志 (Treatise on Bibliography) 3, *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 59, p. 1542.) Compared to the *Jiu Tangshu*, this version is simpler.

However, neither of the two Tang histories record that Li Yong held the post of prefect of Haizhou. Therefore, when Professor Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望 discussed the inscription, he expressed the following opinion:[5]

> Li Yong's preface uses such words as "I Yong came to assume the office of governor in this county". However, according to the biographies of Li Yong in the two Tang histories, he had served as governor of Beihai (prefect of Qingzhou 青州), not as prefect of Haizhou (governor of Donghai commandery). I suspect that Haizhou here must refer to Beihai, that is, Qingzhou. Yong was governor of this commandery at the beginning of the Tianbao 天寶 era (742–756).

Yan was following the two Tang histories in making this argument, so he suspected that Haizhou was an error for Beihai, which is, however, incorrect. This inscription was still extant in the Song 宋 period (960–1279) and is commonly seen in Song-dynasty epigraphic works. Zhao Mingcheng's 趙明誠 *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 (Records on Metal and Stone), in the entry called "Tang Dayun si chanyuan bei" 唐大雲寺禪院碑 (Inscription for the Meditation Cloister in the Tang Dayun Monastery), records the following note:[6]

> The above inscription for the Meditation Cloister in the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou was composed and penned by Li Yong. It all began when a monk presented the *Dayun jing shu* 大雲經疏 (Commentary on the Great Cloud Sutra) to Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) while she was on the throne, and the text stated that her reign was in accord with Heaven's mandate. Thereupon, Wu Zetian ordered that Dayun monasteries be built all over the empire. In the 26th year of the Kaiyuan era (738), [Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756)] issued an edict for them to be renamed Kaiyuan monasteries. This stele was set up in the 11th year [of the Kaiyuan era] (723). This is the reason why it refers to the Dayun Monastery.

5 Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Xinluo liu Tang xuesheng yu sengtu" 新羅留唐學生與僧徒 (Scholar-Students and Buddhist Monks from Silla Staying in Tang China), in Yan Gengwang, ed., *Tangshi yanjiu conggao* 唐史研究叢稿 (Studies in Tang History Series) (Hong Kong: Xinya yanjiusuo, 1969), p. 458.

6 Here I follow *Jinshi lu jiaozheng* 金石錄校証 (Annotated Records on Metal and Stone) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1985).

Chen Si's 陳思 *Baoke congbian* 寶刻叢編 (Collection of Precious Inscriptions), in the entry for Haizhou, quotes the *Jigu lu mu* 集古錄目 (Catalogue of Collected Antiquities):[7]

> The "Inscription for the Tang Dayun Monastery" was composed and penned by Li Yong, prefect of Haizhou in the Tang dynasty. The temple was formerly known as Master Que's Meditation Hall 碏師禪房, and it was enlarged and renovated by the monk Huizang 惠藏. The stele was erected in the 4th month of the 12th year of the Kaiyuan era (724).

There is also an anonymous work called *Baoke leibian* 寶刻類編 (Compilation of Precious Inscriptions), which records the following:[8]

> Li Yong, prefect of Haizhou ...
>
> Inscription for the Dayun Monastery: he composed and penned it. It was erected in the 4th month of the 11th year of the Kaiyuan era. Hai 海.

The above three sources show that the stele was installed in the 11th year of the Kaiyuan era (723) during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong. The *Baoke congbian* records it as the 12th year, but this is clearly a copyist's error. The last two sources not only record that the stele was in Haizhou, but also tell us that Li Yong has indeed served as prefect of Haizhou. Further evidence of this is provided by the words "Li Yong, prefect of Haizhou, composed and penned the inscription" in the commentary to the *Tang suoluo mubei* 唐娑羅木碑 (Tang Suoluo Inscriptions on Wood), quoted in the section on the steles of Chuzhou 楚州 in the *Yudi beiji mu* 輿地碑記目 (Steles of the Tang Dynasty); as well as in the *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Universal Records of the Taiping [xingguo] reign period); *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Descriptive Catalogue of the Zhizhai Library); and the entry on Li Yong in the *Taiping guangji* (quoted below). Yu Xianhao's 郁賢皓 *Tang cishi kao* 唐刺史考 (Study of Tang Prefects) lists Li Yong in the entry for Haizhou, Henan circuit, as prefect "around the time of the 8th to 12th years of the Kaiyuan era".[9] Although there are some doubtful points in this view, overall it is reliable. For these reasons we cannot accept Yan's argument. Li Yong was indeed serving

7 Here I follow the *Siku quanshu*, Wenyuange edition.
8 Here I follow the *Siku quanshu*, Wenyuange edition.
9 Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Tang cishi kao* 唐刺史考 (Study of Tang Prefects), Vol. 2 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1987), p. 908.

as prefect of Haizhou in the 11th year of the Kaiyuan era, and the stele of the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou was established in the 4th month of that year.

The date of the erection of the stele, given in the *Jinshi lu* quoted above, helps to explain why it was called the "Dayun Monastery". If Yan's theory, that the inscription was written in the early days of the Tianbao era, had been correct, it would have been named "Kaiyuan Monastery", not Dayun Monastery. This is another reason to reject Yan's theory. In fact, the name Dayun Monastery is not unrelated to Li Yong's position as prefect of Haizhou. The *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), in the section on temples, records the following:[10]

> On the 29th day of the 10th month in the 1st year of the Tianshou 天授 reign period (689), a Dayun Monastery was established in each of the two capitals and in each prefecture of the empire. Their names were all changed to "Kaiyuan Monastery" on the 1st day of the 6th month of the 26th year of the Kaiyuan era (738).

The edict of the 1st year of the Tianshou reign period (689), ordering that every prefecture establish a Dayun Monastery, was issued because the *Dayun jing shu* contained a prophecy that a female ruler would descend into the world, and this was the theoretical basis for the project. At the same time, Empress Wu abolished the Tang and established the Zhou 周 dynasty (690–705) and, as one of the political measures, elevated Buddhism over Daoism.[11] This directive was carried out systematically, and even extended to the construction of a Dayun Monastery in Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab), one of the "loose-rein" prefectures far away at the Western frontier.[12] It is no wonder that the prefecture of Haizhou – much nearer to Empress Wu's political centre in Luoyang 洛陽 – built a Dayun temple. However, it was not easy for every prefecture to build a brand-new temple, so in some prefectures an old temple was converted into a Dayun temple just by changing its name. Thus, the Dayun Temple in Chang'an 長安 was created

10 See "Zetian huanghou benji" 則天皇后本紀 (Basic Annals of Empress Wu Zetian), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 6, p. 121.

11 See Chen Yinque 陳寅恪, "Wu Zhao yu Fojiao" 武曌與佛教 (Empress Wu and Buddhism), in *Jinming guan conggao er bian* 金明館叢稿二編 (Jinming Pavilion Series 2) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), pp. 147–151; Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Cong shike lun Wu hou zhi zongjiao xinyang" 從石刻論武后之宗教信仰 (Empress Wu's Religious Beliefs in the Light of Stone Inscriptions), in Rao Zongyi, *Xuantang jilin: Shilin* 選堂集林·史林 (Collected Essays of Xuantang: History) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), pp. 592–594.

12 See Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Suiye cheng jindi kao" 碎葉城今地考 (The Present Site of the Ancient City of Suiye), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Journal of Peking University), No. 5, 1979, pp. 70–82.

by simply renaming the Guangming Temple 光明寺.[13] The same was true for the situation in Haizhou. The inscription for the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou does not record the origin of the name "Dayun Monastery". According to the inscription, the monastery was originally the meditation hall of Master Que 確, which was built in the 8th year of the Wude 武德 reign period (625) during the reign of Tang Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626). Under Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), in the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (627–649), Dhyāna Master Dengguan 等觀 presided over the monastery. Thereafter, the ridgepole and roof collapsed and the building deteriorated. During the Xiantian 先天 reign period (712–713) of Emperor Xuanzong, Master Huizang took charge of the temple, and after about three or four years, "the old stūpa was rejuvenated and the Buddhist statues were restored"; "the precious halls were lavishly decorated with cloud patterns, and the golden mountains rivalled the sun in brilliance", and its scale was considerable. We can thus infer that, although the edict to call it Dayun Monastery was received in the 1st year of the Tianshou reign period, the temple was going through a period of decline at that time, and this is why the inscription does not record it. The repairs were not completed until the Xiantian reign period, when it became an official temple, established by imperial order. With its official status, Dayun undoubtedly became the largest temple in Haizhou at the time, and the centre of religious activities in the area. It was precisely because of this status that Li Yong, as prefect of Haizhou, wrote the inscription for it – to commend the temple's eminent monks as well as to express his own piety and reverence.

It is worth noting that when Li Yong mentions "Dhyāna Master Tong" 通禪師 from Silla at the end of the inscription, he is obviously referring to the monk who presided over the monastery, and even the entire Dayun Temple, around the 11th year of the Kaiyuan era. It is not accidental that Master Tong from Silla occupied such an important position in the official temple of Haizhou but a natural consequence of the cultural exchanges that took place between Haizhou and other states of the Eastern Sea along the Maritime Silk Road.

2

The most important sea route to the Korean peninsula in the early Tang took Dengzhou 登州 (present-day Penglai 蓬萊 in Shandong) as its departure point.

13 Song Minqiu 宋敏求, *Chang'an zhi* 長安志 (Gazetteer of Chang'an), *juan* 10 (Jingxun tang congshu 經訓堂叢書 edition).

During Emperor Dezong's 德宗 reign (779–805), the Grand Councillor 宰相 Jia Dan 賈耽 (730–805) wrote the *Huang hua sida ji* 皇華四達記 (Record of Imperial China's Four Reaches), where he records the journey "from Dengzhou by sea on the routes to Gaoli 高麗 (Koguryŏ) and Bohai 渤海 (Parhae)" and states the following:[14]

> From Dengzhou sail north-east across the sea for 300 li, pass Daxie 大謝 Island, Guixin 龜歆 Island, Mo 末 Island and Wuhu烏湖 Island. Sail north for 200 li across Wuhu 烏湖 Sea to the town of Duli 都里 located east of Mashi 馬石 Mountain. Sail along the eastern sea coast for 800 li, passing Qingni 青泥 Bay, Taohua 桃花 Bay, Xinghua 杏花 Bay, Shirenwang 石人汪, the gulf of Tuotuo 橐駝 and Wugu 烏骨 River. Then sail south along the coast, pass Wumu 烏牧 Island, the mouth of Beijiang 貝江 and Jiao 椒 Island, reaching the town of Changkou 長口 north-west of Silla. Then pass Qinwangshi 秦王石 Bridge, Matian 麻田 Island, Gusidao 古寺 Island and Dewu 得物 Island, and after a thousand li, one reaches the mouth of the Yalu 鴨綠 River, and the mouth of Tang'en 唐恩 Bay. Then to the south-east proceed by land about 700 li to the royal city of Silla.

This route begins in the northern part of the Shandong peninsula, skirts the Miaodao 廟島 archipelago and reaches Lüshun 旅順, then proceeds eastward along the south-east bank of the Liaodong 遼東 peninsula to the Yalu River. The passengers would then disembark and head south-east to Kyŏngju 慶州 by land. This is obviously a long and circuitous way to Silla. In fact, one can also reach the southern part of the Korean peninsula by taking the sea route eastward from Dengzhou. The *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 (Maps and Gazetteer of the Provinces and Counties of the Yuanhe reign period, 806–814) records the following:

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14 See the "Dili zhi" 地理志 (Geography Treatise) of the *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 43, p. 1147. As for the verification of the place names, see Wu Chengzhi 吳承志, "Tang Jia Dan ji Bianzhou ru siyi dao li kaoshi" 唐賈耽記邊州入四夷道里考實 (An Investigation into the Tang Official Jia Dan's Record of the Border Regions and his Entry into the Areas Inhabited by the non-Han Peoples) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), *juan* 2; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Sui-Tang shi* 隋唐史 (History of the Sui and Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 615; Shi Nianhai 史念海, "Sui-Tang shiqi yuwai dili de tansuo ji shijie renshi de zai kuoda" 隋唐時期域外地理的探索及世界認識的再擴大 (Investigations into the Geography of the Outer Regions During the Sui and Tang Period and the Further Expansion of Knowledge about the World), *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中國歷史地理論叢 (Papers on Chinese Historical Geography), No. 2, 1988, p. 91.

> Dengzhou is 3 *li* north from the sea and 4 *li* west from the sea; this is on the main route from China to Silla and the Bohai kingdoms.
>
> Huang 黃 county, the location of the old city of Daren 大人, is 20 *li* north of the county. When Sima [Yi] 司馬[懿] (179–251), Prince Xuan 宣, led a campaign to Liaodong, he built this city to be the entry port for grain carriers. Nowadays, people usually pass through this city when they take a journey to and from Silla and Paekche 百濟.

Dengzhou was undoubtedly the port chosen for travel to the eastern kingdoms in the early Tang dynasty. There were both land and sea routes connecting Dengzhou and Haizhou. The *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* records the land route as follows:

> From Haizhou it is 384 *li* north to Mizhou 密州.
>
> From Mizhou it is 384 *li* south to Haizhou. It is 345 *li* north-east to Laizhou 萊州.
>
> From Laizhou it is 240 *li* north-east to Dengzhou. Due south and slightly west it is 345 *li* to Mizhou.
>
> From Dengzhou it is 200 *li* south to Changyang 昌陽 county in Laizhou.

The sea route is also described in Ennin's 圓仁 (794–864) travel account, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of the Law), which will not be quoted here in detail.

However, Dengzhou was by no means the only point of departure in the Tang period. In the 18th year of the Zhenguan reign period (644), Emperor Taizong launched an expedition against Koguryŏ. He appointed the minister of punishments Zhang Liang 張亮 (d. 646) as army area commander-in-chief 行軍大總管 of the P'yŏngyang Circuit 平壤道, and ordered him to lead an army of 40,000 soldiers, with 500 warships, from Laizhou across the sea to P'yŏngyang.[15] In the 5th year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (660) of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650–684), Su Dingfang 蘇定方 (591–667) led troops across the sea from Chengshan 城山 (now Chengyu 成魚, Rongcheng 榮成 county, Shandong) to attack Paekche.[16] This is the first time we see the role of Haizhou in the Tang's

15 "Taizong benji" 太宗本紀 (Basic Annals of [Tang] Taizong), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 3, p. 57; "Dongyi zhuan" 東夷傳 (Chapter on the Eastern Yi Peoples), section on Gaoli 高麗, *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, p. 5322; *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 197.

16 "Su Dingfang zhuan" 蘇定方傳 (Biography of Su Dingfang), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 83, p. 2779; "Dongyi zhuan" 東夷傳 (Chapter on the Eastern Yi Peoples), section on Baiji 百濟 (Paekche), *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 220, p. 6200.

war against Paekche. The entry on Paekche in the *Jiu Tangshu* records that in the 7th month of the 2nd year of the Longshuo reign period (662), the Tang generals Liu Renyuan 劉仁願 (fl. 660s) and Liu Rengui 劉仁軌 (601/2–685) led the remnants of their army in a fight to the death in Paekche:[17]

> [General] Renyuan then wrote a memorial to the throne asking for reinforcements. The emperor dispatched 7,000 troops from the prefectures of Zi 淄, Qing 青, Lai 萊 and Hai 海, and sent Sun Renshi 孫仁師 (fl. 660s), left awe-inspiring general 左威衛將軍, to lead the troops across the sea to Xiongjin 熊津 to strengthen Renyuan's army.

Although Haizhou was not the regular departure point for the Tang military forces, this passage shows that many Haizhou inhabitants were familiar with sailing and the sea routes, which is why they were commissioned to cross the sea to rescue the Tang army. Thereafter Haizhou's sailors and helmsmen played a significant role in the Tang shipping industry. The *Shui bu shi* 水部式 (Regulations of the Bureau of Waterways and Irrigation), compiled in the Kaiyuan era and discovered in Dunhuang 敦煌, records the following:[18]

> The ten prefectures of Cang 滄, Ying 瀛, Bei 貝, Mo 莫, Deng 登, Lai 萊, Hai 海, Si 泗, Wei 魏 and De 德 all together sent 5,400 sailors, of whom 3,400 worked in sea transport, and 2,000 in dredging the river. They were to be replaced every two years and rewarded generously.

Regarding the over 5,000 sailors from these ten prefectures, the 3,400 engaged in sea transport must have come primarily from the three prefectures near the sea: Dengzhou, Laizhou and Haizhou. The other seven prefectures from either side of the canal must have supplied corvée workers for dredging the canal. We can therefore see that approximately 1,000 workers (i.e. about one third of the 3,400) must have been designated by the Haizhou government to work in

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17 See *Zizhi tongjian, juan* 200.

18 Wang Yongxing 王永興, "Dunhuang xieben Tang Kaiyuan shuibu shi jiaoshi" 敦煌寫本唐開元水部式校釋 (Annotated Edition of the Dunhuang Manuscript of the Regulations of the Bureau of Waterways and Irrigation in the Tang Kaiyuan Period), in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻論集 (Papers on the Documents Discovered at Dunhuang and Turfan), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1986), p. 44.

sea transport,[19] while a much smaller number from the other seven prefectures would have been engaged in sea transport and overseas trade.

No further written evidence from before the Kaiyuan era has been found showing that Haizhou was a major long-distance port for merchant ships or for government vessels sending official envoys. However, because Haizhou was near the sea, there would have been a number of individuals well acquainted with ocean conditions in the city, as well as sailors and helmsmen competent in sailing and navigation. On the other hand, due to the technological limitations of the time, ships sailing to the Tang from the kingdoms of the Eastern Seas, such as Silla and Japan, were often unable to reach their intended destinations directly. Thus Haizhou naturally became a port of call for foreign ships. On this point, we are fortunate to have a record from the time when Li Yong was prefect of Haizhou in a chronicle called *Ji wen* 紀聞 (Recollections) by Niu Su 牛肅 (fl. early 8th century), quoted in the entry on Li Yong in the *Taiping guangji*:

> When Li Yong of Jiangxia 江夏 was in charge of Haizhou in the Tang period, a Japanese embassy arrived in Haizhou. It included 500 people who brought official letters from the court. They came with ten ships and a valuable cargo consisting of a million items. Li Yong met them, provided accommodation for them in a hostel, and supplied them with basic necessities, but forbade them to go in or out. In the middle of the night, [Li Yong] took possession of all their cargo and sank their ships. At dawn, he told the people at the hostel, "Last night a big tide came in and the Japanese ships were all lost. We do not know what happened to them". [Li Yong] then wrote a memorial reporting this incident to the court. An edict was issued ordering that ten ships be built, and 500 experienced sailors be recruited to escort the envoys back to Japan. [Li] Yong had the ships built and recruited the sailors. Before the envoys left, when the sailors came to say good-bye, [Li] Yong said to them, "It is a long way from here to Japan, and the wind and waves of the sea are very dangerous. It is uncertain whether you will be able to return safely. I therefore give you permission to do as you see fit". The escorts were delighted to hear these words. After sailing for several days, knowing that the Japanese envoys were unprepared, they killed all the envoys in the night and returned home.

19 *Lianyungang shi, gu jin dai bufen* 連雲港史，古、近代部分 (History of Lianyungang: Ancient and Modern Parts) (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 1987), p. 24. This work says that the total number of people was around 300, which seems to be incorrect.

In spite of the writer's bias against Li Yong, this passage provides a wealth of historical information. On the one hand, by the Kaiyuan era Haizhou had already become a port where foreign ships from various kingdoms could enter China. There were facilities for accommodating more than ten ships, and guest houses for hundreds of people. On the other hand, Haizhou was also a site for shipbuilding, which could manufacture large ships to transport official envoys from foreign kingdoms. Moreover, several hundred sailors could also be sent out from there to escort foreign missions back to their homelands. This is corroborated by the *Shui bu shi* regulations of the Kaiyuan era (mentioned above), which shows that by the height of the Tang in this era Haizhou had already become a key port on the Maritime Silk Road capable of welcoming and sending off foreign visitors.

Another specific example of this aspect of Haizhou occurs in a record related to the last Japanese embassy to the Tang. The Japanese monk Ennin, who accompanied the eastbound ships, wrote a detailed record of this mission in his *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*. Following earlier examples, such Japanese envoys, along with their entourage, would take four vessels for the journey. The *Shoku Nihon Kōki* 續日本後紀 (Further Chronicles of Japan), in the entry for the 5th day of the 7th month of the 5th year of the Jōwa 承和 reign period (838) says,

> The Dazaifu 大宰府 (Great Administrative Centre) reported that the first and fourth ships of the embassy to the Tang have set out.

The same source says for the 28th day of the 7th month:

> The Dazaifu reported that the second ship of the embassy to the Tang have set out.

Ennin was on board the first ship to sail into the mouth of the Yangtze river, from where they travelled to Yangzhou 揚州 by land. On the 10th day of the 8th month, they "heard that the second ship had reached Haizhou".[20] Ennin and the others requested permission to visit the Buddhist sites at Mount Tiantai 天台, but this was not granted. Instead, they could only travel, in the 2nd month of the 4th year of the Kaicheng 開成 reign period (839), to Chuzhou along the

20 Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡禮行記の研究 (A Study of *Ennin's Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of the Law*) (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaidan, 1964), Vol. 1, pp. 177–179. [English translation based on Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), p. 29.]

canal and meet the Japanese envoys returning from Chang'an. In the 3rd month of the same year, the Japanese envoys and their entourage hired nine ships in Chuzhou, and also engaged more than sixty Silla sailors who knew the sea route. They travelled east along the Huai river to the sea, hugged the coastline and sailed north to Donghai county in Haizhou, to the area east of Donghai mountain (the approximate location of today's Lianyungang). When they left Chuzhou,

> the vice-president 中丞 [of the tribunal of censors] (i.e. the prefect of Chu) sent a military general 軍將 to oversee the departure of the nine ships, and imperial orders were sent to Haizhou, Dengzhou and the [other] prefectures and subprefectures on our route, [commanding them] to provide for [the embassy].[21]

After several days of preparation, on the 5th day of the 4th month, the nine ships of the envoys set sail from Haizhou to return to Japan. Ennin and the others secretly stayed behind to "seek the Dharma" at Mount Tiantai, but were taken to the prefectural headquarters by local officials. Then they were escorted to Xiaohai 小海 (around the present-day city of Lianyungang) to the north-west of Donghai county (present-day Nancheng 南城), where the second Japanese embassy ship was berthed. His only option was to sail on this ship north to Wendeng 文登 county, Dengzhou, and to enter the Chishan Fahua Cloister 赤山法華院; from there he could restart his visits to Buddhist sites again.[22] Thus, we see that during the Tang period Haizhou consistently had the task of welcoming and sending off Japanese envoys, and that it was used by the second ship of Japanese envoys, which received little attention from Ennin, as a base for its activities.

During the Five Dynasties 五代 period (907–960), Haizhou came under the jurisdiction of the Southern Tang 南唐 (937–976). It was still an important gateway for overseas transportation and communication. In the Northern Song 北宋 (960–1127), Cheng Dachang 程大昌 (1123–1167) wrote the following in his *Xu Yanfanlu* 續演繁露 (Further Records of Evolving Luxuriance):[23]

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21 Ono Katsutoshi, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū*, Vol. 1, pp. 177–179. [English translation based on Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels*, p. 95.]

22 Ono Katsutoshi, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū*, Vol. 1, pp. 482–527. Regarding Ennin's travels to Haizhou and the verification of the place names he records, see Li Dingxia 李鼎霞, "Riben ru Tang qiufa seng Yuanren zai Haizhou" 日本入唐求法僧圓仁在海州 (The Japanese Monk Ennin in Haizhou), *Lianyungang luntan* 連雲港論壇 (The Lianyungang Forum), No. 3, 1987.

23 Here I follow the *Siku quanshu*, Wenyuange edition. [Ed. note: Cheng Dachang's writings date from the Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1279).]

> In his *Haiwai xingcheng ji* 海外行程記 (Record of a Journey Overseas), Zhang Liao 章僚 (ca. 961) of the Southern Tang recorded what he saw and experienced when he was sent to Koguryŏ as an envoy [...]. Now, as to what [Zhang Liao] has written about his sea journey, it is clear that when leaving from Haizhou and Laizhou, one must catch the south-west monsoon before setting off.

Thus we can see that Haizhou played the same role in the Five Dynasties as in the Tang.

When we come to the Song period, because of the successive confrontations between the Khitan and Jurchen forces in the north, Haizhou played different roles in different periods as an important northern port. In the Northern Song period, since Dengzhou was near the Khitan border, a maritime supervisorate 市舶司 was established in Mizhou (whose seat of governance was in today's Zhucheng 諸城 in Shandong), next to Haizhou. A Koguryŏ hostel 高麗館 was also established in Haizhou to accommodate travelling merchants.[24] After the Song moved its capital south of the Yangtze, the locus of its exchanges with the kingdoms in the Eastern Sea moved to Mingzhou 明州 (present-day Ningbo).[25] Haizhou's importance became evident again in the Jiaoxi 膠西 naval battle between the Song and the Jurchens.[26] After China was unified under the Yuan 元 (1279–1368), Haizhou was an important transit station for north-south ocean-going grain transport.[27]

From this brief summary of Haizhou's role in Tang overseas exchange, it is not difficult to understand how Master Tong from Silla was able to come to Haizhou to preside over the Meditation Cloister and even the Dayun

24 See Shi Wenji 石文濟, "Songdai shibosi de shezhi" 宋代市舶司的設置 (The Establishment of the Song Maritime Supervisorates), in *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集 (Studies in Song History), No. 5 (Taibei: Zhonghua congshu bianshen weiyuanhui, 1970), pp. 368–372.

25 See Wang Wenchu 王文楚, "Liang Song he Gaoli haishang hanglu chutan" 兩宋和高麗海上航路初探 (A Preliminary Investigation of the Song and Koguryŏ Sea Routes), in *Wen shi* 文史 (Literature and History), No. 12, 1981, pp. 97–105.

26 See Wang Cengyu 王曾瑜, "Nan Song dui Jin dierci zhanzheng de zhongyao zhanyi shuping" 南宋對金第二次戰爭的重要戰役述評 (Review of the Important Battles of the Second War of the Southern Song against the Jin), in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Jinian Chen Yingque xiansheng danchen bainian xueshu lunwenji* 紀念陳寅恪先生誕辰百年學術論文集 (Academic Papers in Memory of Chen Yingque's 100th Birthday) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989).

27 See Gao Rongsheng 高榮盛, "Yuandai haiyun shixi" 元代海運試析 (An Analysis of the Sea Transport of Grain in the Yuan Dynasty), in *Yuan shi ji Beifang minzu shi yanjiu jikan* 元史及北方民族史研究集刊 (Journal of Yuan History and Studies in the History of Northern Ethnic Groups), No. 7, 1983, pp. 40–65.

Monastery. In fact, there were many Silla settlements in the Shandong peninsula and northern Jiangsu (Subei 蘇北) region during the Tang. Some of the people from Silla were envoys, others were merchants, sailors, translators and monks. Ennin recorded many details about the people from Silla and their ways of life in the areas he visited, and these have been studied from many angles.[28] Below are Ennin's references to people from Silla and where they resided:

The Silla Cloister 新羅院 in Chishan 赤山 village, Qingning township 清寧鄉, Wendeng county, Dengzhou; there, people gather from Silla, both religious and secular, young and old, noble and poor (*juan* 2); the Silla man named Chŏng Kaek 鄭客 (*juan* 4), a Silla hostel 新羅館 and a Parhae hostel 渤海館 east of the south street of the city in Dengzhou (*juan* 2);

Over 30 people from Silla in Rushan 乳山, Dengzhou (*juan* 2);

The Silla ward 新羅坊 in Chuzhou, including area commanders-in-chief 總管 and translators; 60 hired sailors from Silla, familiar with the sea route (*juan* 4 and 1);

The Silla Cloister 新羅院 of the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 in Qingzhou 青州 (*juan* 2);

The Silla Cloister of the Liquan Monastery 醴泉寺 in Changshan 長山 county, Zizhou 淄州 (*juan* 2);

The Silla ward in Lianshui 漣水 county, Sizhou 泗州 (*juan* 4);

Dozens of Silla boatmen from Donghai county, Haizhou, transporting charcoal from Mizhou to Chuzhou (*juan* 1);

A Silla residence in Sucheng village 宿城, Donghai county, Haizhou (*juan* 1);

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28 Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels*, pp. 281–287; Tian Yuqing 田餘慶 and Li Xiaocong 李孝聰, "Tang-Song yunhe zai Zhong-wai jiaoliushi shang de diwei he zuoyong" 唐宋運河在中外交流史上的地位和作用 (The Role of the Grand Canal in the History of Sino-Foreign Communications during the Tang and Song Periods), in Tang-Song Yunhe kaochadui 唐宋運河考察隊, ed., *Yunhe fanggu* 運河訪古 (Antiquities along the Grand Canal) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1986), pp. 117–118; Jin Wenjing 金文經, "Tangdai Xinluo qiaomin de huodong" 唐代新羅僑民的活動 (The Activities of the Silla Diaspora in the Tang Dynasty), in Lin Tianwei 林天蔚 and Huang Yuese 黃約瑟, eds., *Gudai Zhong-Han-Ri guanxi yanjiu* 古代中韓日關係研究 (Studies in Ancient Chinese-Korean-Japanese Relations) (Hong Kong: Xianggang daxue Yazhou yanjiu zhongxin, 1987), pp. 27–38; Sakagami Hayagyo 坂上早魚, "Kyū seiki no Nittō kōtsū to Shiragi jin: En'nin *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* wo chūshin ni" 九世紀の日唐交通と新羅人 – 圓仁《入唐求法巡禮行記》を中心に (Ninth Century Japanese-Tang Relations and Silla: With a Focus on Ennin's *Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of the Law*), *Kyūshū hakubutsukan* 九州博物館 (Kyūshū Museum), Vol. 8, No. 1, 1988, pp. 8–18.

Wang Ch'ŏng 王清 from Silla in Yangzhou (*juan* 1);
Chin Ch'ung 陳忠, a Silla boatman in Zhumapu 駐馬浦 at Mount Dazhu 大朱, Zhucheng 諸城 county, Mizhou, transporting charcoal to Chuzhou (*juan* 4).

Ennin's account is of course not comprehensive, but the records presented above are sufficient to show some of the ways of life in which people from Silla engaged in the Shandong peninsula and northern Jiangsu. They can be divided roughly into two types. First were the monks who lived in what was called the "Silla cloisters", of which the Chishan Silla Cloister is a classic example:

> Their sūtra lectures and repentance rituals all follow the customs of Silla. However, in the twilight and early morning repentance rituals, they follow Tang customs. For all others, they use the language of Silla.[29]

Because of the special geographical location of Chishan, the monks and common people in the surrounding areas were mostly from Silla, which is why their Buddhist rituals were characterised by a mixture of Silla and Tang elements. In other Silla cloisters, the Tang elements may have been somewhat greater. Another category of people were those living in the so-called "Silla wards" 新羅坊. They included merchants, diplomats, translators and sailors. Some of them travelled back and forth between the Tang and Silla, and Japan and the other kingdoms, and some specialised in littoral and canal shipping transport work in the Tang empire. Ennin mentioned a Silla residence in Haizhou, and said he met dozens of people from Silla there engaged in overseas transport. Because Ennin passed through Haizhou rather hurriedly while travelling back and forth during his three visits, he did not provide a detailed description of the monks' living conditions in the monasteries and temples in Haizhou. Li Yong's inscription for the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou is thus a welcome addition to Ennin's later record. Since the Meditation Cloister of the Dayun Monastery was presided over by Master Tong from Silla, we can surmise that some of the disciples in the cloister were also from Silla. This would explain why the meditation cloister at the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou was also called a Silla cloister. When we consider the important position of Haizhou in overseas exchanges, as well as the distribution of people from Silla in Shandong and northern Jiangsu, this view is easy to understand. In fact, Master Tong was just one of the many Silla monks who had come to the Tang in search of the Dharma. Moreover,

29 Ono Katsutoshi, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyu*, Vol. 2, p. 138.

given that he had a good relationship with prefect Li Yong of Haizhou, and that he had a special status in Haizhou, we are prompted to undertake a further investigation of the role he played in the cultural exchanges between the Tang and Silla.

3

From the beginning of the Tang period, Silla maintained friendly relations with Tang China. In the middle of the 7th century, the Tang allied with Silla successively to destroy Paekche and Koguryŏ. Silla thereby occupied the area south of the Bei 貝 river (the present-day Datong 大同 river) unifying the southern part of the Korean peninsula. Because Silla was then directly adjacent to Tang territory, contact between the two was strengthened even further. Silla sent tribute every year to the Tang. At the same time, many overseas students and monks came to all parts of China to study the Tang administration and culture. For example, in the 22nd year of the Zhenguan reign period (648), Kim Chunchu 金春秋 (r. 654–661), younger brother of the King of Silla, came to Tang China and personally visited the Academy 國學 to view the ceremony of the worship of Confucius and hear the lectures. Emperor Taizong presented him with traced copies of his own calligraphy ("Wen Tang ming" 溫湯銘 [Wen and Tang Inscriptions] and "Jin ci bei" 晉祠碑 [Jin Ancestral Tablet]) and also a copy of the newly compiled *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin).[30] In the 2nd year of the Chuigong 垂拱 reign period (686), an envoy who came to China from Silla requested a copy of the *Tang li* 唐禮 (Tang Rituals) and some miscellaneous writings. Empress Wu, who supervised the composition of *Jixiong yaoli* 吉凶要禮 (Important Rituals for Events of Good and Bad Fortune), as well as writings related to admonitions in the *Wenguan cilin* 文館詞林 (Hall of Literature and Forest of Poetry), presented them with a total of 50 *juan* of these materials.[31] In the 16th year of the Kaiyuan era (728), Silla went even further, requesting that envoys be allowed to go to the Tang to "study Buddhist scriptures"; Emperor Xuanzong consented.[32] After this, a number of

30 "Dongyi zhuan" 東夷傳 (Chapter on the Eastern Yi), entry on Silla (*Xinluo*), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, p. 5335; "Dongyi zhuan" 東夷傳 (Chapter on the Eastern Yi), entry on Silla, *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 220, p. 6203.

31 "Dongyi zhuan", entry on Silla, *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, p. 5336; "Dongyi zhuan", entry on Silla, *Xin Tangshu*, *juan* 220, p. 6204; *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 36 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991); *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature), *juan* 999.

32 *Tang huiyao*, *juan* 95; *Cefu yuangui*, *juan* 975.

students from Silla came to study in China. Some even passed the Civil Service Examinations and became officials, attaining fame both inside and outside of China.[33] In the Tianbao era, Silla even wanted to invite the great literary figure Xiao Yingshi 蕭穎士 (717–760) to serve as state preceptor 國師 in Silla.[34] Silla is thus probably the best example we have of the overseas transmission of Chinese texts, music and ritual, and the legal system.[35]

Buddhist monks in Silla were particularly eager to make pilgrimages in search of Buddhist texts and learning. They came west to Tang China in succession, and some even went to India to seek the teachings of Buddhism. Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Tang Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions during the Great Tang), completed in the 2nd year of the Tianshou reign period (691), mentions seven eminent monks from Silla.[36] The most famous one is certainly Master Hyecho 慧超 (704–787), who made the journey west during the Kaiyuan era. His travel account, *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) has been found among

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33 See Yan Gengwang, "Xinluo liu Tang xuesheng yu sengtu", pp. 426–441; Xie Haiping 謝海平, *Tangdai liu Hua waiguoren shenghuo kaoshu* 唐代留華外國人生活考述 (An Investigation into the Life of Foreigners Staying in Tang China) (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1978), pp. 126–133.

34 Ikeda On 池田温, "Shō Eishi shōhei wa Nihon ka" 蕭穎士招聘は日本か (Was Xiao Yingshi Invited by Japan?), in *Enoki Hakushi shōju kinen Tōyō shi ronsō* 榎博士頌寿記念東洋史論叢 (Papers on East Asian History in Celebration of Dr Enoki's Long Life) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1988), pp. 1–19. Xiao Yingshi had such a high reputation as an eminent writer that even accomplished masters such as Li Yong invited him to write for them. See *Quan Tangwen, juan* 322, "Wei Li Beihai zuo jin zhi cao biao" 為李北海作進芝草表 (A Memorial Written for Li Beihai on Presenting Auspicious Mushrooms [to the Emperor]). As for his scholarly activities, see Yu Jidong 俞紀東, "Xiao Yingshi shiji kao" 蕭穎士事跡考 (An Investigation into the Career of Xiao Yingshi), in *Zhonghua wen shi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Journal of Chinese Literature and History), No. 2, 1983, pp. 231–243.

35 For additional evidence, see Inoue Hideo 井上秀雄, "Zui-Tō bunka no eikyō wo uketa Chōsen shokoku bunka" 隋唐文化の影響をうけた朝鮮諸國文化 (The Influence of Sui and Tang Culture on Korean Culture), in *Zui-Tō teikoku to Higashi Ajia sekai* 隋唐帝國と東アジア世界 (The Sui and Tang Empires and the East Asian World) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1979), pp. 327–355; Yang Tongfang 楊通方, "Yuanyuan liuchang de Zhong-Chao wenhua jiaoliu" 源遠流長的中朝文化交流 (The Long History of Sino-Korean Cultural Exchange), in Zhou Yiliang 周一良, ed., *Zhongwai wenhua jiaoliu shi* 中外文化交流史 (History of Sino-Foreign Cultural Exchange) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 366–369.

36 Wang Bangwei 王邦維, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Biographies of Eminent Tang Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions during the Great Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), pp. 40–47, 101 and 102.

the Dunhuang manuscripts.[37] Most of the Silla monks who came to China in the early Tang studied the Huayan 華嚴, Faxiang 法相, Tiantai 天台 and Vinaya schools. Among those who are better known is Woncheuk 圓測 (613–696), who came to the Tang in the 1st year of the Zhenguan reign period (627) and wrote the *Weishi shuchao* 唯識疏鈔 (Notes on Consciousness-Only).[38] Chajang 慈藏, who came to the Tang in the 12th year of the Zhenguan reign period (638), revised the rules of discipline for monks and nuns when he returned to Silla, and established the monastic system of governance.[39] Uisang 義湘 (625–702), who came to China in the 1st year of the Yonghui 永徽 reign period (650) and studied under the tutelage of Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) in Zhixiang Monastery 至相寺 at Mount Zhongnan 終南, enthusiastically proselytised the latter's beliefs when he returned to Silla. He was honoured as the First Patriarch of Huayan in the Eastern Seas.[40] As for the Chan 禪 School, at present we know only of Pŏmnang 法朗 (fl. 632–646), who was a disciple of Daoxin 道信 (580–651) of Mount Shuangfeng 雙峰, the Fourth Patriarch, in the beginning of the Tang.[41]

According to the early Chan manuscripts found at Dunhuang, as well as some transmitted inscriptions, the Chan School developed rapidly at the time of the Fifth Patriarch Hongren 弘忍 (601–674): "During this period people came in droves from all directions. From ordained monks and nuns down to

37 Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, "Huichao Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan yilu" 慧超往五天竺國傳迻錄 (Record of the Transcription of Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*), in *Haneda hakase shigaku ronbunshū* 羽田博士史學論文集 (Papers on Historical Studies by Dr Haneda), Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Tōyōshi kenkyūkai, 1958), pp. 610–629.

38 "Tang jingshi Ximing si Wangce zhuan" 唐京師西明寺圓測傳 (Biography of Woncheuk at Ximing Temple in the Tang Capital), in Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period), *juan* 4.

39 "Tang Xinluo guo da seng tong shi Cizang zhuan" 唐新羅國大僧統釋慈藏傳 (Biography of the Great Monk Superintendant Master Chajang from Silla in the Tang), in Daoxuan 道宣, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), *juan* 24, T.50.2060; *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Anecdotes from the Three Kingdoms), *juan* 4, entry on Chajang establishing the vinaya. See Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, *Shiragi bukkyō shi josetsu* 新羅佛教史序說 (Introduction to the History of Korean Buddhism) (Tokyo: Tokyo University, 1988), pp. 134–198.

40 "Tang Xinluo guo Yixiang zhuan" 唐新羅國義湘傳 (Biography of Uisang of the Silla Kingdom in the Tang), Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 4; *Samguk yusa*, *juan* 4, entry on the missionary work of Uisang. See Kamata Shigeo, *Shiragi bukkyō shi josetsu*, pp. 201–478.

41 See Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's 崔致遠 (857–10th century) "Tang Xinluo guo gu Fengyan shan si Jiaoyi zhizheng dashi ta beiming" 唐新羅國故鳳岩山寺教謚智証大師塔碑銘 (Funerary Inscription at the Former Mount Fengyan Monastery for the Stupa of Master Jiaoyi Zhizheng of the Silla Kingdom in the Tang), transcribed in Lu Xinyuan 陸心源, *Tangwen shiyi* 唐文拾遺 (Unofficial Writings of the Tang), *juan* 44.

lay believers, they came to follow him as their master; they arrived empty but left fulfilled; thousands came every month".[42] After Hongren passed away in the 1st year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign period (674), his top ten disciples distributed themselves in the North and South, spreading Chan teachings. After 20 years of effort, Shenxiu 神秀 (ca. 606–706), Hongren's senior disciple, was invited by Empress Wu to Luoyang in the 1st year of the Jiushi 久視 reign period (700). "He was promoted to be the chief abbot 法主 of the two capitals and state preceptor of three emperors (i.e. Wu Zetian, Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 [r. 684; 705–710] and Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 [r. 710–712])".[43] This was the time when the power and influence of the Chan School reached its peak. After Shenxiu's death in the 2nd year of the Shenlong 神龍 reign period (706), Emperor Zhongzong issued an order making Shenxiu's student Puji 普寂 (651–739) head of the congregation and putting him in charge of spreading the teaching. In the 13th year of the Kaiyuan era (725), by order of Emperor Xuanzong, Puji moved to the Jing'ai Monastery 敬愛寺 in the capital: "Sitting on the 'diamond throne', he was called the teacher of gods and men. Those who heard his teachings encircled the world, and those who converted to Buddhism filled the universe".[44] Although Shenhui 神會 (684–758) in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan era (732) viciously attacked Puji at the great assembly in the Dayun Monastery at Huatai 滑臺, the position of the Northern School 北宗 represented by Puji remained unshaken. After Puji passed away in the 27th year of the Kaiyuan era (739), Emperor Xuanzong even granted him the posthumous title of Dhyāna Master of Great Illumination 大照禪師. Describing his funeral, Li Yong wrote that the mourners "extended from the capital to the mountains, like morning dew covering a long distance, filling the entire atmosphere".[45] One of the heirs of Shenhui's teachings, Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (Zongmi

42 Jingjue 淨覺, "Lengqie shi ziji" 楞伽師資記 (Record of the Masters and Students of the Lanka), T.85.2837, p. 1289; Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, "Zen no goroku" 禪の語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Chan), *Shoki no Zen shi* 初期の禪史 (Early Chan History), Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 273.

43 Zhang Yue 張說, "Tang Yuquan si Datong heshang bei" 唐玉泉寺大通和尚碑 (Funerary Inscription for the Tang Monk Datong of the Jade Spring Monastery), in *Zhang Yue zhi wenji* 張說之文集 (The Collected Works of Zhang Yue), *Sibu congkan* edition, *juan* 19.

44 Dunhuang manuscript S.2512, "Di qi zu Dazhao heshang jimie ri zhai zanwen" 第七祖大照和尚寂滅日齋贊文 (Praises Provided at the Funerary Feast Held on the Occasion of the Extinction of the Seventh Patriarch, the Dhyāna Master of Great Illumination), in Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū* 敦煌禪宗文獻の研究 (Study of Zen Texts from Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983), p. 555.

45 Li Yong, "Dazhao Chanshi ta ming" 大照禪師塔銘 (Stūpa Inscription of the Dhyāna Master of Great Illumination), in *Quan Tangwen*, *juan* 262.

of Gui Peak), described this in his *Yuanjue dashu chao* 圓覺大疏鈔 (Great Commentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment) as follows:

> The Caoxi 曹溪 School of instant enlightenment (Southern School 南宗) declined in the regions of Jing 荊 and Wu 吳 (i.e. south of the Yangtze River), while the Songyue 嵩岳 School of gradual enlightenment (Northern School) was extremely popular in the Qin 秦 and Luo 洛 regions. Puji, a disciple of Xiu 秀, was fallaciously claimed to be the Seventh Patriarch. He was the chief abbot of the two capitals and preceptor of three emperors. All the officials of the court paid homage to him, including imperial messengers, censors and guards. He was so imposing that no one dared challenge him.

It was precisely from the time when the orthodox Chan School of Shenxiu and Puji was at its height that a large number of monks from Silla successively came to study Chan teachings. At present, the earliest ones we know about are Musang 無相 (694–762) and Sinhaeng 神行 (704–779). Musang, also known as Kim Hwasang 金和尚, was the son of the King of Silla. When he came to Tang China, he was a disciple of Chuji 處寂 (684–734). Chuji was a disciple of Zhishen 智詵, who himself was a disciple of Hongren. Later, Musang went to the Jingzhong Temple 淨眾寺 in Yizhou 益州, Sichuan 四川, and created the Jingzhong School 淨眾宗. His Chan teachings were not only influential locally, but also spread to Tibet.[46] Sinhaeng was born and raised in Silla's eastern capital and after coming to the Tang, he studied with Puji's disciple Zhikong 志空. He then returned home to spread Chan teachings in Silla;[47] thereafter, many Chan monks came successively to Tang China, and returned home upon

46 Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, "Chibetto bukkyō to Shiragi no Kin Oshō" チベット佛教と新羅の金和尚 (Tibetan Buddhism and Silla's Master Kim), in Kin Chiken 金知見 and Sai Ingen 蔡印幻, eds., *Shiragi bukkyō kenkyū* 新羅仏教研究 (Study of Silla Buddhism) (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1973); trans. by Guan Nan 關南, in Zhongyang minzu xueyuan Zangzu yanjiusuo 中央民族學院藏族研究所, ed., *Zangzu yanjiu yiwen ji* 藏族研究譯文集 (Collection of Translations for Research on the Tibetan Nationality), Vol. 1, 1983, pp. 85–96; Jan Yunhua 冉雲華, "Donghai dashi Wuxiang zhuan yanjiu" 東海大師無相傳研究 (A Study of the Biography of Master Wuxiang of the Eastern Sea), *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 4, 1979, pp. 47–60; Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Tangdai Chanzong de chuanru Tubo ji qi youguan de Dunhuang wenshu" 唐代禪宗的傳入吐蕃及其有關的敦煌文書 (The Transmission of Chan Buddhism to Tibet in the Tang Period and Relevant Dunhuang Manuscripts), in *Xuelin manlu* 學林漫錄 (Random Writings from the Forest of Learning), No. 3, 1981, pp. 51–56.

47 See Kim Hŏnjŏng 金獻貞, "Haedong ko Sinhaeng sŏnsa chi pi" 海東故神行禪師之碑 (Funerary Inscriptions of Dhyāna Masters in the Eastern Seas), in *Quan Tangwen*, *juan* 718.

completing their studies, bringing about the flourishing of the Nine Mountain Schools of Seon (Chan) 禪門九山 on the Korean peninsula.[48]

We can compare these monks to Master Tong from Silla, who lived at the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou. He must have been one of the earliest eminent monks to come to China from Silla to study Chan. We have not seen any clear-cut accounts concerning the type of Chan teachings he followed, but this does not mean that we have no leads to investigate. Two points should be noted.

The first is that Huizang, the master who repaired the Dayun Monastery in the Xiantian reign period, must have been Master Tong's senior monk or teacher. Huizang's ability to renovate the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou in three or four years shows that he was a master of unusual capability. There is no mention of a Chan monk named Huizang in such biographical works as Daoxuan's 道宣 *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks) or Zanning's 贊寧 *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period). Fortunately, however, there is a reference to him in an early Chan "lamp history" 燈史 preserved in a Dunhuang manuscript. It is in Jingjue's 淨覺 *Lengqie shi ziji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the Masters and Students of the Lanka) (compiled around 713–715), which quotes from his teacher Xuanze's 玄賾 *Lengqie ren fa zhi* 楞伽人法志 (Record of the Man and Teachings of the Lanka). The reference to Huizang occurs in the biography of Hongren:[49]

> [Hongren] also said: "I have taught countless people in the course of my life. The good ones have all died, and now there are only ten who can transmit my teaching. When I discussed the *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經 (Laṅkāvatāra sūtra) with Shenxiu 神秀, the profound principles became clear and easy to understand; I certainly benefited from it greatly. Zhishen from Zizhou 資州 and Registrar 主簿 Liu 劉 from Baisongshan 白松山 are both highly literate. As for Huizang from Huazhou 華州 and Xuanyue 玄約 from Suizhou 隨州, I do not have a strong memory of them. Lao'an 老安 of Songshan 嵩山 has deep attainments in practicing the Way. Faru

48 On the other monks who went into China, see Yan Gengwang, "Xinluo liu Tang xuesheng yu sengtu", pp. 250–292; Huang Xinchuan 黃心川, "Sui-Tang shiqi Zhongguo yu Chaoxian fojiao de jiaoliu: Xinluo lai Hua Fojiao senglü kao" 隋唐時期中國與朝鮮佛教的交流 – 新羅來華佛教僧侶考 (Sino-Korean Buddhist Exchange in the Sui-Tang period – A Study of Buddhist Monks who came to China from Silla), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (World Religious Studies), No. 1, 1989, pp. 54–75.

49 T.85.2837, p. 1289; Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zen shi* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1976), Vol. 1, p. 273. On the date when this work was completed, see Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, pp. 27–37.

> 法如 from Luzhou 潞州, Huineng 惠能 from Shaozhou 韶州 and the Koguryŏ monk Zhide 智德 from Yangzhou are all capable of being teachers, but belong to local regions. Yifang 義方 from Yuezhou 越州 is still giving lectures". [Hongren] also said to Xuanze, "You should take care of your simultaneous practice. After I pass into Nirvana, you and Shenxiu must make the sun of Buddha shine again and the lamp of the mind light up once more".

The name Huizang also appears twice in the record of the *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages), a lamp history of the Jingzhong and Baotang 保唐 schools (completed in about 775) found in Dunhuang. The references are very similar to those quoted above.[50] Apart from these, no other records are known. Hongren died in the 1st year of the Shangyuan reign period (674). Master Huizang, who lived in Huazhou at that time, had exactly the same monastic name as the Master Huizang who presided over Dayun Monastery in Haizhou in the Xiantian reign period (712–713), and we cannot help thinking that they must have been the same person. Apart from having the same monastic name, their dates are also consistent with this hypothesis. If Huizang was about 30 years old when he studied Chan with Hongren, he must have been about 70 in the Xiantian reign period. According to Li Yong's inscription for the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou, Huizang had already passed away, which is also entirely in accord with the above hypothesis concerning his age. Moreover, the inscription refers to Huizang with these words: "He spent ten years in his room, using his rice bowl and drinking cup for his one meal a day". This passage is referring to the ascetic practice of *dhūta* introduced by Bodhidharma. For example, concerning the Master Na 那, disciple of the Second Patriarch Huike 惠可, it was said that he "had one seat and ate one meal [a day]" 一坐一食. Master Na's disciple Huiman 慧滿 "had one set of clothes and ate one meal [a day]" 一衣一食. Huisong 慧嵩, with whom Fachong 法沖 studied, ate "only one meal a day" 日止一餐. These practices were all part of the same tradition,[51] showing that Huizang's Chan doctrine was the same as Hongren's. If Master Huizang of the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou was truly Hongren's disciple, Master Tong from Silla probably also

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50 T.51.2075, pp. 182 and 183; Yanagida Seizan, "Zen no goroku", *Shoki no Zen shi*, pp. 92 and 122.

51 See Hu Shi 胡適, "Lengqie zongkao" 楞伽宗考 (Study of the Lanka School), *Hu Shi wencun* 胡適文存 (The Extant Writings of Hu Shi), Vol. 4 (Beiping, 1935), pp. 203, 208–209, 214–215 and 229; Liutian Shengshan [Yanagida Seizan] 柳田聖山, ed., *Hu Shi Chanxue an* 胡適禪學案 (Hu Shi's Studies on Chan Buddhism) (Taibei: Zhengzhong shuju [Cheng Chung Book Co. Ltd.], 1975), pp. 163, 168–169, 174–175 and 189.

came from Hongren's lineage, just like his contemporary, the state preceptor Puji. However, due to the shortage of sources, this is only a hypothesis, which awaits further corroborating evidence.

The second point relates to the motivation of Li Yong, prefect of Haizhou, in writing the inscription for the Dayun Monastery at Haizhou. Apart from the fact that the Dayun Monastery was an official temple, he probably wrote it also because of his close friendship with Master Tong. Li Yong was a famous scholar of the Kaiyuan era who called himself a disciple of Puji and had a close relationship with Northern School masters affiliated with Shenxiu and Puji. As mentioned above, Shenhui attacked Puji of the Northern School at the Great Assembly at Huatai's Dayun Monastery in 732. In his "Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun" 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 (Determining True and False in Bodhidharma's Southern School), Shenhui says the following:[52]

> Moreover, Master Puji has set up a stele inscription at Songshan, established the Hall of the Seventh Patriarch 七祖堂 and had the *Fabaoji* 法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel) produced to set down the seven generations of patriarchs in their order of transmission. However, Master [Hui]neng does not appear on the list. Master [… Hui]neng transmitted the teaching to others, he was the teacher of men and gods. His name was heard throughout the empire, but he is not on the list. [On the other hand,] Master [Fa]ru, who had been a fellow student of Master [Shen]xiu, did not transmit the teaching to others, was not a teacher of men and gods, and was not known throughout the empire. On what grounds should he be credited as the Sixth Patriarch?
>
> Master Puji set up a stele inscription for the preceptor, [Shen]xiu, which establishes [Shen]xiu as the Sixth Patriarch. Now the *Fabaoji* establishes Master [Fa]ru as the Sixth Patriarch. It is not possible for both of these men of great virtue to be the Sixth Patriarch. As for which is right and which is wrong, I invite Master Pu[ji] to consider it carefully!

Here Shenhui is attacking the stele inscription that Puji set up on Songshan. This was the inscription called *Songyue si bei* 嵩嶽寺碑 (Inscription for Songyue Temple), written by Li Yong. The inscription says: "Bodhisattva Bodhidharma transmitted the teachings to Ke 可, Ke passed it to Can 璨, Can entrusted it to Xin 信, Xin released it to Ren 忍, Ren bequeathed it to Xiu 秀, and Xiu dedicated

52 Hu Shi, ed., *Shenhui heshang yiji* 神會和尚遺集 (Collection of Shenhui's Surviving Writings) (Taibei: Hu Shi jinianguan, 1968), pp. 289–290.

it to our current preceptor, Ji 寂".[53] This is precisely what Shenhui meant when he said, "He established [Shen]xiu as the Sixth Patriarch". Thus according to Puji, these constituted the members of the Hall of the Seven Patriarchs. The *Fabaoji* he mentions refers to Du Fei's 杜朏 (fl. 710–720) *Chuan fabaoji* 傳法寶記 (Record of the Transmission of Dharma Treasures), a manuscript of which was also found at Dunhuang. In this, the line of transmission recorded is as follows: Bodhidharma → Huike → Sengcan 僧璨 → Daoxin → Hongren → Faru → Shenxiu.[54] Shenhui's purpose in so fiercely attacking the line of transmission provided by Puji and his spokesman was to establish Huineng as the one who should have inherited the teaching from the Fifth Patriarch Hongren.[55] As noted above, Puji's position was unshaken by Shenhui's attack. Li Yong, who wrote the inscription for Puji, stood firmly on the side of the Northern School. After Puji's death, in the 27th year of the Kaiyuan era, Li Yong also wrote an inscription for him entitled "Dazhao chanshi taming" 大照禪師塔銘 (Inscription on the Stupa of the Dhyāna Master of Great Illumination), in which he records Puji saying to the disciples:[56]

> I am entrusted by my former masters to pass on the secret seal. Far in the distant past Bodhisattva Bodhidharma transmitted his teaching to [Hui]ke; [Hui]ke presented it to [Seng]can; [Seng]can entrusted it to [Dao]xin; [Dao]xin passed it to [Hong]ren; and [Hong]ren gave it to Datong 大通 (Shenxiu); Datong handed it down to me, making seven generations until the present.

Thus he repeats the line of transmission given in the inscription for the Songshan temple. On the one hand, this shows that the position of the Northern School was still solid. On the other, it shows that Li Yong's attitude had not changed. Regardless, Shenhui continued his struggle to establish the Southern School on firmer ground, but in the end he was accused of "recruiting followers", leading to his demotion and exile.[57] This story indicates the intensity of

53 In *Quan Tang wen*, *juan* 263.

54 See Yanagida Seizan, "Den hōbō ki" 傳法寶記 (Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Jewel), in Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zen shi*, pp. 329–435.

55 Hu Shi, "Xin jiaoding de Dunhuang xieben Shenhui heshang yizhu liangzhong jiaoxie houji" 新校定的敦煌寫本神會和尚遺著兩種校寫後記 (New Annotations on the Two Edited Notes in the Dunhuang Manuscripts of the Writings Left Behind by the Monk Shenhui), *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所集刊 (Publications of the Institute of History and Philology), No. 29, 1958, pp. 335–357; Liutian Shengshan [Yanagida Seizan], ed., *Hu Shi Chanxue an*, pp. 269–291.

56 *Quan Tangwen*, *juan* 262.

57 Hu Shi, "Heze dashi Shenhui zhuan" 荷澤大師神會傳 (Biography of Master Shenhui of Heze), *Hu Shi wencun*, Vol. 4 (Beiping; Yadong tushuguan, 1935), pp. 273–276; Liutian

the struggle between the Northern and Southern schools at the time. Li Yong's firm stance in favour of the Northern School reveals his own personal predilection. Looking back, Li Yong met Master Tong from Silla in Haizhou around the 11th year of the Kaiyuan era and became friends with him. The fact that he wrote the inscription for him, shows that Master Tong must have practiced the teachings of the Northern School; otherwise it would have been difficult for him to have close contact with Li Yong. Moreover, the stele inscription describes his teaching as "relinquishing external objects in ceasing one's thoughts, demonstrating that the dharma is as smooth as a flowing stream", which expresses the same idea as Shenxiu's teaching to "focus on contemplation to cease your thoughts, direct your efforts on concentrating your mind".[58] Both of these ideas express the Chan teaching of gradual cultivation. From this we can also see that Master Tong's practice of Chan originated from that of Hongren and Shenxiu.

In sum, Master Tong was a Chan master from Silla who entered Tang China after Pŏmnang, but before Musang and Sinhaeng. He followed the teaching of gradual enlightenment that prevailed in northern China at that time. Moreover, he may have been a disciple in the lineage of the Fifth Patriarch Hongren. At the same time, he must have had an impact on the monks from Silla who travelled to the Tang while he presided over the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou, which, as we have shown, was one of the main channels of communication between Silla and the Tang. Thus it is not difficult to surmise that he made contributions to the transmission of Chan to the Korean peninsula.

This paper has focused on Li Yong's "Inscription on the Dayun Monastery in Haizhou" to examine the position of Haizhou in overseas communications during the Tang dynasty. Clearly, Haizhou at this time was not only an important port on the Maritime Silk Route, but also a place where foreign merchants, sailors and monks congregated. Among them, Master Tong from Silla, who presided over the Dayun Monastery, made important contributions to the process of transmitting Chan teachings to the Korean peninsula.

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Shengshan [Yanagida Seizan], ed., *Hu Shi Chanxue an*, pp. 127–130; Jan Yunhua, "Bei zong Chanji shiyi: Jiji heshang ji" 北宗禪籍拾遺 – 記寂和尚偈 (Unknown Texts of the Northern Chan School: The Gāthā of the Monk Ji), *Dunhuangxue*, No. 10, 1985, pp. 7–8.

58 Zhang Yue, "Tang Yuquan si Datong heshang bei".

CHAPTER 10

Diplomatic Relations in East Asia in the 8th Century and Japanese Embassies to Tang China

Translated by June Manjun Zhang 張嫚雋

In recent years, the discovery of the epitaph of I no Manari 井真成 (699–734, alternatively pronounced Sei Shinsei) has been stimulating new debates on the topic of Japanese embassies to Tang China (*kentōshi* 遣唐使) in Chinese and Japanese scholarship. Scholars have begun to re-investigate the diplomatic dynamic in East Asia during the first half of the 8th century when I no Manari visited the Tang, shedding new light on the rich history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchange. Over the years, I have been paying close attention to foreigners and foreign cultures in Chang'an 長安 during the Tang dynasty, as well as the influence of Chang'an's material and non-material cultures on surrounding peoples and polities. Here, I shall briefly discuss the Japanese embassies to the Tang and the diplomatic situation in East Asia when I no Manari visited the Tang around the first half of the 8th century.

1 The Diplomatic Situation and Sino-Japanese Relations during the Second Half of the 7th Century

Before embarking on a discussion of the complex diplomatic situation in East Asia and Sino-Japanese relations in the 8th century, it is necessary to review briefly the general circumstances in the second half of the 7th century.

After the domestic turmoil of the early Tang period had subsided and imperial power was consolidated, the Tang received the first embassy from the Kingdom of Wa [Ch. Wo] 倭 in the 4th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (630). (The name of this kingdom was later changed to Riben 日本 [Hi no moto in Japanese], and will be called "Japan" in this study for the sake of consistency). It was led by Inugami no Mitasuki 犬上御田鍬 and Dainin Kusushi no Enichi 大仁薬師恵日. According to Chinese records, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) "sympathised with the envoys who came from afar, and exempted [Japan] from paying the annual tribute". From this phrasing we see that Japan was not treated as a tributary state but what the "Zalu" 雜錄 (Miscellaneous Records) of the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) refers

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to as a "remote kingdom" (*jueyu zhi guo* 絕域之國). Nevertheless, Emperor Taizong considered the first Japanese embassy to the Tang important, as he ordered Gao Biaoren 高表仁, prefect of Xinzhou 新州, to visit Japan with gifts in the following year. The official history, however, states that Gao Biaoren "had no talent in diplomacy, disputed with royal princes over rites, and returned without fulfilling his mission".[1] Apparently, Japan was unwilling to be treated as a subordinate of the Tang; and neither was the Tang willing to accept Japan on equal terms. This is the reason why Gao Biaoren's embassy failed to achieve its goal and diplomatic relations between Japan and the Tang were temporarily interrupted.

Twenty or so years later, Japan sent its second and third embassies to the Tang, one in 653 and one in 654. They were so close together in time that the third embassy departed from Japan before the second had returned. This unusual occurrence was clearly related to the dispute that had reached a crucial juncture among the three regimes on the Korean peninsula – Koguryŏ 高麗, Paekche 百濟 and Silla 新羅. The Tang empire allied with Silla and conducted several campaigns against Koguryŏ. After the Taika Reforms 大化改新 (645), Japan actively sought to participate in the political affairs on the peninsula, backing Koguryŏ and Paekche in secret opposition to the Tang. The Tang attempted to use diplomatic means to win over Japan to support Silla. We can see this attempt from Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 (r. 649–683) address to the third Japanese embassy as follows: "Your kingdom is in the vicinity of Silla which has always been harassed by Koguryŏ and Paekche. If the situation in Silla reaches a crisis point, it will be desirable for your king to send an army to save her".[2] Gaozong also bestowed on Japan numerous "manuscripts and precious objects".[3] Nevertheless, Japan did not accept the Tang's suggestions and stayed in alliance with Paekche. This development led Silla in 657 to refuse Japan passage to the Tang through Sillan territory, causing a break in diplomatic relations. Two years later, Japan sent the fourth embassy to the Tang "including an Emishi 蝦夷 man and woman from the region of Michi no oku 道奥 for the Tang Emperor to see", evidently to demonstrate the superior position Japan occupied in the region of the Eastern Sea.[4] Moreover, it is said that this Japanese embassy was the largest in number among all foreign tributaries

1 "Dong Yi Woguo zhuan" 東夷倭國傳 (Chapter on the Kingdom of Wa [Ch. Wo] of the Eastern Yi people), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 199a, p. 5340.

2 Entry for the Kingdom of Wa [Ch. Wo] 倭國, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), *juan* 99.

3 *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan), *juan* 25.

4 *Nihon shoki*, *juan* 26.

who participated in the winter solstice gathering on the 1st day of the 11th month. The Tang government sensed Japan's attitude towards the political dispute on the Korean peninsula at the time. Because the Tang was about to launch a military campaign against Paekche, the Japanese envoys were "quartered in a secluded place with doors and windows shut, not allowing them to move about freely".[5]

In 660, the coalition troops of Tang and Silla conquered Paekche, then attacked Koguryŏ from two directions. Soon afterwards, Japan supported Paekche's restoration efforts, and in 662 dispatched 170 ships to escort the Paekche prince back to the peninsula. In 663, Japan sent tens of thousands of troops to support Paekche, and in the 8th month of the same year, the coalition troops of Tang and Silla fought the Japanese fleet at the mouth of the Paekkang 白江 River. The fierce battle ended with the total defeat and withdrawal of Japanese forces. The Battle of Paekkang completely crushed Japan's attempt of military intervention on the Korean peninsula, resulting in a shift in Japan's diplomatic strategy. She subsequently gave up military intervention on the peninsula, consolidated its own frontier defences, and avoided direct confrontation with the Tang, neither actively seeking diplomatic relations nor requesting official titles. The Tang's real adversary was Koguryŏ to the north of Paekche, therefore, it chose to adopt a policy of peaceful relations toward Japan. In 665, aiming to ease the tension between the two sides, Liu Renyuan 劉仁願 (602–685), the Tang general stationed in Paekche, sent Guo Wucong 郭務悰 (fl. 664–665) as envoy to Japan. Subsequently, the two sides maintained contact through the former territory of Paekche. The 5th and 6th Japanese embassies sent to the Tang in 665 and 667 respectively, limited themselves to acting as escorts for the Tang envoys and travelled only as far as the location of Tang troops stationed in former Paekche. In 668, the allied forces of Tang and Silla destroyed Koguryŏ. The Tang empire established the protectorate-general to pacify the east with a seat in P'yŏngyang 平壤. In the following year, Japan sent the seventh embassy to the Tang to "offer felicitations for its pacification of Koguryŏ".[6] Afterwards, Japan did not conduct any official exchanges with the Tang empire for 31 years, demonstrating Japan's passive attitude towards politics in the Korean peninsula following its military withdrawal.

At the same time, after the fall of Koguryŏ, the alliance between the Tang and Silla broke down. Silla began to nibble away at the territory of former

5 *Nihon shoki*, *juan* 26, citing the *Iki no Hakatoko sho* 伊吉博徳書 (The Writing of Iki no Hakatoko).

6 "Dongyi Riben zhuan" 東夷日本傳 (Chapter on Japan), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang).

Paekche to its north, which was under Tang occupation, and also competed for the northern part of Koguryŏ. Under pressure from the emerging Tibetans in the west to hold onto Helong 河隴 and the Western Regions, the Tang followed the "Guanzhong Base Policy" (*Guanzhong benwei zhengce* 關中本位政策), and mobilised forces on the Korean peninsula to fight the Tibetan empire in the west. In 675, the Tang engaged in a war against Silla, but soon after that Silla sent an embassy to the Tang court. The Tang agreed to retreat from the peninsula, and allowed the leading figures of Koguryŏ and Paekche to return to their homelands to pacify their former subjects. By the end of the 7th century, the north-east saw the uprising of the Khitans 契丹 and the formation of the Parhae (Bohai) 渤海 kingdom, whereas in the north, the Second Turkic Qaghanate (682–744) had developed into a powerful state. These developments forced the Tang to retreat from the Korean peninsula completely, leaving Silla to unify the three Korean kingdoms. During the process of unification, Silla adopted a cordial foreign policy towards Japan. The two maintained close relations during the second half of the 7th century.

2 Amicable Contacts between Japan and Tang China

In contrast to the warfare and conflict that pervaded the latter half of the 7th century, interactions among the East Asian states, especially between Tang China and Japan, became more amicable with the beginning of the 8th century. Communication took place mainly in the form of frequent cultural exchanges instead of conflicts of interest.

Although the second half of the 7th century saw no Japanese envoys sent to the Tang for 40 years, the Japanese court carried out substantial institutional reforms with the help of students and scholar monks who returned home via Silla after having studied in the Tang empire. The Japanese court began to compile legal codes in 681, and in 689 the Kiyomihara Code 浄御原令 was finalised. By the first year of the Taihō 大寶 era (701) of Emperor Monmu's 文武 reign, the revision of the Taihō Code 大寶律令 was completed. In the same year, vessels were built and official envoys were appointed, preparing to depart for Tang China.

The eighth Japanese embassy to the Tang, led by Awata no Mahito 粟田真人 (d. 719), departed in 702 and arrived on the coast of Chuzhou 楚州 (present-day Jiangsu province) via the southern route in 703. A Japanese source reads:

> When [the embassy] arrived in the Tang [...], the Tang people addressed our envoys and said: "We have heard that there is the great Kingdom of

> Wa east of the sea, called the kingdom of cultured men, where the people live in prosperity and practice the rites and propriety. Now we see that your appearance is clean and proper. How could we not believe it?"[7]

As to what happened after the envoy Awata no Mahito and others arrived in the capital, the record on the Tang side reads:

> Their Grand Minister Ason Mahito 朝臣真人 came to offer their local products as tribute. Ason Mahito had a rank equivalent to the minister of revenue in the Middle Kingdom. He wore the "promoting virtue cap" topped with a floral crest broken into four segments, a purple robe, and a waistband of silk. Mahito was fond of reading the classics and histories, and was good at composing literature. His appearance and demeanor were gentle and elegant.[8]

The records from both sides were in accord in underlining the Tang perception that the Japanese envoys conducted themselves properly and had an elegant demeanor, as well as having mastered the classics and histories and being good at literary composition. From these impressions, people of the Tang inferred that Japan was an eastern kingdom of cultured people who lived in prosperity and practiced the rites. This is entirely different from the situation when the Japanese envoys came to the Tang in the 7th century. Consequently, the Tang treated this embassy with a high level of courtesy. The epitaph of Du Sixian 杜嗣先 (633–712), prefect of Xuzhou 徐州, composed in the 2nd year of Xiantian 先天 (713), mentioned Empress Wu's 武后 (r. 690–705) reception of these envoys, saying, "as the imperial brilliance reached afar, Japan came to court. An edict commanded the Master (i.e. Du Sixian), along with Li Huaiyuan 李懷遠 (d. 706), Doulu Qinwang 豆盧欽望 (ca. 630–709), Zhu Qinming 祝欽明 (7th c.–710s) and others, to welcome the foreign envoys and converse with them". At the time, Du Sixian held the posts of vice minister 侍郎 of the Ministry of Rites and academician 學士 of the Institute for the Glorification of Literature (*zhaowen guan* 昭文館). Li Huaiyuan and Doulu Qinwang were both former prime ministers. By sending literati, scholars and high ranking officials to receive the Japanese envoys, Empress Wu showed that it was important for her to treat them with a high degree of etiquette. In the end, "[Empress Wu] Zetian 武則天 hosted a banquet for the envoys at Linde Hall 麟德殿, bestowed

7 *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Continued Chronicles of Japan), *juan* 3, entry for the 1st year of the Keiun 慶雲 reign period (704).

8 "Riben zhuan" 日本傳 (Chapter on Japan), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, p. 5340.

the title of chamberlain for the royal food service 司膳卿 on Ason Mahito, and allowed them to return to their home country".[9] The Linde Hall was the largest hall in the Daming Palace 大明宮. The fact that Empress Wu held the banquet for the Japanese envoys in this hall showed how highly esteemed they were in her eyes. Her bestowal of the post of chamberlain for the royal food service on Awata no Mahito also shows her respect for them. According to the Japanese historical records, the Tang government also took the opportunity to release Japanese soldiers who had been captured 40 years before in the battle against Paekche, and sent them back to Japan along with the envoys, which clearly reveals Empress Wu's amicable attitude toward Japan.

The Japanese envoys who came to the Tang in 702 took a new maritime route from Hakata Bay 博多灣 via the Gotō Islands 五島列島 to the East China Sea. Even more significantly, they opened new horizons for courteous cultural exchange. Although the Tang regime held the traditional view that it was because the "imperial brilliance reached afar" that "Japan came to court", this embassy was nevertheless treated with courtesy and sincerity. Moreover, the Tang's release of the Japanese prisoners of war, from 40 years before, opened a new era of friendly exchange in Sino-Japanese relations in the 8th century.

The ninth Japanese embassy to the Tang, which departed in 717, had Tajihi (Mahito) no Agatamori 多治比真人縣守 as its chief commissioner and Ōtomo (Sukune) no Yamamori 大伴宿禰山守 as its ambassador. These envoys similarly had as their goal to study Tang culture. The embassy also included Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂 (698–770), Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695–775, also known as Shimotsumichi [Ason] no Makibi 下道朝臣真備), Yamato no Nagaoka 大和長岡 (689–769), and the monk Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746), who each travelled on a different vessel – there were four vessels in total – which shows the large size of the embassy. Abe no Nakamaro was a student who admired Tang culture. He remained in China and eventually changed his name to Chao Heng 朝衡 (or 晁衡). Later he became an official and held several administrative posts such as Court Rectifier of the Left (*zuo buque* 左補闕), Advisor to the Prince of Yi (*Yiwangyou* 儀王友), and finally protectorate-general to pacify the south (*zhengnan duhu* 鎮南都護).[10] Abe no Nakamaro must have attained a high level of Chinese culture, since some famous poets of the High Tang, such as Wang Wei 王維 (699–759) and Li Bai 李白 (701–762), composed poems for him. Similarly, Kibi no Makibi also "remained in China and continued his studies, reading the classics and histories and learning the various arts", and returned

9 "Riben zhuan", *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, pp. 5340–5341.
10 "Riben zhuan", *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 199a, p. 5341.

to Japan only after completing his studies.[11] As for Yamato no Nagaoka, who was a short-term student who excelled in the field of criminal law, he returned to Japan after finding answers to the questions that he was unable to solve by himself.[12] Later, Kibi no Makibi and Yamato no Nagaoka became significant figures in Japan, who compiled and edited that regime's first legal code. Finally, the monk Genbō studied Buddhist teachings in China, and returned home with the next embassy of 735, "carrying with him more than five thousand scrolls of scriptures and treatises, as well as various Buddhist statues".[13]

The ninth embassy was exceptionally successful. In comparison to previous missions, which encountered trouble at sea, the four vessels of this embassy all safely returned to Japan in 718. The Japanese record expressly states, "The envoys this time suffered no casualties at all".[14] More significantly, there were many learned individuals (e.g. Chao Heng and Kibi no Makibi) among the foreign students, specialised short-term students and monks on this mission. The academic and cultural achievements of this Japanese embassy to the Tang seem extremely impressive to us today. This is probably the reason why, after the discovery of the epitaph of I no Manari, most scholars have thought that he was one of the students who came on the ninth embassy to the Tang. However, I do not agree with this view.

3 A Japanese Embassy Reaches the Tang Capital Chang'an

As for the tenth Japanese embassy to the Tang, which departed in 733, the Chinese and Japanese records can be examined together. The record for the 3rd intercalary month of the 5th year of the Tenpyō 天平 era (733) in the *Shoku Nihongi* 續日本紀 reads:

> On the 26th (*guisi*) day, the chief ambassador to the Tang, Tajihi (Mahito) no Hironari 多治比真人広成 called on the emperor and was given a sword of commission (*settō* 節刀). On the 3rd (*jihai*) day of the 4th month, in

11 *Shoku Nihongi, juan* 33, the entry for the 2nd day (*renxu*) of the 10th month of the 6th year of the Hōki 宝亀 reign period (775).

12 *Shoku Nihongi, juan* 30, the entry for the 29th day (*guihai*) of the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Jingo-keiun 神護景雲 reign period (769).

13 *Shoku Nihongi, juan* 16, the entry for the 18th day (*jihai*) of the 6th month of the 18th year of the Tenpyō 天平 reign period (746).

14 *Shoku Nihongi, juan* 8.

> the summer season, the four vessels bound for the Tang departed from Naniwa port 難波津.

According to the section on tribute presented by foreign officials in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature), *juan* 971, four months later "Mahito Hironari, envoy of the Kingdom of Japan, and his 590 associates, encountered a storm at sea". The date is given as the 8th month of the 21st year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (733). "They drifted to Suzhou 蘇州, where the prefect Qian Weizheng 錢惟正 reported [their arrival]. The Tang court sent the official messenger Wei Jingxian 韋景先 (d. 789) to Suzhou to greet them". Thus, when this large embassy of over 500 people, led by Tajihi no Hironari, arrived in Suzhou, it was received by an official messenger sent by the Tang court. Under normal circumstances, those who received permission to enter the capital should have reached Chang'an by the 10th or the 11th month at the latest. Unfortunately, due to a long period of continuous rain in the Guanzhong 關中 area that year, crops were damaged and a famine struck the capital. Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756) issued an edict promising to provide two million *dan* 石 of grain from the state granaries in the capital for famine relief, and in the 1st month of the following year, in order to relieve the situation in Chang'an, he and his court officials had to move temporarily to the Eastern Capital, Luoyang 洛陽. As for the Japanese envoys who arrived in Chang'an, the colophon on the manuscript of the *Yijiao jing*/*Yuigyō-kyō* 遺教經 (Sutra of the Deathbed Injunction) kept at Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 reads:

> Chen Yanchang 陳延昌, lay believer of the Tang, adorns this Mahāyāna scripture and presents it to the Japanese envoy and scholar of the Imperial University Tomo Koman 朋古滿 (i.e. Ōtomo no Komaro 大伴古麻呂) (d. 757) so that he may circulate it. Recorded on the occasion of his departure from the capital on the 8th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era (734).

This inscription shows that the Japanese embassy left Chang'an on the 8th day of the 2nd month and followed Emperor Xuanzong to Luoyang. The record in the *Cefu yuangui* continues: "In the 4th month of the 22nd year, the Japanese envoys came to the court", thus this is a record of their presentation of tribute at Luoyang.

As noted above, the 594 people who came with the embassy led by Tajihi no Hironari travelled on four vessels. Some monks from Kōfukuji 興福寺 (or,

according to other sources, Dai'an-ji 大安寺), such as Yōei 栄叡 and Fushō 普照, came to invite the Chinese monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) to Japan. I no Manari must also have been one of the short-term students travelling with this embassy. A key item of information that is missing from the epitaph of I no Manari is the biographical record of the deceased. Most scholars believe that I no Manari was a student who came to the Tang in 717. If so, by 734 he had been there for seventeen years. Under Tang regulations concerning foreign students, he was allowed to study in the Imperial University for only nine years, after which he should have assumed an official post in the Tang administration. However, the epitaph would have mentioned such a post if I no Manari had held one during this period. Seeing I no Manari as one of the envoys in Tajihi no Hironari's embassy, however, is entirely reasonable and accords with the sense of the text.

The epitaph begins with the words, "Travelling afar on imperial orders, and hastening to the capital" 銜命遠邦, 馳騁上國, which implies that I no Manari had reached Chang'an. "He followed the rites and music, donned the ceremonial clothes and hat, and tied a waistband around him for the imperial audience. Indeed, he was unmatched!" This shows that I no Manari was an unequalled figure. Unfortunately, just as he was about "to advance his learning tirelessly", "he could not finish his search for the Way", as he died in China at the young age of 36. I no Manari passed away in the 1st month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era (734), which was around the time when Emperor Xuanzong and his court moved to Luoyang. To show his grief over the death of such a talented person as I no Manari, who was unable to fulfill his potential, Xuanzong granted him the posthumous title of chief steward in the Palace Clothing Service 尚衣奉御. The emperor's generosity was probably due in part to I no Manari's social status and moral integrity. It also highlighted the level of deference and courtesy with which the Tang government received I no Manari and the entire Japanese embassy.

Despite the tragic fate of I no Manari, the activities of the tenth Japanese embassy to the Tang were highly successful. In 735, the chief ambassador Tajihi no Hironari returned to Japan. According to Japanese historical sources, the student Shimotsumichi (Ason) no Makibi 下道朝臣真備 presented the following items to the court when he returned from China in the 4th month: the *Tang li* 唐禮 (Rites of the Tang), *Taiyanli jing* 太衍歷經 (The Classic of the Taiyan Calendar), *Taiyanli licheng* 太衍曆立成 (The Establishment of the Taiyan Calendar), *Yueshu yaolu* 樂書要錄 (Essential Records of the Book of Music), an iron ruler for measuring shadows, a bronze pitch pipe, an iron chime pitch pipe, lacquered horn bows, a lacquered four-segment horn bow,

armour-piercing arrows, "flat-shot" arrows, and so forth.[15] From this list, we can already sense the diversity of the objects that Japanese envoys brought back home from China, which included texts, valuable artefacts, musical instruments and measuring tools. In the 8th month of 736, the deputy ambassador Nakatomi (Ason) no Nashiro 中臣朝臣名代 (d. 745) and others brought back to Japan three Chinese persons and one Persian. The record that in the 10th month local officials granted seasonal clothing to the Tang monk Daoxuan 道璿 (702–760) and the Brahmin monk Bodhi (i.e. Bodhisena, 704–760)[16] shows that the envoys brought not only Chinese monks and a Persian, but also an Indian monk with them to Japan. We can see from the relics preserved in the Shōsōin 正倉院 that Japanese culture at the time was as cosmopolitan as the High Tang.

Thus, "travelling afar on imperial orders, and hastening to the capital" in order to "advance learning" and "search for the Way" was clearly a trend within the Japanese court at the time. This attitude of actively seeking to absorb Tang culture is in stark contrast to the hostile diplomatic strategy adopted toward the Tang in the mid 7th century. From China's perspective, Japan was never considered a rival force. Although the two sides came into conflict during the Battle of Paekkang, relations between them were not fundamentally affected, as seen from later interactions between the two states. At the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century, the Tang was preoccupied with conflicts with the Tibetan empire, the Turks, and two forces in the north-east (i.e. the Khitans and the Xi 奚). In this situation, the Tang naturally welcomed the courteous Japanese envoys from beyond the Eastern Sea. Such an attitude towards Japan is captured in the incident of the seating competition between the twelfth Japanese embassy and the Korean envoys.

In 752, the twelfth embassy, headed by Fujiwara no Kiyokawa 藤原清河 (d. 778) and Ōtomo no Komaro 大伴古麻呂, came to the Tang. On the 1st day of the 1st month of the following year (the 12th year of the Tianbao 天寶 era, i.e. 753), court officials and foreign tributaries gathered at the Hanyuan Hall 含元殿 in the Daming Palace to pay respects to the emperor. At this time, there was a dispute between Komaro and the envoy from Silla over the seating, and Komaro won the argument. The emperor "permitted the Japanese envoy to have the seat above the Sillan envoy".[17] Despite the scholarly debates regarding

15 *Shoku Nihongi*, *juan* 13.

16 *Shoku Nihongi*, *juan* 13.

17 *Tōdaiji yōroku* 東大寺要録 (Essential Records of Tōdaiji), 1, citing the *Enryaku sō roku* 延暦僧録 (Record of Monks of Enryaku Monastery).

the reliability of the event, it is probably true, because in this very year (753), Wang Wei wrote in the preface of a poem composed for Chao Heng, who departed for Japan along with Fujiwara no Kiyokawa and others: "Japan is the greatest among the kingdoms east of the sea". This probably represented Tang officialdom's overall attitude towards Japan, the conclusion reached as a result of half a century of diplomatic visits of Japanese envoys to the Tang.

The 8th century was without a doubt the golden age of the Tang dynasty. Its relatively stable international situation provided optimal conditions for Sino-Japanese diplomacy. The Tang emperors who proclaimed themselves Sons of Heaven received the Japanese envoys who travelled across the sea from the "remote kingdom", treating them with considerable hospitality and courtesy. Meanwhile, after withdrawing from political involvement in the Korean peninsula and focusing on domestic concerns, Japan also took the opportunity to collect Tang artefacts and study Tang institutions and culture as a means to further its own development. At the time, Chang'an and Nara 奈良, albeit different in scale, were both centres of East Asian civilisation. Their heritage, including artefacts and texts, still lives on in the present-day.

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CHAPTER 11

The Official Reception of Japanese Envoys during the Tang Dynasty as Seen from the *Epitaph of I no Manari*

Translated by June Manjun Zhang 張嫚雋

In April 2004, the Northwest University Museum in Xi'an acquired an epitaph erected in the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (734), dedicated to the Japanese individual I no Manari 井真成 (Fig. 11.1). This new discovery immediately captured the attention of Chinese and Japanese scholars alike. Three research articles were published in that very year in the university's journal. The publications included the epitaph itself, along with its transcription and initial research on I no Manari's identity and background.[1] On the 28th and 29th of January 2005, a joint academic conference entitled "The Epitaph of I no Manari" was held in Tokyo, cohosted by Northwest University of China and Senshu University of Tokyo. Chinese scholars presenting at the conference included Fang Guanghua 方光華, Wang Jianxin 王建新, Wang Weikun 王維坤 and Jia Maiming 賈麥明; Japanese scholars included Kegasawa Yasunori 氣賀澤保規, Kamei Meitoku 亀井明德, Tsuchiya Masaaki 土屋昌明, Suzuki Yasutami 鈴木靖民, Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之 and Yano Ken'ichi 矢野建一.[2] These papers involved a detailed analysis and discussion of the

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1 Jia Maiming 賈麥明, "Xin faxian de Tang Ribenren Jing Zhencheng muzhi ji chubu yanjiu" 新發現的唐日本人井真成墓誌及初步研究 (Newly Discovered Tang Epitaph for the Japanese I no Manari and Initial Research on the Subject); Wang Jianxin 王建新, "Tangdai Riben liuxuesheng yu qiantangshi" 唐代日本留學生與遣唐使 (A Japanese Scholar-Student and Embassies to the Tang), and Wang Jianxin, "Xibei daxue bowuguan shoucang Tangdai Riben liuxuesheng muzhi kaoshi" 西北大學博物館收藏唐代日本留學生墓誌考釋 (An Interpretation of the Epitaph of a Japanese Scholar-Student to the Tang, Held in the Museum of Northwest University), all appearing in *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 (Journal of Northwest University), Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 12–14, 15–17, 18–20, November 2004. This issue also includes photos and rubbings of the epitaph.

2 The papers presented by Chinese scholars at the conference included: Fang Guanghua 方光華, "Xibei daxue kaogu wenwu yiji yu gudai Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu guanxi" 西北大學考古文物遺跡與古代中日文化交流關係 (Archaeological Artefacts at Northwest University and Ancient Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchanges); Wang Jianxin, "Riben liuxuesheng yu qiantangshi" 日本留學生與遣唐使 (A Japanese Scholar-Student and Japanese Embassies to China); Wang Weikun 王維坤, "Jing Zhencheng qiantang de lishi beijing yiji Jing Zhencheng gaiming wenti" 井真成遣唐的歷史背景以及井真成改名問題 (The

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historical value of I no Manari's epitaph, I no Manari's name, the embassy he belonged to, his possible family background and burial location.[3] In addition, in an article published elsewhere, Iwami Kiyohiro 石見清裕 discusses the nature of the epitaph by drawing comparisons with other Tang epitaphs, particularly the lack of biographical information about the deceased, and the close resemblance of the inscription's literary style to the formulaic style used by the editorial service (*zhuzuo ju* 著作局) of the department of the palace library (*mishu sheng* 秘書省).[4] Issue No. 35.2 (March 2005) of *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報, contained additional articles with new views on issues relating to the epitaph and its transcription.[5] Last but not least, a special issue

Historical Background of I no Manari's Diplomatic Mission to the Tang and I no Manari's Name Change); and Jia Maiming, "Jing Zhencheng muzhi youguan wenti de jichu yanjiu" 井真成墓誌有關問題的基礎研究 (Research on the Issues Surrounding the Epitaph of I no Manari). The papers presented by Japanese scholars included: Kegasawa Yasunori 氣賀澤保規, "I no Manari boshi to *shangyi fengyu* to iū kanshoku" 「井真成墓誌」と尚衣奉御という官職 (The Epitaph of I no Manari and the Official Position Called *shangyi fengyu*); Kamei Meitoku 亀井明徳, "I no Manari no haka no ichi to kōzō wa dōnatteitaka" 井真成の墓の位置と構造はどうなっていたか (The Location and Structure of I no Manari's Tomb); Tsuchiya Masaaki 土屋昌明, "I no Manari boshi wo shodōshi kara yomitoku" 「井兵成墓誌」を書道史から読みとく (The Epitaph of I no Manari from the Perspective of the History of Calligraphy); Suzuki Yasutami 鈴木靖民, "Kentō ryūgakusei I no Manari to sono shutsuji" 遣唐留学生井真成とその出自 (The Background of I no Manari, Japanese Scholar Studying in the Tang); Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之, "I no Manari no boshi wo yomu" 井共成の墓誌を読む (Reading the Epitaph of I no Manari); Yano Ken'ichi 矢野建一, "I no Manari boshi to daijū kentōshi" 「井真成墓誌」と第 10 次遣唐使 (The Epitaph of I no Manari and the Tenth Embassy to the Tang). See Senshū daigaku kentōshi boshi kenkyū kadaiso 専修大学遣唐使墓誌研究課題組, ed., *I no Manari boshi kenkyūkai shiryō* 井真成墓誌研究会資料 (Research Materials of the I no Manari Research Group), Tokyo, 28 January 2005. This collection of research materials has been published as Senshū daigaku, Seihoku daigaku kyōdō purojekuto 専修大学・西北大学共同プロジェクト, ed., *Kentōshi no mita Chūgoku to Nihon* 遣唐使の見た中国と日本 (China and Japan, as Seen by the Japanese Embassies to the Tang) (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 2005). This volume also includes some additional articles.

3 For details, see Fang Guanghua 方光華, "Jing Zhencheng muzhi tebie yantaohui zai Riben Dongjing yingqi hongdong" 井真成墓誌特別研討會在日本引起轟動 (Special Symposium on the Epitaph of I no Manari Causes a Sensation in Japan), sent as a gift by the author.

4 Iwami Kiyohiro 石見清裕, "Nittō Nihonjin 'I no Manari boshi' no sekaku wo megutte: Chūgoku Tōdaishi no tachiba kara miru to" 入唐日本人「井真成墓誌」の性格をめぐって – 中国唐代史の立場から見ると (The Nature of the Epitaph of the Japanese Visitor to the Tang I no Manari from the Perspective of Tang History), *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊学 (Intriguing Asia), No. 70, 2004, pp. 22–31.

5 These included Ge Jiyong 葛繼勇 and Jia Maiming's "Jing Zhencheng muzhiming shidu zaitan" 井真成墓誌銘釋讀再探 (A Further Investigation of the Interpretation of I no Manari's Epitaph) and Wang Weikun's "Guanyu Tang Riben liuxuesheng Jing Zhencheng muzhi zhi wojian" 關於唐日本留學生井真成墓誌之我見 (My View on the Tang Epitaph of the

dedicated to the epitaph of I no Manari appeared in Japan as issue No. 123 (2005) of *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka* 東アジアの古代文化 (Ancient Cultures of East Asia).[6]

The epitaph begins with the title: "Epitaph Dedicated to Master Jing, Chief Steward in the Palace Clothing Service" 贈尚衣奉御井府君墓誌之銘. The complete transcription of the inscription is as follows:[7]

> 贈尚衣奉御井公墓誌文并序
> 公姓井，字眞成，國號日本，才稱天縱。故能
> □（銜）命遠邦，馳騁上國。蹈禮樂，襲衣冠，束帶
> □（而）朝，難與儔矣。豈圖強學不倦，問道未終，
> □（壑）遇移舟，隟逢奔駟。以開元廿二年正月
> □日,乃終于官弟（第）,春秋卅六。　　皇上
> □（愍）傷，追崇有典，詔贈尚衣奉御，葬令官
> □（給）。即以其年二月四日，窆于萬年縣滻水
> □（東）原，禮也。嗚呼！素車曉引，丹旐行哀，嗟遠
> □（道）兮頹暮日，指窮郊兮悲夜臺。其辭曰:
> □（命）乃天常，哀茲遠方。形既埋於異土，魂庶
> 歸於故鄉。

Japanese Scholar-Student I no Manari), both in *Xibei daxue xuebao*, Vol. 35, No. 2, 2005, pp. 92–97 and 98–103 respectively.

6 Tōkyō Kodaigaku kenkyusho 東京古代学研究所, ed., *Higashi Ajia no kodai bunka* (Ancient Cultures of East Asia), No. 123, 2005. I would like to express my thanks to Nishimura Yōko 西村陽子 for informing me of the latest research in Japan (email of 6 April 2005).

7 The transcription and punctuation of the text in the epitaph are largely based on Jia Maiming, "Xin faxian de Tang Ribenren Jing Zhencheng muzhi ji chubu yanjiu", and Wang Jianxin, "Tangdai Riben liuxuesheng yu qiantangshi". In addition to these two articles, in interpreting characters illegible in the inscription, I also relied on Fang Guanghua, "Xibei daxue wenwu yiji suo jian Tangdai Zhong-Ri wenhua lianxi" 西北大學文物遺跡所見唐代中日文化聯繫 (Archaeological Artefacts at Northwest University and Ancient Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchanges); I would like to thank the author for giving me a copy of this article as a gift; Wang Zijin 王子今, "Jing Zhencheng muzhi shi bushi" 井真成墓誌試補釋 (An Attempt to Fill the Lacunae in I no Manari's Epitaph), in *Tangdai Riben liuxuesheng Jing Zhencheng muzhi xueshu yantaohui lunwen* 唐代日本留學生井真成墓誌學術研討會論文 (Research Papers for the Conference on The Epitaph of Tang Visiting Student I no Manari), Northwest University, 9 April 2005; Ge Jiyong, "Tangdai liuxuesheng Jing Zhencheng muzhiming chushi" 唐代日本留學生井真成墓誌銘初釋 (Initial Reading of the Epitaph of the Japanese Student I no Manari who Visited China during the Tang Dynasty), *Huanan Nongye daxue xuebao* (*shehui kexue ban*) 華南農業大學學報(社會科學版) (Journal of South China Agricultural University, Social Sciences), No. 1, 2005, pp. 119–126.

Epitaph, with Preface, Dedicated to Sire Jing, Chief Steward in the Palace Clothing Service

The Sire's surname was Jing (1), his courtesy name was Zhencheng (Manari), and he was from the land of Japan. Because of the talents bestowed on him by heaven, he was able to travel afar on imperial orders and hasten to the [Tang] capital. He followed the rites and music, donned the ceremonial clothes and hat, and tied a waistband around him for the imperial audience. Indeed, he was unmatched! Although he was about to advance his learning tirelessly, he could not finish his search for the Way. It was [as unexpected] as if his boat was removed from the [safety of] a ravine, [as swift] as the horses one sees gallop by, through a gap in the wall. He passed away in his official residence on the [...] day of the 1st month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era (734), at the age of 36. The emperor mourned his death and commemorated him posthumously according to the statutes. He issued an edict, granting Sire Jing the title of chief steward in the Palace Clothing Service, and ordered an official burial for him. The burial ceremony took place on the 4th day of the 2nd month of the same year in the plain east of the Chan river 滻水 in Wannian 萬年 county. Alas, the white-horse carriage is drawn at dawn; the red funeral banner heads the mourning procession. Alas, how can one sigh over the distant path and not feel pity for the sinking sun! How can one point to the deserted field and not grieve over his tomb!

The eulogy says:

Life and death are predestined by heaven, while our lamentations spread beyond the horizon. Though his body is buried in a foreign land, his soul will return to his homeland.

It has been a year since this epitaph was published in the collection of the Northwest University Museum. Following a period of intense discussion, we now have to be careful neither to overestimate nor to underestimate its historical value. First, it is probably inappropriate to see this particular epitaph as the earliest occurrence of the term "Japan" 日本 on a physical object. Considering epitaphs alone, the *Xuzhou cishi Du Sixian muzhi* 徐州刺史杜嗣先墓誌 (Epitaph for the Prefect of Xuzhou Du Sixian, 633–712) from the 2nd year of the Xiantian 先天 reign period (713) already contains the words "as the imperial brilliance reaches afar, Japan came to the court" 皇明遠被, 日本來庭.[8] Nonetheless, the I no Manari epitaph is a rare piece of material

8 See Ye Guoliang 葉國良, *Tangdai muzhi kaoshi ba ze* 唐代墓誌考釋八則 (A Study of Eight Epitaphs from the Tang Dynasty), first published in *Taida zhongwen xuebao* 臺大中文學

evidence concerning Japanese embassies to the Tang. Despite the relative simplicity of its content, it confirms the historical fact that Japanese embassies visited the Tang, and provides a series of clues for studying these embassies.

A careful examination of the text of this epitaph reveals the following information. The first half of the epitaph explains that I no Manari came to Tang China together with a Japanese embassy and that he was called a talented man who "followed the rites and music, and donned the ceremonial robes and hat". However, although he was about to "advance his learning tirelessly", he was unable to complete "his search for the Way" because he died in the 1st month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era, when he was only 36. The second half of the epitaph tells about his funeral ceremony, arranged by the Tang court, and his burial. Here, some key information is missing – there are no biographical details about him during his stay in China. Most scholars think that I no Manari came to China as a student with the ninth Japanese embassy, which left Japan in 717. If this is so, he would have been in China for seventeen years by the time of his death in 734. Under Tang regulations, a foreign student could only study in the Imperial University for nine years, after which he would have had to assume an official post in the Tang administration. However, there is no information in the epitaph about this period of his life in China, thus it seems improbable that he came in 717. Having analysed the text of the epitaph, as well as other sources on the regulations of foreign students in the Tang, Wu Yugui 吳玉貴 suggests that I no Manari probably accompanied the tenth Japanese embassy to China, which left Japan in 733.[9] This view is entirely reasonable and is also consistent with there being no information in the epitaph about I no Manari's life in China.

The entry in the *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Continued Chronicles of Japan) for the 3rd intercalary month of the 5th year of the Tenpyō 天平 era (733) reads:

> On the 26th (*guisi*) day, the ambassador to the Tang, Tajihi (Mahito) no Hironari 多治比真人広成 (fl. 733), called on the emperor and was given a sword of commission (*settō* 節刀). On the 3rd (*jihai*) day of the 4th month, in the summer season, the four vessels bound for the Tang departed from Naniwa port 難波津.

報, No. 7, 1995; consulted here in Ye Guoliang, *Shixue xu tan* 石學續探 (Further Research on Epigraphy) (Taibei: Taida chubanshe, 1999), p. 128.

9 Wu Yugui 吳玉貴, "Jing Zhencheng lai Hua shijian de yidian jianyi" 井真成來華時間的一點建議 (Some Suggestions on the Dating of I no Manari's Visit to China), *Research Papers from the Conference on The Epitaph of I no Manari*, Northwest University, 9 April 2005.

In *juan* 971, the fourth entry for tribute in "Sections on Foreign Officials" in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature) reads:

> In the 8th month of the 21st year of the Kaiyuan era (733), Mahito Hironari (Tajihi Hironari), envoy of the Kingdom of Japan, and his 590 associates encountered a storm at sea. They drifted to Suzhou 蘇州 and the prefect Qian Weizheng 錢惟正 reported [their arrival]. The court sent the official messenger Wei Jingxian 韋景先 to Suzhou to greet them.[10]

From this passage we know that Tajihi no Hironari's group arrived in Suzhou in the 8th month; they could have reached Chang'an 長安 in the 10th or the 11th month at the latest. Professor Yano Ken'ichi points out that, according to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, due to the long period of rainfall in the Guanzhong 關中 area, crops were damaged and a famine struck the capital in the 21st year of the Kaiyuan era. Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756) issued an edict, pledging two million *dan* 石 of grain from state granaries to relieve the famine. Meanwhile, in order to ease the situation in Chang'an, Xuanzong and his court officials moved to Luoyang 洛陽 in the 1st month of the following year (734). Furthermore, Yano mentions the colophon on the manuscript of *Yijiao jing* 遺教經 (Sutra of the Deathbed Injunction), kept at Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, which reads:

> Chen Yanchang 陳延昌, lay believer of the Tang, adorns this Mahāyāna scripture and presents it to the Japanese envoy and scholar of the Imperial University Tomo Koman 朋古滿 (i.e. Ōtomo no Komaro 大伴古麻呂) (d. 757) so that he may circulate it. Recorded on the occasion of his departure from the capital on the 8th day of the 2nd month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era (734).

Based on this colophon, Yano suggests that the 10th Japanese embassy may have attended I no Manari's funeral ceremony before leaving Chang'an on the 8th day of the 2nd month and followed Emperor Xuanzong to Luoyang.[11] The above section in the *Cefu yuangui* continues: "In the 4th month of the

10 *Song ben Cefu yuangui* 宋本冊府元龜 (*Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature*, Song Edition), compiled by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 et al., Vol. 4 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), p. 3850.

11 Yano Ken'ichi, "I no Manari boshi to daijūji kentōshi", Senshū daigaku kentōshi boshi kenkyū kadaiso, ed., *I no Manari boshi kenkyūkai shiryō*, pp. 35–37. See "Xuanzong benji" 玄宗本紀, *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 8, p. 200.

22nd year, the Japanese envoys came to the court".[12] This must be a record of the embassy's presentation of tribute to the emperor at Luoyang. The total of 594 people in the embassy led by Tajihi no Hironari came on four vessels. Among the entourage were monks from Kōfukuji 興福寺 (or, according to other sources, Dai'an-ji 大安寺), such as Yōei 栄叡 (d. 749) and Fushō 普照 (fl. 733), who came to China to invite the monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) to Japan.[13] It is much more likely that I no Manari was a member of Tajihi no Hironari's embassy. Returning to the epitaph, the statement that I no Manari "travelled afar under imperial orders and hastened to the [Tang] capital", shows that he already arrived in Chang'an; the subsequent comment that "he followed the rites and music, donned the ceremonial robes and hat, and tied a waistband around him for the imperial audience. Indeed, he was unmatched!" shows that I no Manari was an outstanding figure. Unfortunately, although he was about "to advance his learning tirelessly, he could not finish his search for the Way", as he died in the foreign land of China at the young age of 36. If we consider carefully phrases such as "travelled afar under imperial orders and hastened to the capital", "for the imperial audiences", and "he could not finish his search for the Way", it is not difficult to understand that the epitaph was composed shortly after I no Manari's arrival in Chang'an. It is unclear whether his death was related to the famine in the capital, although the embassy's journey would have been harsh and it is possible that some frail literati would not have been able to survive. I no Manari may have been one of these. Even though he had reached the destination, he died before he was able to return.

If we accept the hypothesis that I no Manari was a member of the tenth Japanese embassy to the Tang, which came to China in the 21st year of the Kaiyuan era (733), we can make three further conjectures.

First, most Japanese students came to the Tang at a young age (18–20), and if I no Manari arrived in 733 at the age of 35, he may not have been a student. He may have been a member of the embassy, or perhaps a *shōyakushō* 請益生 (specialised short-term student). We know that among the Japanese envoys, there were often short-term students (*shōyakushō*) and monks (*shōyakusō* 請益僧) who had already specialised in a subject in Japan and travelled to the Tang to pursue further training and improvement. Such students or trainees came to the Tang at different ages and most were no longer young. For example, Yamato no Nagaoka 大和長岡 who visited the Tang in the 2nd year of the Reiki

12 *Song ben Cefu yuangui*, Vol. 4, p. 3850.

13 Andō Kōsei 安藤更生, *Ganjin Daiwajō den no kenkyū* 鑒眞大和上傳之研究 (Study of the Biography of the Great Monk Ganjin) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1960), pp. 59–86.

霊亀 era (716) as a *shōyakushō* was 28 years old;[14] Ennin 円仁, who travelled to the Tang in the 5th year of the Jōwa 承和 era (838), was 44 years old.[15] From the statement that "although he was about to advance his learning tirelessly, he could not finish his search for the Way", we can surmise that I no Manari was probably a *shōyakushō* in the Japanese embassy to the Tang.

Second, there have been several conjectures regarding the origin of I no Manari's surname. Tōno Haruyuki suggests that it comes from the Fujii clan 葛井氏 of the Fujii Temple 藤井寺 in Minami-kawachi 南河内. The Fujii clan was originally called the Shirai clan 白猪氏, and many members of this clan served as official envoys to the Tang (e.g. Shirai no Fuhito Amaru 白猪史阿麻留 and Shirai no Fuhito Hone 白猪史骨), and to Silla (e.g. Shirai no Fuhito Hironari 白猪史広成 and Fujii no Muraji Kooyu 葛井連子老).[16] Another piece of evidence that supports the view that I no Manari was a member of the embassy of 733 is that the mother of the monk Fushō of Kōfuku-ji, who came with that embassy, was originally from the Shirai (Fujii) family.[17] Thus it is possible that I no Manari's participation in this embassy was related to Fushō's involvement.

Third, the occurrence of the name "Japan" as the designation of his native land in his epitaph has attracted attention in Japan both in academia and among the general public. However, as noted above, this is not the earliest mention of "Japan" on a physical object. And it is by no means rare in transmitted sources. If we take I no Manari as a member of the 733 embassy, Emperor Xuanzong's "Edict to the King of Japan" (*Chi Riben guowang shu* 敕日本國王書), composed by Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 (678–740), is worth noting.[18] This edict was directed at the 733 embassy. It was also the first time the name

14 *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 (Continued Chronicles of Japan), *juan* 30, entry for the 29th day (*guihai*) of the 10th month of the 3rd year of the Jingo-keiun 神護景雲 era (769).

15 *Shoku Nihon kōki* 続日本後紀 (Continued Latter Chronicles of Japan), entry for the 25th day (*yiyou*) of the 3rd month of the 15th year of the Jōwa 承和 era (848). These last two references were provided by Ma Yihong 馬一虹. She was also the one who, at the conference "The Epitaph of the Japanese Student I no Manari", proposed the view that I no Manari may have been a *shōyakushō*.

16 Tōno Haruyuki, "Kentōshi to Fujii shi" 遣唐使と葛井氏 (Japanese Envoys to the Tang and the Fujii Clan), Senshū daigaku kentōshi boshi kenkyū kadaiso, ed., *I no Manari boshi kenkyūkai shiryō*, pp. 39–40.

17 Andō Kōsei, *Ganjin Daiwajō den no kenkyū*, p. 63.

18 *Zhang Qujiang xiansheng wenji* 張曲江先生文集 (Collected Works of Master Zhang Qujiang [Zhang Jiuling 张九龄]), *juan* 12, pp. 9–10. See also Wu Bolun 武伯綸, "Tang Xuanzong gei Riben guowang de yifeng xin" 唐玄宗給日本國王的一封信 (Tang Xuanzong's Letter to the King of Japan), in Wu Bolun, ed., *Gucheng ji* 古城集 (Ancient Cities) (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 240–242.

"Japan" was used in an official document. The epitaph of I no Manari and Zhang Jiuling's "Edict to the King of Japan" were official documents from the same time period, and both used the name "Japan". Thus they reflect consistency in the use of the term among Tang officials when referring to the native country of this embassy.

The hypothesis that I no Manari was a member of the tenth embassy to the Tang allows us to use the epitaph of I no Manari to obtain a clearer picture of the Tang government's official reception of Japanese envoys. A brief analysis of this reception is presented below.

First, I no Manari passed away at his official residence in the 1st month of the 22nd year of the Kaiyuan era (734). The term "official residence" (*guandi* 官第) is somewhat unclear, but, according to Kamei Meitoku, there are three possible explanations for what it referred to here: (1) It could have been the Honglu Guesthouse 鴻臚客館 located inside the imperial city, west of the Zhuque Gate 朱雀門, administered by the Office of Receptions 典客署 under the Court of Imperial Entertainments (Honglu si 鴻臚寺) which was in charge of matters related to foreigners; (2) it could have been the Foreign Relations Office 禮賓院 which resembled the Honglu Guesthouse in its function, and was located in the Changhua Ward 昌化坊 (Guanghua Ward 廣化坊 or Anxing Ward 安興坊); or (3) it could have been an official residence outside the imperial city. Kamei cites the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) for examples showing that in the 7th month of the 4th year of the Dahe 大和 reign period (831) official residences owned by various bureaus were lent out by affiliated officials.[19] All three explanations are possible. We can also add that regarding (2), the Changhua Ward where the Foreign Relations Office was located must have been the Anxing Ward, which was in the third ward from the north, in the fourth street east of the Zhuque Gate Street (i.e. the second street in the eastern side of the imperial city).[20] With regard to the official residences administered by the various government bureaus, it is true that these residences were lent out by officials during the mid and late Tang periods, although the situation was not necessarily the same as during the Kaiyuan era. Still, considering all three possibilities, (3) is the most likely scenario because if the term "official residence" had stood for either the Honglu Guesthouse or the Foreign Relations Office, the epitaph would have used the specific name

19 Kamei Meitoku, "I no Manari no haka no ichi to kōzō" (The Location and Structure of I no Manari's Tomb), Senshū daigaku kentōshi boshi kenkyū kadaiso, ed., *I no Manari boshi kenkyūkai shiryō*, pp. 17–19.

20 Xin Deyong 辛德勇, *Sui-Tang liang jing congkao* 隋唐兩京叢考 (Collected Studies of the Two Capitals of the Sui and Tang) (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 41–45.

of the place. Moreover, in Chang'an, "official residence" was often used to refer to residential buildings owned by government bureaus inside the various wards of the city. The biography of Wang Ya 王涯 in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 reads:

> Wang Ya was elegant and creative in his writings, many of the refined admonitions during the Yongzhen 永貞 (805) and Yuanhe 元和 (806–820) reign periods were drafted by him. He was aloof and did not belong to any factions, which is why the emperor summoned him several times for conversations. Because his personal residence was rather far away (in Yongning Ward 永寧坊), he was sometimes unable to respond to the emperor's summons immediately. The emperor issued an edict, allowing him to use the official residence in the Guangzhai Ward 光宅坊. This was something none of the other literati could have hoped for (*juan* 179, p. 5317).

Thus the emperor allowed him to use the official residence in the Guangzhai Ward, which was closer to the imperial city; this passage also confirms the exact meaning of "official residence". I no Manari resided in the official residence of the ward, which must have been a special arrangement made by the Tang government. If so, this residence must have been closer to the imperial city (Xingqing Palace 興慶宮), where the emperor was, which is also the area where Chang'an's aristocrats, government officials, eunuchs and imperial guards resided.[21] There were many foreign envoys, hostage sons, merchants and prisoners in the Tang capital Chang'an at the time, and officials were very particular about which living quarters they were assigned to. In his work mentioned above, Iwami Kiyohiro says that the "Jiuxing Tujue Qibi Li zhonglang muzhi" 九姓突厥契苾李中郎墓誌 (Epitaph of Inner Gentleman Li of the Qibi Clan of the Nine-Surname Turks) is the epitaph closest to that of I no Manari. It should be noted that the Inner Gentleman Li "passed away in Gao Street 藁街", while I no Manari "passed away in an official residence". Gao Street refers to a mansion where foreign aristocrats lived in Chang'an during the Han dynasty.[22] In his commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), Yan Shigu 顔師古 (581–645) noted that the expression "mansion of barbarians on Gao Street" 藁街蠻夷邸 in the biography of Chen Tang 陳湯 (d. 6 BCE) refered to the Honglu Guesthouse; although during

21 Seo Tatsuhiko 妹尾達彦, "Tō Chōanjō no kanjin kyojūchi" 唐長安城の官人居住地 (The Residence of Officials in the City of Chang'an during the Tang), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Studies in Oriental History), Vol. 55, No. 2, 1996, pp. 35–74.

22 He Qinggu 何清谷, ed., *Sanfu huangtu jiaozhu* 三輔黃圖校注 (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1995), pp. 373–374.

the Han period, the term was also used to refer to the place where criminals were executed. Therefore, from the Tang perspective, a foreign envoy staying in the Honglu Guesthouse in Chang'an would have been put in the same category as the many non-Chinese guests who lived in Gao Street, like the Turk Inner Gentleman Li. The fact that I no Manari and the other Japanese envoys were allowed to stay in official residences arranged for them by Tang officials implies that they received privileged treatment. This is consistent with the account in "Song mishu Chao jian huan riben bingxu" 送秘書晁監還日本並序 (Poem, with Preface, Dedicated to the Palace Library Officer Chao on His Return to Japan) written for Chao Heng 晁衡 (Abe no Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂) by Wang Wei 王維, which says, "he did not reside in the mansion of barbarians" 不居蠻夷之邸.[23] We know that Chao Heng arrived in Chang'an with a group of envoys in 717. When I no Manari's group came to Chang'an, Chao Heng held the position of court rectifier of the left 左補闕 and must have been one of those responsible for receiving the newly arrived envoys and making arrangements for them. Considering that Chao Heng was unwilling to live in "the house of barbarians", this may also have been the case with I no Manari, and it may have been the reason why he was settled in an "official residence". From the Tang point of view, allowing Japanese envoys to stay in the ward was to give them special treatment, as Wang Wei says in his "Preface":

> 我無爾詐，爾無我虞，彼以好來，廢關弛禁。上敷文教，虛至實歸。故人民雜居，往來如市。
>
> I do not cheat you, neither do you deceive me; as we cordially communicate with each other, barriers are abolished and restrictions are loosened. The court lays out the rites and guidance [of our interaction]. Our expectations are modest, but the results are fruitful. So, the people mingle with each other, coming and going as if in a marketplace.

Second, given that the Tang officials arranged for I no Manari to stay in an official residence, we can say that he was considered an official guest and accorded formal treatment. This status allowed him to receive provisions from the Court

23 *Wang Youcheng ji* 王右丞集 (Collected Works of Wang Youcheng [Wang Wei 王維]), *juan* 12; *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Complete Anthology of Tang Poetry), *juan* 127. See Wang Zhenping 王貞平, *Han-Tang Zhong-Ri guanxi lun* 漢唐中日關係論 (Discourse on Sino-Japanese Relations from the Han through the Tang) (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997), p. 50.

of State Ceremonial.[24] Such a large embassy of over 500 people would not have been allowed to enter Chang'an in its entirety in the 21st year of Kaiyuan because of the famine. The reception of such a massive group of guests would increase the pressure on the food supply in the capital. Despite the dire circumstances, however, the Japanese envoys were treated with remarkable courtesy by the Tang. They were arranged official accommodation and provided with whatever they needed. The account in *Cefu yuangui* of Emperor Xuanzong sending the messenger Wei Jingxian to Suzhou to greet them and convey the emperor's good wishes also attests to the high regard in which the Japanese envoys were held by the Tang.

Third, Emperor Xuanzong and his government were extremely gracious in making funeral arrangements for this unfortunate member of the embassy who died at such a young age. According to the epitaph, "The emperor mourned his death and commemorated him posthumously according to the statutes. He issued an edict, granting Sire Jing the title of chief steward in the Palace Clothing Service and ordered an official burial for him". As he was a tributary envoy who died in Chang'an, the Tang government was of course obligated to arrange his funeral. The entry for "Office for Receiving Foreign Guests under the Court of State Ceremonial" in the *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (The Six Statutes of the Tang) states: "If the deceased holds a position of principal, deputy, or rank 3 ambassador, his death should be reported to the emperor. Whatever is needed for his funeral, should be provided by the office in charge. If the deceased held a position below rank 4, it should not be reported to the emperor. Rather, an ox cart should be arranged to carry his body to the tomb". I no Manari's epitaph does not mention the name of the author and uses simple language and formulaic style, suggesting that the epitaph was composed in haste by a Tang official (or possibly by the editorial service of the department of the palace library) for the burial. As I no Manari is not mentioned in any of the Chinese or Japanese historical records, it seems that his position was not in the top three ranks of embassy officials. However, it is worth noting that, despite the rushed evacuation of the court to Luoyang to relieve the famine in Chang'an, Emperor Xuanzong was not only deeply touched by the death of an envoy like I no Manari, but also ordered the arrangement of the funeral service and posthumously granted the rank 5 title of chief steward in the Palace

24 As for the Tang's supply system for foreign envoys, see Iwami Kiyohiro, *Tō no hoppō mondai to kokusai chitsujo* 唐の北方問題と国際秩序 (The Tang's Problems in the North and the International Order) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1998), pp. 368–374; Wang Jing 王静, *Zhongguo gudai zhongyang keguan zhidu yanjiu* 中國古代中央客館制度研究 (Study of the Centralised System of Accommodation for Guests in Pre-Modern China) (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 77–102.

Clothing Service to a foreigner who had held no significant post. This certainly constituted exceptional treatment. The chief steward in the Palace Clothing Service is the official in charge of the emperor's clothing under the Bureau of Palace Affairs 殿中省. It is one of the six chief stewards 六尚 in charge of the emperor's life, at rank 5b1.[25] Given that the post was granted to I no Manari posthumously, it no longer had any significance for him. However, a question that remains unanswered is why Emperor Xuanzong gave such a high-ranking title to an envoy who had held no official post. According to Huang Zhengjian's 黃正建 study, the six chief stewards can be divided into two types. One is those with specialised knowledge and skills, and the other is descendants of the emperor's relatives, close associates, or eminent ministers who were usually "exceptionally talented and of prestigious background".[26] I suggest that the reason why Emperor Xuanzong granted this official title to I no Manari may have been related to his elite status and his remarkable talent. He was probably born to an aristocratic family and was brilliantly gifted. We see a reference to his intelligence in the epitaph, where it says, "His talents were bestowed on him by heaven". This is also why Emperor Xuanzong was so touched by his death and granted him this honorary title. Without doubt, this represented an exceptionally generous attitude on the part of Xuanzong and Tang officials towards I no Manari and the entire Japanese embassy.

In conclusion, I have argued that I no Manari was a member of the Japanese embassy that departed for China in the 4th month of the 21st year of the Kaiyuan era (733), arrived in Suzhou in the 8th month, and then travelled to Chang'an. He passed away in the 1st month of the 22nd year of Kaiyuan (734) in Chang'an, probably due to exhaustion from the journey. He may have been a *shōyakushō* (specialised student), who came with the embassy, but died prematurely without being able to study at the Grand Academy of the State Academy Directorate 國子監太學, and without having a chance to display his talents. Because of I no Manari's aristocratic birth and exceptional talents, Emperor Xuanzong was deeply touched by his early death. Before leaving Chang'an to relieve the famine emergency in the capital, the emperor issued an edict to grant him the posthumous title of chief steward in the Palace Clothing

25 *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (The Six Statutes of the Tang), 11, "Dianzhong sheng" 殿中省 (Bureau of Palace Affairs).

26 Huang Zhengjian 黃正建, "Tang liushang zhangguan kao" 唐六尚長官考 (Research on Senior Officials of the Six Offices during the Tang), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources for the History of the Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao and Sui-Tang), No. 21 (Tang Zhangru jiaoshou shishi shi zhounian jinian zhuanji 唐長孺教授逝世十週年紀念專輯 [Special Issue in Memory of the Tenth Anniversary of the Passing of Professor Tang Zhangru]), 2004, pp. 223–245.

Service, and ordered to arrange his funeral. The solemn treatment of this insignificant member of the embassy by Emperor Xuanzong and Tang officials is a memorable episode in the history of Sino-Japanese exchange in Chang'an during the Tang dynasty. Although the language of I no Manari's epitaph is simple and plain, considering its implications for the history of Sino-Japanese exchange, the epitaph is indeed a highly precious artefact.

(The initial draft of this article was completed on 7 April 2005 and submitted to "The Academic Conference on the Epitaph of I no Manari: A Japanese Student during the Tang Dynasty" held at Northwest University [Xi'an] on 9 April. Here, I would like to express my gratitude for the feedback I received from scholars such as Wang Weikun, Wang Zijin 王子今, Wu Yugui, Luo Xin 羅新 and Ma Yihong 馬一虹 during the conference, as well as for the hospitality I received at the School of Cultural Heritage of Northwest University. The article was revised on 30 April 2005 and published in *Xibei daxue xuebao*, No. 4, 2005, pp. 108–111.)

FIGURE 11.1 The epitaph of I no Manari

PART 3

The Westward Spread of Chinese Culture

CHAPTER 12

The Network of Chinese Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions under Tang Control

Translated by June M. Zhang 張嫚雋

The Japanese Ōtani 大谷 (1902–1904) expedition, working in the cave temples at Kumtura, removed from a mural painting the fragment of a donor inscription. The fragment was originally published in *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Archaeological Exploration of the Western Regions), under the title “Tang bihua mingwen (Kumutula)” 唐壁畫銘文 (庫木吐喇) (Inscriptions from Tang Mural Paintings [Kumtura]).[1] Later, it changed owners several times but fortunately it is preserved in its entirety in the Asian Gallery of the Tokyo National Museum.[2] I saw the original inscription in 1991 during my investigation of the Museum’s Ōtani collection. Within a rectangular frame, the inscription is written in two lines (Fig. 12.1):

> 大唐□（莊）嚴寺上座四
> 鎮都統律師□道

> Vinaya Master […]dao, Rector of the [Zhuang]yan Monastery of the Great Tang and *dutong* of the Four Garrisons

In his discussion of the historical background of Chinese-style cave temples at Kumtura, Ma Shichang 馬世長 points out:

> The original location of this inscription is unknown. Based on the reference to the Great Tang, it may have come from Cave 16. The name of the Chinese monastery in the inscription, “[…]yan si” also corroborates this. This monastery was probably in Kucha, as the title of the

1 Kagawa Mokushiki 香川默識, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological Explorations of the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kokkasha, Taishō 4, 1915), Vol. 1, Fig. 9.

2 *Tōkyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku: Ōtani tankentai shōraihin hen* 東京國立博物館圖版目錄 – 大谷探險隊將來品篇 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Tokyo National Museum: The Collection of the Ōtani Expedition) (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1971), Fig. 178.

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> monk-donor is *dutong* 都統 of the Four Garrisons. *Dutong* must be an abbreviation for *dusengtong* 都僧統 (district *saṃgha* overseer), thus this person named □道 (… dao), who was a vinaya master (*lüshi* 律師) was the district *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons, which clearly refers to Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar), Khotan (Yutian 于闐) and Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr). This inscription shows that the post of the district *saṃgha* overseer, who was responsible for Buddhist affairs in the Four Garrisons, had been established in Kucha. This was a Chinese monk, which means that Kucha at that time occupied a special position in the governance of the Buddhist monasteries in the Four Garrisons.[3]

Here, Ma Shichang makes several important points: that the Tang government established the post of district *saṃgha* overseer to be responsible for Buddhist affairs in Kucha, Shule, Khotan and Yanqi, that this post was held by a Chinese monk, and that it was based in Kucha, the seat of the Tang's Anxi Protectorate 安西都護府 in the Western Regions 西域. Perhaps because Ma's article focuses mainly on the cave temples at Kumtura, it did not draw much attention from historians of the Western Regions.

The travelogue entitled *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) by the monk Hyecho 慧超 (704–787) of Silla 新羅, which was discovered in the Dunhuang 敦煌 cave temples, is an important historical source for the study of religion and politics in India and Central Asia during the first-half of the 8th century, as well as the history of Sino-Indian relations. Beginning with Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940), scholars have engaged in rearranging, annotating, and translating this text, resulting in a wealth of scholarship.[4] At the end of Hyecho's account, there is a valuable

3 Ma Shichang 馬世長, "Kumutula de Hanfeng shiku" 庫木吐喇的漢風石窟 (Chinese-style Caves at Kumtura), in Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 新疆維吾爾自治區文物管理委員會 et al., eds., *Zhongguo shiku: Kumutula shiku* 中國石窟 – 庫木吐喇石窟 (China's Cave Temples: Kumtura Caves) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), p. 221.

4 Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, "Huichao *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan*" "慧超往五天竺國傳 (*On Travelling to the Five Indias* by Hyecho)", *Dunhuang shishi yishu* 敦煌石室遺書 (Lost Manuscripts from the Dunhuang Cave) (Suzhou: Songfenshi, 1909); Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八, *Huichao Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan jianshi* 慧超往五天竺國傳箋釋 (Annotations to Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Beijing, 1910); Walter Fuchs, "Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentralasien um 726", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 30, 1938 (1939), pp. 426–469; Yun-hua Jan, "Hui-ch'ao's Record on Kashmir", *Kashmir Research Biannual* (Srinagar), Vol. II, 1961, pp. 115–124; Yun-hua Jan, "Western India according to Hui-ch'ao", *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), Vol. XXXIX, 1963, pp. 61–82; Yun-hua Jan, "Hui-ch'ao and His Works, a Reassessment", *Indo-Asian Culture* (New Delhi), Vol. XII, 1964, pp. 177–190;

record of the state of the Buddhist religion in the Four Garrisons in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (727):

> From the Pamirs (Congling 蔥嶺 mountains) I travelled for a month and arrived at Shule. The foreigners themselves call this kingdom Jiashiqili 伽師祇離. There are also Chinese troops guarding this place. There are monasteries and monks who practice Hīnayāna Buddhism and eat meat, onions, leeks and the like. The locals wear layered cotton clothes.
>
> From Shule I travelled east for a month and arrived at the kingdom of Kucha, that is, the Anxi Protectorate, where a large number of Chinese troops are gathered. Here in Kucha, there are many monasteries and monks who practice Hīnayāna Buddhism and eat meat, onions, leeks and the like. The Chinese monks practice Mahāyāna Buddhism.
>
> Two thousand *li* from Anxi is the kingdom of Khotan. There are many Chinese troops stationed here, as well as many monasteries and monks who practice Mahāyāna Buddhism and do not eat meat.
>
> All the land to the east is the territory of the Tang empire, which is known to everyone without having to explain it. I arrived at Anxi during the first ten days of the 11th month in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era, when the military commissioner was Lord Zhao 趙.
>
> In Anxi, there are two monasteries headed by Chinese monks. They practice Mahāyāna Buddhism and do not eat meat. The abbot of the Dayun Monastery 大雲寺 is Xiuxing 秀行, who is well versed in discourse and speech, and was previously a monk at the Qibaotai Monastery 七寶臺寺 in the capital. The administrator 都維那 of Dayun Monastery,

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Yun-hua Jan, "Some New Light on Kuśinagara from 'The Memoir of Hui-ch'ao'", *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1965, pp. 55–63; Yun-hua Jan, "The Korean Record on Varanasi and Sarnath", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. IV, 1966, pp. 264–272; Yun-hua Jan, "South India in the VIII Century A.D.", *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1968, pp. 169–177; Yun-hua Jan, "Nagarjunakonda. Note on a New Reference from Chinese Sources", *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, 1970, pp. 415–426; Yun-hua Jan, "Tibetans in Northwest India during the VIIIth Century A.D.", *Journal of Indian History* (Golden Jubilee Volume), 1973, pp. 81–96; Yun-hua Jan, Han-Sung Yang, Shotaro Iida and L. W. Preston, *The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1984); Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 (Study of Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1992); Zhang Yi 張毅, *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan jianshi* 往五天竺國傳箋釋 (Annotations to *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994). Among these works of scholarship, the best edited Chinese transcription of the text is that prepared by Kuwayama Shōshin and his team. For Wang Bangwei's 王邦維 review of the latter two books, see *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 1, 1996, pp. 415–420.

> named Yichao 義超, excels at expounding the Vinaya-piṭaka. He was once a monk at the Zhuangyan Monastery 莊嚴寺 in the capital. The rector of the Dayun Monastery, named Mingyun 明惲, is a monk of great accomplishments who was also a monk in the capital. These monks are remarkable abbots. They are extremely devoted to the teaching and take joy in performing worship. The abbot of the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 is named Fahai 法海; although he is Chinese, he was born in Anxi. His scholarship and manner are no different from those of China.
>
> In Khotan, there is a Chinese monastery called Longxing Monastery. A Chinese monk named [...] is the abbot. He is a remarkable abbot. He is from Jizhou 冀州 in Hebei 河北.
>
> In Shule there is also a Chinese Dayun Monastery, with a Chinese abbot in charge. He is from Minzhou 岷州.
>
> From Anxi, I travelled east for [...] and arrived at the kingdom of Yanqi, which is guarded by Chinese troops. They have a king, and the locals are Hu 胡 people. There are many monasteries and monks who practice Hīnayāna Buddhism.
>
> The names of the Four Garrisons in the Anxi region are (1) Anxi (Kucha), (2) Khotan, (3) Shule and (4) Yanqi.[5]

The text above deserves our attention. It appears to be an ordinary part of the travel account, but there is a particular arrangement in the narrative. Before the sentence, "I arrived at Anxi during the first ten days of the 11th month in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era, when the military commissioner was Lord Zhao", Hyecho describes the general situation in Shule, Kucha and Khotan, especially regarding the Buddhist sects and their practices. This is followed by an account of the individual Chinese monasteries and the monks who presided over them in all three places. Later, he writes about the general condition of Buddhism in Yanqi, but unfortunately he does not record anything about the Chinese monasteries there. Finally, he provides a list of the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The rest of the original memoir is lost. Based on the context, the first half was written when Hyecho visited Kucha, that is, the Anxi Protectorate. He may not have been familiar with the conditions of Chinese monasteries in Yanqi at that point. The account of Yanqi was added retrospectively.

Hyecho described the Chinese monasteries mentioned above during the Kaiyuan era in Kucha, which was then the centre of the Four Garrisons of Anxi. Although he did not travel to Khotan, he still wrote about it, clearly with some basis for his description. In my view, his information probably came from

5 Kuwayama Shōshin, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū*, pp. 25–26.

official accounts of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, or from records of the *saṃgha* overseer in charge of Buddhism in the Four Garrisons. His account reveals that the *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons, residing in Anxi, was the highest monastic official among the Chinese clergy in the entire Anxi region at that time.

The first missing character in the Kumtura inscription is too damaged to be read. Considering that, in his account of Kucha, Hyecho recorded that Yichao, administrator of the Dayun Monastery, excelled at expounding the Vinaya-piṭaka, and had formerly been a monk at the Zhuangyan Monastery in the capital, the missing character in the Kumtura inscription was probably *zhuang* 莊.[6] If this speculation is correct, the *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons mentioned in the inscription, similar to Yichao of the Dayun Monastery in Kucha, originally came from the Zhuangyan Monastery in Chang'an 長安. Unfortunately, the name of this vinaya master is missing, making it impossible for us to determine whether he appears in other Tang sources.

Based on Hyecho's *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan*, we know that there were only two Chinese monasteries (the Dayun and Longxing monasteries) in the Anxi region in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era, and both were state institutions built under Tang imperial order. Having used the *Dayun jing shu* 大雲經疏 (Commentary on the Great Cloud Sutra) to legitimize her claim to the throne, Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) issued an edict on the 29th day of the 10th month of the 1st year of the Tianshou 天授 reign period (690), ordering that "A Dayun (Great Cloud) Monastery must be built in each of the two capitals and in all prefectures in the empire".[7] Since the Four Garrisons of Anxi were still under Tibetan rule at that time, this Dayun Monastery was probably constructed after Tang forces regained control over the Four Garrisons in the 1st year of the Changshou 長壽 reign period (692), slightly later than in other Tang prefectures and counties in the interior of the Tang empire. In the 1st year of the Shenlong 神龍 reign period (705), Wu Zetian's reign came to an end and the Tang dynasty was restored, with Zhongxing 中興 (Restoration) monasteries being established in all prefectures to commemorate the event. Later, this name was considered inappropriate, and on the 29th day of the 2nd month in the 1st year of the Jinglong 景龍 reign period (707) an edict was issued,

6 I showed the image of the colophon in my class "History of China's Relations with the Outside World" in early 2002. More than one student suggested that the missing character in the lacuna should be *zhuang* 莊.

7 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), *juan* 48, section on "Monasteries".

stipulating that the names of these monasteries had to be changed to Longxing (Dragon Rising) in all prefectures.[8]

Antonino Forte points out that Xiuxing, the abbot of the Dayun Monastery in Anxi, was previously a monk at the Qibaotai Monastery in Chang'an, and this monastery, originally named the Guangzhai Monastery 光宅寺, had been built by Wu Zetian in the 2nd year of the Yifeng 儀鳳 reign period (677). The abbot Degan 德感, who presided over the construction of the Qibaotai Monastery, was one of the monks who presented the *Dayun jing shu* to the Empress in the 1st year of the Tianshou reign period.[9] Considering Xiuxing's special identity as a monk from the Qibaotai Monastery, we speculate that he was probably dispatched by Wu Zetian herself or by her court to the Anxi region, along with the edict ordering the construction of Dayun monasteries in the Western Regions. This further demonstrates that the Dayun and Longxing monasteries in the Anxi region were state monasteries built under the order of Wu Zetian and Tang emperors.

As a monk travelling on foot, Hyecho had limited powers of observation. Nevertheless, we can find additional records about Chinese monasteries in the Western Regions in other historical sources. I have discussed the issues surrounding Chinese monasteries in Khotan in an earlier article and shall only summarize the relevant sources on this topic below.[10]

A note at the beginning of Dunhuang manuscript P.2889, containing the *Xumoti zhangzhe jing* 須摩提長者經 (Sutra of the Householder) reads, "The Complete Set of Scriptures of the Kaiyuan Monastery of Khotan". On the verso of the manuscript are some medical prescriptions written in Khotanese,[11] which shows that this scroll originally belonged to someone from Khotan. The Buddhist sutra written in Chinese on the recto was also probably copied in Khotan, since the sutra came from the collection of the Kaiyuan Monastery in Khotan.

The book *Li-yul Lung-bstan-pa* (Prophecy of Khotan) written in ancient Tibetan, records the history of Buddhism in Khotan. It reads:

8 *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), *juan* 208. See also *Tang huiyao*, *juan* 48, section on "Monasteries", pp. 992–993.

9 Antonino Forte, "Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", Kuwayama Shōshin, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū*, Appendix 2, pp. 229–230.

10 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti" 關於唐宋時期中原文化對于闐影響的幾個問題 (Several Issues Regarding the Influence of Chinese Culture on Khotan during the Tang and Song Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 ((Studies in Sinology), No. 1, 1993), pp. 411–415.

11 Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 78.

> Then King Vijaya Saṅgrāma's (Yuchi Sengjialuomo 尉遲僧伽羅摩) son, King Vijaya Vikrama (Yuchi Piqiluomo 尉遲毗訖羅摩) by name, having returned to Khotan, built for his pious friend, the Ārya Arhat Devendra (Tiyunbore 提雲般若) the Great, the *vihāra* Byi-źa-gre-rma (Pishaluomo 毗沙羅摩). At present the Deva Aparājita and Maṇibhadra guard it.
>
> Then after that, the Chinese minister Ser-the-śi (Xie Dashi 謝大使) and King Vijaya Dharma (Yuchi Damo 尉遲達摩) together built for their pious friend Par-mog Jinasena (Shenasina 闍那斯納) of Hgum-tir (Qumodi 瞿摩帝) the *vihāra* of Byams-pa Maitri (Milesi 彌勒寺) of the Upper City. At present Vaiśravaṇa guards this *vihāra*.
>
> Then after that, the king's minister Ka-the-śi (Dai Dashi 蓋大使) and King Vijaya Saṃbhava (Yuchi Sanbapo 尉遲散跋婆) by name together built for their two pious friends Udrendra Rod-ci (Wudantuoluoruoxi 烏丹陀羅若希) and Dharmānanda (Damonantuo 達摩難陀) the *vihāra* of the Khe-gan Peak (Kaiyuan 開元). At present Vaiśravaṇa guards this *vihāra*.[12]

In my article I pointed out that, according to John E. Hill, the establishment of the monastery for Devaprajñā mentioned in the first paragraph must have taken place either in 691 or 692, after Devendra (Devaprajñā) passed away, to commemorate this Buddhist master from Khotan who had been invited by Wu Zetian to lead a Buddhist scripture translation project at the Weiguodong Monastery 魏國東寺 in Luoyang 洛陽.[13] The events in the next two paragraphs must also have taken place around the same time. I have confirmed that Ser-the-śi in the second paragraph must refer to Xie Zhixin 謝知信 who held the posts of general of the Right Yulin Army 右羽林軍大將軍, vice protector of Anxi 安西副大都護, military commissioner of the Four Garrisons 四鎮節度, and vice ambassador 副大使 before the 22nd day of the 11th month of the 16th year of the Kaiyuan era (728). Ka-the-śi in the third paragraph must refer to Gai Jiayun 蓋嘉運 who served as Protector of Anxi 安西都護 in the 26th year of the Kaiyuan era (738). Therefore, I have translated their names as "Ambassador Xie" and "Ambassador Gai".[14] One entry in the "Zaji" 雜記 (Miscellaneous Records) section (*juan* 50) of the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents

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12 Here I follow the English translation in Ronald E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts concerning Khotan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 58–61. Based on relevant historical sources, I have translated the names into Chinese, putting them into brackets.

13 John E. Hill, "Notes on the Dating of Khotanese History", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, 1988, pp. 181–182.

14 Regarding *Ser-the-śi* and *Ka-the-śi*, Edwin G. Pulleyblank suggests that the surnames should be Xue 薛 and Jia 賈, *the-śi* refers to *taishi* 太使, meaning "great envoy;

of the Tang) records, "on the 1st day of the 6th month in the 26th year of the Kaiyuan era, an imperial order directed every province to change the name of Buddhist and Daoist monasteries located within or near the city walls or in crucial geographical locations to Kaiyuan". Ambassador Gai held his post in Anxi in the same year when the Tang ordered the establishment of the Kaiyuan Monastery. Thus, we can take the Tibetan "Khe-gan-rtsi" as another way of writing Kaiyuan si 開元寺 or Kaiyuan Monastery. The same Tibetan name is also found in the wooden slip manuscript M.T.b.i.0045 excavated at Mazar Tagh, which reads "lha-gang ke'u-'gan-tshe Rgya Sam-du" (Sun Du 孫度, Chinese person of the Kaiyuan Monastery).[15]

Of course, writing in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era (727), Hyecho could not have recorded the establishment of the Kaiyuan Monastery, which was built in the 26th year of that era (738). The above three Tibetan sources provide evidence that Khotan also established a new state monastery named Kaiyuan Monastery after the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era, following Tang imperial orders. This monastery was built by Gai Jiayun, the Tang's Protector of Anxi, together with the Khotanese king Vijaya Saṃbhava. Moreover, it was guarded by Vaiśravaṇa, the protector deity of the Khotanese kingdom, reflecting the high status of this state monastery in Khotan.

In the 1st year of the Tiaolu 調露 reign period (679), Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab) replaced Yanqi as one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi,[16] and a Dayun Monastery was built there. The *Tongdian* 通典 (Encyclopaedic History of Institutions), in *juan* 193, quotes Du Huan's 杜環 (fl. 751–762) travel account entitled *Jingxing ji* 經行記 (Record of a Journey):

> There is another city called Suiye. In the 7th year of the Tianbao 天寶 era (748), this city was attacked by Wang Zhengjian 王正見, military commissioner 節度使 of Beiting 北庭. The city walls were destroyed and residences were in ruins. The Dayun Monastery, which had been built at the former residence of the Princess of Jiaohe 交河公主, is still standing.

Based on the report of Soviet archaeologists, Gerard Clauson demonstrated that the site of Ak-beshim, discovered 8 km south-west of Tokmok, was Suiye.

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ambassador". See Pulleyblank's notes in Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts concerning Khotan*, pp. 93 and 106.

15 Frederick William Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Vol. II (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1951), p. 183, n. 1.

16 Regarding the date when Suiye (Suyab) replaced Karashahr, Forte suggests that it took place between 692 and 719 in his "Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries". Here I follow Wang Xiaofu 王小甫, *Tang, Tubo, Dashi zhengzhi guanxi shi* 唐吐蕃大食政治關係史 (A History of the Political Relations among the Tang, Tibetans and Arabs) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992), pp. 68–88.

He pointed out that the excavated temple ruins were the remains of the Dayun Monastery mentioned by Du Huan (Fig. 12.2).[17] Zhang Guangda 張廣達 has made a thorough investigation of this identification, based on Chinese and Arabic sources, as well as historical geography and archaeological studies.[18] At the end of the 20th century, a team of local and Japanese scholars discovered the remains of two Chinese inscriptions at Ak-beshim. One is a fragment of an inscription of high literary sophistication. The other is a record of the creation of a Buddhist statue by Du Huaibao 杜懷寶, vice protector of Anxi 安西副大護 and commandant-pacifier of Suiye 碎葉鎮壓使 (Fig. 12.3), which provides further confirmation that this site is Suiye.[19] It is highly likely that the stele inscription about Du Huaibao's creation of the statue was once installed inside the Dayun Monastery.

Due to the lack of historical sources, there are no complete records of Tang state monasteries in the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The table below lists the ones whose names are known:

TABLE 12.1 State monasteries in the Four Garrisons of Anxi during the Tang period

Anxi (Kucha)	Dayun Monastery	Longxing Monastery	
Khotan		Longxing Monastery	Kaiyuan Monastery
Shule	Dayun Monastery		
Suiye	Dayun Monastery		

17 Gerard Clauson, "Ak-Beshim-Suyab", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 1/2, April 1961, pp. 1–13.

18 Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Suiye cheng jindi kao" 碎葉城今地考 (The Present Site of the Ancient City of Suiye), *Beijing daxue xuebao* (Journal of Peking University), No. 5, 1979, pp. 70–82; reprinted in Zhang Guangda, *Xiyu shidi conggao chubian* 西域史地叢稿初編 (Historical Places in the Western Regions, First Series) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), pp. 1–29.

19 Zhou Weizhou 周偉洲, "Jierjisisitan Akebieximu yizhi chutu Tang Du Huaibao zaoxiang timing kao" 吉爾吉斯斯坦阿克別希姆遺址出土唐杜懷寶造像題銘考 (Study of the Tang Inscription on the Creation of an Image by Du Huaibao, Excavated at Ak-beshim in Kyrgyzstan), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), Vol. 6, 2000, pp. 383–394. See also Zhou Weizhou, "Jierjisisitan Akebieximu yizhi chutu canbei kao" 吉爾吉斯斯坦阿克別希姆遺址出土殘碑考 (A Fragmented Stele Excavated at Ak-beshim, Kyrgyzstan), in Zhou Weizhou, ed., *Bianjiang minzu lishi yu wenwu kaolun* 邊疆民族歷史與文物考論 (History and Material Culture of the Peoples in the Frontier Regions), "Bianjiang minzu lishi yu wenwu kaolun" 邊疆民族歷史與文物考論 (History and Material Culture of the Peoples in the Frontier Regions) in Zhou Weizhou, ed., *Jierjisisitan Akebieximu yizhi chutu canbei kao* 吉爾吉斯斯坦阿克別希姆遺址出土殘碑考 (A Fragmented Stele Excavated at Ak-beshim, Kyrgyzstan) (Harbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 307–313.

Given the repeated occurrences of these names, we can surmise that the Four Garrisons established these state monasteries in accordance with Tang imperial orders received at different times. The establishment of these monasteries received strong support from both the Tang military commissioners stationed in the Four Garrisons and local kings.

Apart from these rather large monasteries, as Tang power extended to the Western Regions, some smaller Chinese monasteries were also established in various parts of the area. The existence of these monasteries is documented by such remains and manuscripts as the site of the Huguo Monastery 護國寺 in Jiexie garrison 傑謝鎮 (Dandan Oilik) north-east of the ancient capital of Khotan. There, M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) discovered manuscript D.VII.4.a, a mortgage contract for borrowing grain by the official Huo Xinyue 霍昕悅 from the 17th year of the Dali 大曆 reign period (728), and manuscript D.VII.2, a loan contract of the town soldier Ma Lingzhuang 馬令莊 from the 3rd year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign period (782).[20]

Finally, it should be noted that the value of the relevant records in Hyecho's *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* is not only that he provides a list of Tang state monasteries in the Western Regions, but even more importantly, that his record, written in Anxi, of Chinese monasteries seems to indicate that they belonged to a network of monasteries deliberately established by the Tang state in the Western Regions, to be distinguished from the monastic network of the local Hu people. This is why Hyecho differentiates between the teachings of Chinese monks and those of local Buddhism. This finding, combined with the information revealed in the Kumtura inscription, enables us to conclude that at the highpoint of the Tang, from the reign of Empress Wu Zetian to the Kaiyuan era, a network of Chinese Buddhist monasteries was established in the Western Regions by Tang imperial order. This network was supervised by the district *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons who resided in Kucha and who, like other important monk-officials of state monasteries, was probably dispatched directly from the Tang capital to the Anxi region.

(The first draft of this article was completed in August 2003 and was rewritten in Japanese that September for the conference "Buddhist Societies on the Northern Silk Road" held at Ryukoku University in Japan. It was revised on 6 April 2005 and published in Xinjiang Qiuci xuehui 新疆龜茲學會, ed., *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu* 龜茲文化研究 [The Culture of Kucha], Vol. 1 [Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2005], pp. 130–137.)

20 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti", p. 413.

FIGURE 12.1
Fragment of a donor's inscription removed from the Kumtura cave temples by the Ōtani expedition

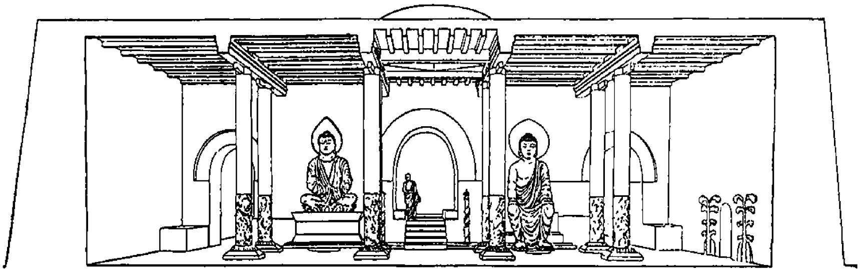

FIGURE 12.2 Architectural reconstruction of the Dayun Monastery in Suiye
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FIGURE 12.3 Chinese stele inscription on the creation of a statue discovered at Suiye

CHAPTER 13

The Circulation of Chinese Texts in the Region of Kucha in the Tang Dynasty: The German Turfan Collection

Translated by Sally K. Church

1 Documents Excavated at Kucha in the German Turfan Collection

Although the artefacts and documents collected by the four German Turfan 吐魯番 expeditions (1902–1914) are now called the "Turfan collection", the focus of the team's final two expeditions was in fact not in Turfan, but in the regions of Kucha (Kuche 庫車) and Barchuq 巴楚, which were part of the ancient kingdom of Kucha 龜茲; the final expedition did not even go to Turfan. The materials they excavated in Kucha, Tumshuq (Tumushuke 圖木舒克), Karashahr (Yanqi 焉耆), and other sites on these two final expeditions are also included in the so-called "Turfan collection", and thus are easily confused as coming from the region of Turfan. This has meant that quite a few Chinese documents originally excavated at Kucha have been studied as if they were Turfan documents, to the point that documents from Kucha have been used as evidence to support assertions about Xizhou 西州. Thus scholars tend to overlook the significance of these materials for the study of the history of the Western Regions during the Tang period, particularly in relation to the history and culture of the region of Kucha.

In fact, we can use the site numbers in the German Turfan collection to determine which manuscripts were actually unearthed at Kucha. Initially, all the materials obtained by the four German Turfan expeditions were brought to the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, where each item was given a site number. These old numbers all began with the letter T, indicating that they had been acquired by the Turfan expeditions. This letter was followed by a space, and then by Roman numeral I, II, III or IV, indicating which of the four expeditions had retrieved the item. Then there was another space, followed by an abbreviation for the site where it was excavated. "K" stood for Kucha, so "T IV K" meant that the item was found in Kucha on the fourth expedition. After another space, this abbreviation was followed by the unique number of the artefact or document. Based on their site numbers, we can identify at present a total of eighteen items in the so-called Turfan collection as having been

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excavated in Kucha, two of which have writing on the verso as well. We have included these documents in the catalogue of manuscripts from Turfan, even though they were not excavated from Turfan. Therefore we have marked each of these as "excavated in Kucha".[1]

It is a pity that Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930), who were in charge of the archaeological work on the German Turfan expeditions, were not professionally trained archaeologists. This is especially true of Albert von Le Coq, who led the fourth expedition and whose primary motive in the excavations was to plunder historical artefacts. Therefore in many cases there is insufficient documentation about the precise location where the items were excavated. Moreover, many items were moved or otherwise affected during the Second World War. At present, many of the original site numbers have been lost, making it difficult to determine whether they came from Turfan or elsewhere. We can only say that quite a few of those without numbers were definitely unearthed in Kucha, although at present we have no way of identifying these. Therefore it is better to leave them out of the discussion. Even for the eighteen documents that were definitely unearthed at Kucha, the German expedition did not record the precise location where they were found. We know that the third expedition was working in the cave temples of Kumtura and Kizil.[2] The fourth expedition, in addition to returning to these caves, also excavated ancient Buddhist temples and caves at Achik-ilek, Subashi, Kirish, and Simsim.[3] These documents could have been unearthed in any of these places, though the likelihood that they were from Kumtura is the greatest.

Now that we have determined that these documents were unearthed in Kucha, they can provide new material for the study of Kucha's history and culture. I have not seen scholars use these materials for their research on Kucha, probably because some of the documents are often considered to be from Turfan. Especially because most of them came from Buddhist monasteries or caves rather than from tombs, they may have originally belonged to monastic

1 See the relevant entries in Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*) 吐魯番文書總目(歐美收藏卷) (Catalogue of Turfan Manuscripts [European and American Collections]) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2007).

2 Albert Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan, Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten von 1906 bis 1907 Kuca, Qarasahr und in der Oase Turfan* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1912); Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha* (Berlin: O. Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.h., 1920); Albert von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions*, trans. by Anna Barwell (London: Allen & Unwin, 1928).

3 Albert von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan: Berichte und Abenteuer der 4, deutschen Turfanexpedition* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1928).

library collections, thus much of the material consists of proper texts. Most of these are masterpieces of traditional Chinese culture transmitted from Central China to the Western Regions during the Tang period. For this reason, they can reveal aspects of the transmission of traditional Chinese texts to the Western Regions and their reception in these locations. It is very rare to have historical records of such phenomena, thus they are extremely valuable from the perspective of Chinese studies. From 1985 to the present, I have been examining the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts held in Europe while also collecting Chinese documents from Khotan, Kucha, Karashahr and other locations that in the Tang period belonged to the Four Garrisons of Anxi. In this paper I shall focus on the German collection of these manuscripts, and use them to investigate the transmission of Chinese texts from Central China to the region of Kucha during the Tang dynasty.

2 Tang Legal Documents

Item number T IV K 70(+)71 (current pressmark Ch 991) is from the "Shanxing lü" 擅興律 section of the *Tang Code* (*Tanglü* 唐律), a section that concerns the unauthorised dispatch of troops and other related crimes. The fragment is 18.1 × 23 cm. Eleven lines survive, written in elegant regular style calligraphy (Fig. 13.1). The paper is dark brown in colour with some stains, perhaps because it was in use for a long time.[4] Xiang Da 向達 (1900–1966) visited the Ethnological Museum of Berlin in 1937 and took a photograph of it, but did not have time to study it. That photograph was later kept in the Beijing Library and is now held in the Rare Books Department of the National Library of China.[5]

4 This item is included in Rong Xinjiang, "Deguo Tulufan shoujipin zhong de Hanwen dianji yu wenshu" 德國吐魯番收集品中的漢文典籍與文書 (Chinese Books and Documents in the German Turfan Collection), *Huaxue* 華學 (Chinese Studies), No. 3, 1998, p. 315; Tsuneki Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung* (*Chinesische und mandjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke*, Teil 3) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), pp. 60–61, pl. 7; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shouji juan*), p. 81.

5 Rong Xinjiang, "Zhongguo guojia tushuguan Shanbenbu cang Deguo Tulufan wenxian jiu zhaopian de xueshu jiazhi" 中國國家圖書館善本部藏德國吐魯番文獻舊照片的學術價值 (The Academic Value of the Old Photographs of the German Collection of Turfan Manuscripts Held in the Rare Books Department of the National Library of China), in Guojia tushuguan Shanben tecangbu Dunhuang Tulufanxue ziliao yanjiu zhongxin 國家圖書館善本特藏部敦煌吐魯番學資料研究中心, ed., *Dunhuangxue guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌學國際研討會論文集 (Papers from the International Conference of Dunhuang Studies) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2005), p. 273.

In 1978, using photographs obtained by the Toyo bunko, the Japanese scholars Yamamoto Tatsurō 山本達郎 (1910–2001), Ikeda On 池田温 and Okano Makoto 岡野誠 published it in *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents Concerning Social and Economic History, I, Legal Texts*.[6] After this, Chinese scholars used this text as the basis for their transcriptions.[7] The content of the original document (without translation) is as follows (Fig. 13.1):

1 [間] 諜；[或傳書信與化内] 人并受，及知情容止[者，]　[
2 固守而棄[去]，及守備不設為賊所掩覆者，[斬。]　[
3 者，徒三年。以故致有覆敗者，亦斬。 [
4 軍及棄賊来降而輙煞者，斬。即違犯軍[令，] [
5 在軍所及在鎮戍私放征防人還者，各以征鎮人逃[亡]　[
6 減二等。若放人多者，一人准一日，多者一日准一人。〔
謂放三人各 [累成十五[日]　[
7 者，斬。被放者各減一等。　　　臨軍征討而[巧詐] [
8 若有校試，以能為不能，以故有所稽之者，以乏[軍] [
9 [承] 詐者，減罪二等；知情者與同罪。至[者] [
10 　　　] 有犯，本條無罪名者，各減征人二等， [
11 　　　　　　] [雖] 有符牒合給，未判而出給者， [

The *Tanglü* was a Tang dynasty legal code completed in the Yonghui 永徽 reign period (650–655) of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (650–683) and circulated throughout the empire. Manuscripts of the *Tanglü* or the *Tanglü shuyi* 唐律疏議 (Tang Code with Commentary) have been discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan; they must have been Tang statutes and decrees distributed through the Liangzhou Area Command 涼州都督府, seat of the Hexi Circuit 河西道. The handwriting in document T IV K 70(+)71 is very neat, and there is no writing on the verso, thus it must have been an official copy of the Tang legal code.

In the 2nd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (657), Su Dingfang 蘇定方 (591–667) commanded Tang troops in the defeat of Ashina Helu 阿史那賀魯 (r. 651–658), and the tribes of the Western Turks and their kingdoms east and

6 Tatsuro Yamamoto, On Ikeda and Makoto Okano, *Tun-huang Turfan Documents concerning Social and Economic History*, I. *Legal Texts* (Tokyo: Committee for the Studies of the Tun-huang Manuscripts, Toyo bunko, 1978 [A], and 1978 [B]), (A), pp. 26, 121; (B), p. 16.

7 Liu Junwen 劉俊文, *Dunhuang Tulufan Tangdai fazhi wenshu kaoshi* 敦煌吐魯番唐代法制文書考釋 (A Study of Tang Dynasty Legal Documents from Dunhuang and Turfan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 89–93; Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦, et al, eds., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄 (Texts on Social and Economic History among the Dunhuang Manuscripts), No. 2 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 517.

west of the Pamirs all surrendered to the Tang. In the 1st month of the 3rd year, the Tang pacified the rebellion of Jieliedian 羯獵顛 in Kucha. Then they established the 'loose-rein'-type Kucha Area Command, with nine prefectures under its jurisdiction, and set up the former king Bushibi's 布失畢 son Bai Suji 白素稽 as king and Area Commander-in-chief of Kucha. In the 5th month they also moved the seat of the Tang Anxi Protectorate from the city of Jiaohe 交河 in Xizhou to the capital city, Kucha, and established the Four Garrisons of Kucha, Khotan, Karashahr (Yanqi) and Kashgar (Shule 疏勒). Hence Kucha became the centre of Tang rule in the Western Regions. Soon afterwards, the Tibetans (Tubo 吐蕃) stormed into the Western Regions, united forces with the remnants of the Western Turks, and in the 1st year of Xianheng 咸亨 (670) took possession of the eighteen prefectures of the Western Regions. The Tang then abolished the Four Garrisons and moved the Anxi Protectorate back to Xizhou. At the same time, the Tang sent troops to launch a counter-attack against the Tibetans. In the 2nd year of Shangyuan 上元 (675) they gradually recaptured the Four Garrisons, and Bai Suji sent envoys to the Tang court to present tribute. However, the region was immediately attacked and occupied again by the Tibetans. In the 1st year of Tiaolu 調露 (679), Pei Xingjian 裴行儉 (619–682) commanded Tang troops in their defeat of the remnants of the pro-Tibetan Western Turks, re-established the Four Garrisons and replaced Yanqi with Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab) as one of the four, thereby exerting at least some restraint on Tibetan expansion. In the 2nd year of the Chuigong 垂拱 reign period (686), the Tibetans launched a large-scale advance and attacked the Western Regions. The Tang sent troops from all directions to counter their attack, but they were unable to stop the onslaught. Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) issued an edict withdrawing from the Four Garrisons, thus abandoning the Western Regions again. This situation continued until the 1st year of Changshou 長壽 (692), when Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 led his troops in the recapture of the Four Garrisons, and sent 30,000 Chinese troops to defend the garrisons. After that, the Anxi Protectorate remained stable with its seat in Kucha for about a hundred years. Thus the city of Kucha was also called Anxi.

Due to the conflict between the Tang and the Tibetans, the Anxi Protectorate moved back and forth between Xizhou and Kucha from the 3rd year of Xianqing (656–661) to the 1st year of Changshou (692), making the situation in Kucha unstable. This manuscript of the *Tanglü* must therefore have been transmitted into this region after the 1st year of Changshou, most likely during the Kaiyuan 開元 (713–741) and Tianbao 天寶 (742–756) periods.

Here we should consider the question of whether the *Tanglü* was used in the Kucha region when it was assimilated into the Tang 'loose-rein' system. According to this system, it seems that the *Tanglü* was not used to decide civil

cases. However, for problems concerning garrison troops, the Kucha Area Command still required in-depth knowledge of Tang legal code, which is why it is possible that this manuscript belonged to the Kucha Area Command. The extant text refers to sending soldiers on military campaigns, releasing conscripts, handling the desertion of garrison soldiers and such matters. The garrison commander must have consulted the *Tanglü* in cases like this. Among the Turfan documents in the collection of Ryukoku University 龍谷大学 is a set of documents concerning the desertion of a soldier named Ren Shun'er 任順兒 and others (Ōtani 2377, 3379 ff). The case occurred in the 2nd year of the Tianbao era (743) when troops in Jiaohe commandery in Gaochang 高昌 county captured these deserters from Anxi. Jiaohe commandery must have received a communication from the Anxi Protectorate; only then would it have arrested the deserters from Kucha who were within its borders.[8] This set of documents can be used as a footnote to our discussion of the use of the manuscripts of the *Tanglü* in Kucha, serving as indirect evidence that it was most likely the legal document used by the Kucha garrison guards.

3 Tang Rhyme Books

T IV K 95–100a, b (current pressmark Ch 1991) is a fragment from a copy of *Qieyun* 切韻 (a rhyme dictionary compiled in 601), which measures 13.9 × 8.9 cm. It is a two-sided document, with seven lines on the recto and six on the verso. The rhyme entries continue from one side to the other, hence we know that it originally was in a booklet form.[9] The photograph of the original scroll preserved in the National Library of China shows that it is marked with the letters "TID", which suggests that it was excavated in the ancient city of Gaochang. However, it also has the identifying mark T IV K 95–100a, b, which

8 See Wang Yongxing 王永興, "Tulufan chutu Tang qianqi xibei taobing wenshu kaoshi" 吐魯番出土唐前期西北逃兵文書考釋 (Study of Early Tang Turfan Documents concerning Desertion in the North-west), in Wang Yongxing, ed., *Tangdai qianqi xibei junshi yanjiu* 唐代前期西北軍事研究 (Military Affairs of the North-west in the Early Tang) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1994), pp. 340–352; Liu Anzhi 劉安志, "Dui Tulufan suochu Tang Tianbao jian xibei taobing wenshu de tantao" 對吐魯番所出唐天寶間西北逃兵文書的探討 (An Investigation into the Documents Unearthed in Turfan concerning Desertion in the North-west in the Tianbao Era), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources for the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang), No. 25, 1997, pp. 118–122.

9 Rong Xinjiang, "Deguo Tulufan shoujipin zhong de Hanwen dianji yu wenshu", p. 317; Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, pp. 43–44; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 165.

indicates it was excavated in Kucha. It is difficult to know which is correct, but because the latter site number is more complex, this is likely to have been the original number. This fragment has been the object of phonological research over the years. There are punctuation marks and numbers in red ink, which do not show up in the black and white photographs or photocopies and are, therefore, omitted from existing publications.[10]

T IV K 75 (current pressmark Ch 2094) was an expanded version of the *Qieyun*. It is a two-sided fragment whose dimensions are 13.7 × 19.5 cm, with thirteen lines on the recto, and ten on the verso.[11] The Rare Books Department of the National Library of China has photographs obtained by Wang Zhongmin 王重民 (1903–1975) in 1935 and Xiang Da in 1937 (Fig. 13.2).[12] Using these photos of the eight fragments of this text found by the German Turfan expeditions, Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 (1914–1995) restored their sequence. The sixth and seventh fragments still survive; the remaining are missing, probably lost during the

10 See Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄, "Tō shōhon insho to inpon Setsuin to no danpen" 唐鈔本韻書と印本切韻との斷片 (Tang Dynasty Manuscripts of Rhyme Books and Printed Fragments of the *Qieyun*), *Bunka* 文化 (Culture), Vol. 2, No. 7, 1935; Liu Fu 劉復 et al., *Shiyun huibian* 十韻匯編 (A Collection of Ten Rhyme Books) (Beijing, n.a., 1937); Wunei Yixiong [Takeuchi Yoshio], "Tang chaoben yunshu ji yinben Qieyun zhi duanpian" 唐鈔本韻書及印本切韻之斷片 (Tang Dynasty Manuscripts of Rhyme Books and Printed Fragments of the Qieyun), trans. by Wan Sinian 萬斯年, in *Tangdai wenxian congkao* 唐代文獻叢考 (Collected Studies on Tang Texts) (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian, 1947), pp. 53–54; Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on Maspero's *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1–2, 1955, pp. 142–158; Ueda Tadashi 上田正, *Setsuin zankan shohon hosei* 切韻殘卷諸本補正 (Corrections to the *Qieyun* Fragments) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo fuzoku Tōyōgaku bunken sentā kankō iinkai, 1973); Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun* 唐五代韻書輯存 (Extant Rhyme Dictionaries from the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods) (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1994), pp. 71, 825–827; Tokio Takata, "The Chinese Language in Turfan with a Special Focus on the *Qieyun* Fragments", in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al., eds., *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004), pp. 333–335, pl. 2; Gaotian Shixiong [Takata Tokio] 高田時雄, *Dunhuang, Minzu, Yuyan* 敦煌·民族·語言 (Dunhuang: Peoples: Languages), trans. by Zhong Chong 鐘翀 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 24–27, and 37 (Fig. 2).

11 Rong Xinjiang, "Deguo Tulufan shoujipin zhong de Hanwen dianji yu wenshu", p. 318; Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 44; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), pp. 172–173.

12 Rong Xinjiang, "Zhongguo guojia tushuguan Shanbenbu cang Deguo Tulufan wenxian jiu zhaopian de xueshu jiazhi", p. 270.

Second World War.[13] As with the previous document, most of the research conducted on this *Qieyun* fragment has been from a phonological point of view.[14]

In terms of their content, the two *Qieyun* fragments described above are naturally important for the field of phonology. They are the ancestors of the rhyme books that appeared in later generations. Moreover the evolution of the *Qieyun* itself from the earliest versions to its expanded version reveals the development of *Qieyun*-type rhyme books during the Tang dynasty. The value of the content of the fragments for scholarship has been highly acclaimed by scholars in the field of phonology, thus no further elaboration is necessary here.

It seems that few people have paid attention to this manuscript from a historical perspective. This is because rhyme books had two functions during the Tang period. One was to serve as reference works for composing poetry; it would help one select the most appropriate word to rhyme at the end of a line. The second was to help students prepare for the Civil Service Examinations. Since the Tang Civil Service Examinations emphasised the *jinshi* 進士 exam, and the *jinshi* exam tested poetic composition, candidates needed to use the *Qieyun* for reference.[15] Thus, the reason why there are so many manuscripts and printed versions of the *Qieyun* and *Qieyun*-type rhyme books among the Turfan and Dunhuang documents is closely linked to the emphasis that was placed on the examination system during the Tang, Five Dynasties and Song periods. From a functional point of view, these two manuscripts of *Qieyun* found in Kucha were probably related either to the popularity of poetry at the time, or to the examination system. We know that a number of literati visited the Anxi region in the early Tang period, such as the two famous poets Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (640–684) and Cen Shen 岑參 (715–770), and there must have been many whose names do not appear in historical sources, especially some

13 This was my conclusion after going to Berlin in 1996 to investigate the Turfan manuscripts held in the German National Library, the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin, and the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.

14 See Takeuchi Yoshio, "Tō shōhon insho to inpon Setsuin to no danpen"; Liu Fu et al., *Shi yun huibian*; Takeuchi Yoshio, "Tang chaoben yunshu ji yinben qieyun zhi duanpian", pp. 52–53; Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on Maspero's *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*", pp. 142–158; Ueda Tadashi, *Setsuin zankan shohon hosei*; Zhou Zumo, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun*, pp. 236, 239 and 865–866; Tokio Takata, "The Chinese Language in Turfan with a Special Focus on the *Qieyun* Fragments", pp. 333–335; and Gaotian Shixiong [Takata Tokio], *Dunhuang, Minzu, Yuyan*, pp. 24–27.

15 See Pingtian Changsi [Hirata Shōji] 平田昌司, "*Qieyun* yu Tangdai gongling: Keju zhidu yu Hanyu shi, di san" 《切韻》與唐代功令 – 科舉制度與漢語史第三 (The *Qieyun* and Tang Decrees: The Examination System and the History of the Chinese Language, Part 3), in Pan Wuyun 潘悟雲, ed., *Dongfang yuyan yu wenhua* 東方語言與文化 (Languages and Cultures of the East) (Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2002), pp. 327–359.

unestablished young scholars who took their rhyme books with them on their westward travels. Moreover, Chai Jianhong 柴劍虹 has pointed out that some of these *Qieyun* rhyme books may have been produced in this region for the education of local schoolboys.[16] This view can be supported by transmitted historical sources as well as by excavated manuscripts.

4 Historical Texts

The "Biography of Geshu Han" 哥舒翰傳 in *juan* 104 of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 says,

> Geshu Han (699–757) was descended from the Geshu clan, who were the leaders of the Türgesh tribe. His grandfather [Geshu] Ju 沮 was a commander of the left police patrol guard 左清道率. His father [Geshu] Daoyuan 道元 was the Vice Protector of Anxi, whose family had lived in Anxi for generations. When Geshu Han was 40, his father died. For three years he lived in the capital as a guest until he was insulted by the Chang'an Guard 長安尉. He then indignantly decided to make a change, so he took up his sword and went to Hexi 河西.… [Geshu] Han liked to read the *Zuoshi chunqiu zhuan* 左氏春秋傳 (*Zuo* commentary on the *Chunqiu*) and the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty); he was generous and of high integrity, attracting many followers. His mother, whose surname was Yuchi 尉遲, was from a royal Khotanese lineage (*juan* 104, pp. 3211–3212).

Regarding where Geshu Han was when he studied the *Hanshu* in his youth, I have previously assumed this was in Khotan. Because his father had married a princess of the royal family of Khotan, and had also served as Vice Protector of Anxi, I assumed that he must have been stationed in Khotan. That his family "had lived in Anxi for generations", could be interpreted in the broad meaning of Anxi, representing all Four Garrisons of Anxi, not its narrow meaning of

16 Chai Jianhong 柴劍虹, "Tulufan de xuetong duben yu 'ceshu': Chongdu Tulufan suochu 'Bu Tianshou chaoben' zhaji" 吐魯番的學童讀本與"側書" – 重讀吐魯番所出"卜天壽抄本"札記 (A Turfan Students' Reader and "Sideways Writing": Notes on Rereading the "Manuscript of Bu Tianshou" Excavated in Turfan), in Xinjiang Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 新疆吐魯番學研究院, ed., *Disan jie Tulufanxue ji Ouya youmu minzu de qiyuan yu qianxi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第三屆吐魯番學暨歐亞游牧民族的起源與遷徙國際學術研討會論文集 (Papers from the Third International Academic Conference on Turfan Studies, Origins and Migrations of Eurasian Nomadic Peoples) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), pp. 548–553.

Kucha alone.[17] The discovery in Khotan by the Japanese Ōtani expedition of a manuscript fragment from the *Shangshu Kong shi zhuan* 尚書孔氏傳 (The Kong Commentary to the Book of Documents),[18] could be seen as corroborating this view. Since there was a tradition of Chinese education in Khotan, then Kucha, which was strategically more important than Khotan and had better communication with China, must have had at least the same level of Chinese classical education as Khotan.

The German Turfan Collection includes a fragment with the site number T II T 1132 (current pressmark Ch 938), the recto of which contains the "Biography of Zhang Liang" (Zhang Liang zhuan 張良傳) from the *Hanshu*, and the verso, the "Biographies of the Disciples of Zhongni (Confucius)" (Zhongni dizi liezhuan 仲尼弟子列傳) from the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian).[19] This is an extremely valuable historical document. Further research has led me to discover in the Ōtani expedition's catalogue *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Archaeological Exploration of the Western Regions) images of a manuscript, the recto and verso of which contain the same chapters of the *Hanshu* and *Shiji*, and written in the same calligraphic style. In fact, they must have been from the same manuscript; they are even written on the lower half of the same sheet of paper. The two halves do not fit exactly together, but they are certainly from the same scroll.[20] The German Collection's site number suggests that the item was obtained during the second German Turfan expedition at Toyuq, Turfan, and based on the Japanese catalogue, the site where the Ōtani team obtained the fragment was the Kumtura caves near Kucha. At present there is no way to determine which

17 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti" 關於唐宋時期中原文化對于闐影響的幾個問題 (Some Questions concerning Chinese Cultural Influences on Khotan in the Tang and Song Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 1, 1993, p. 416.

18 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti", p. 416. For the original, see Kagawa Mokushiki 香川默識, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological Explorations of the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kokkasha, 1915), Vol. 2, "Keiseki" 經籍 (Classical Texts) 2.1.

19 Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 77. "Biography of Zhang Liang", *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962; reprinted 1975), *juan* 40, pp. 2023–2038; "Biographies of the Disciples of Zhongni (Confucius)", *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959; reprinted 1973), *juan* 67, pp. 2185–2226.

20 Kagawa Mokushiki, *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 2, "Keiseki", Plates (5)–(1) and (2). See Rong Xinjiang, "*Shiji* yu *Hanshu*: Tulufan chutu wenxian zhaji zhi yi" 《史記》與《漢書》– 吐魯番出土文獻札記之一 (The *Shiji* and *Hanshu*: A Manuscript Excavated in Turfan), *Xinjiang shifan daxue xuebao* 新疆師範大學學報 (Journal of Xinjiang Normal University), No. 1, 2004, pp. 41–43, and 4 plates.

item number is correct, but at least one possibility is that the document came from Kucha, and that it can further confirm the story of Geshu Han and the sinicised nature of education in the Kucha region.

5 Sinicised Buddhist Monasteries and Chinese Texts in Tang Dynasty Kucha

The monk Hyecho 慧超 (704–787) of Silla 新羅, who went to India to obtain scriptures in the Kaiyuan period, records the situation in Kucha on his return journey in his *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) as follows:

> I arrived at Anxi during the first ten days of the 11th month in the 15th year of the Kaiyuan era (727), when the military commissioner was Lord Zhao 趙.
>
> In Anxi, there are two monasteries headed by Chinese monks. They practice Mahāyāna Buddhism and do not eat meat. The abbot of the Dayun (Great Cloud) Monastery 大雲寺 is Xiuxing 秀行, who is well versed in discourse and speech, and was previously a monk at the Qibaotai Monastery 七寶臺寺 in the capital. The administrator (*duweina* 都維那) of Dayun Monastery, named Yichao 義超, excels at expounding the Vinaya-piṭaka. He was once a monk at the Zhuangyan Monastery 莊嚴寺 in the capital. The rector of the Dayun Monastery, named Mingyun 明惲, is a monk of great accomplishments who was also a monk in the capital. These monks are remarkable abbots. They are extremely devoted to the teaching and take joy in performing worship. The abbot of the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 is named Fahai 法海; although he is Chinese, he was born in Anxi. His scholarship and manner are no different from those of China.[21]

From Hyecho's account we know that in the 15th year of Kaiyuan (727) there were two Chinese monasteries in the Anxi (Kucha) region: the Dayun and Longxing monasteries. They both must have been official monasteries built by imperial order. The Dayun Monastery was the result of an edict issued on the 29th day of the 10th month of the 1st year of Tianshou (5 December 690),

21 Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 (Study of Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1992), pp. 25–26.

ordering that a Dayun Monastery be built in both capitals and in every prefecture in the empire.[22] The Longxing Monastery resulted from an edict issued on the *gengyin* day of the 2nd month of the 1st year of the Jinglong reign period (29 March 707) ordering that all Zhongxing 中興 monasteries in the various prefectures be renamed Longxing.[23]

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ōtani expedition removed a fragment of a donor inscription in a cartouche from a mural in one of the Kumtura caves. The fragment reads as follows:

> 大唐□（莊）嚴寺上座四鎮都統律師□道
>
> Vinaya Master [...]dao, Rector of the [Zhuang]yan Monastery of the Great Tang and *dutong* of the Four Garrisons.[24]

When Ma Shichang 馬世長 discussed the historical background of the Chinese-style caves in the Kumtura caves, he pointed out the following:

> The original location of this inscription is unknown. Based on the reference to the Great Tang, it may have come from Cave 16. The name of the Chinese [...]yan Monastery in the cartouche also corroborates this. This monastery was probably in Kucha, as the title of the monk-donor is *dutong* 都統 of the Four Garrisons. *Dutong* must be an abbreviation for *dusengtong* 都僧統 (district *saṃgha* overseer), thus this person named [...]dao □道, who was a vinaya master (*lüshi* 律師) was the district *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons, which clearly refers to Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan and Karashahr. This inscription shows that the post of the district *saṃgha* overseer, who was responsible for Buddhist affairs in the Four Garrisons, had been established in Kucha. This was a Chinese monk, which means that Kucha at that time occupied a special position

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22 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 48, entry on "monasteries" 寺 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 996.

23 *Tang huiyao*, pp. 992–993; see also *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), *juan* 208 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956). [Editor's note: This date is equivalent to the 2nd month of the 3rd year of Shenlong 神龍, because the reign period was not officially changed to Jinglong until the 9th month of that year. See *Zizhi tongjian*, *juan* 208, pp. 6608–6610.]

24 Kagawa Mokushiki, ed., *Saiiki kōkozufu*, Vol. 1, Pl. 9.

> in the governance of the Buddhist monasteries in the Four Garrisons as well.[25]

Regarding the missing first character from the name of the monastery in the Kumtura inscription, Hyecho mentions that Yichao, the administrator at the Dayun Monastery in Kucha, was formerly a monk at the Zhuangyan Monastery in the capital. Thus we speculate that the missing character is *zhuang* 莊. In other words, this *saṃgha* overseer (*dutong*) of the Four Garrisons, like Yichao of the Dayun Monastery in Kucha, came from the renowned Zhuangyan Monastery in the Tang capital, Chang'an 長安.

In a paper on sinicised Buddhist monasteries in the Western Regions, based on the passage in Hyecho's travel account and the inscription on the mural painting in the Kumtura cave, I argued that during the High Tang period from the reign of Wu Zetian through the Kaiyuan period, a network of sinicised Buddhist monasteries was established in the Western Regions by order of the Tang court. This system differed from the monastery network of the local Hu people in the Kucha region during the Tang dynasty in that they were governed by the *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons based in Kucha. This *saṃgha* overseer, who had a donor's image in the Kumtura caves, like important monks in other state monasteries, was probably sent directly from the capital to the Anxi region.[26]

As I previously pointed out in a paper on Chinese cultural influences on Khotan:

> In the wake of the establishment of Tang power in Khotan, Chinese monasteries appeared in succession within the boundaries of Khotan. At the same time Chinese translations of Buddhist texts also inevitably were transmitted to the region.

25 Ma Shichang 馬世長, "Kumutula de Hanfeng shiku" 庫木吐喇的漢風石窟 (The Chinese-style Caves in Kumtura), in Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 新疆維吾爾自治區文物管理委員會 et al., eds., *Zhongguo shiku: Kumutula shiku* 中國石窟·庫木吐喇石窟 (China's Cave Temples: Kumtura Caves) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), p. 221.

26 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Xiyu de Hanhua fosi xitong" 唐代西域的漢化佛寺系統 (The Network of Sinicised Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions during the Tang Dynasty), Xinjiang Qiuci xuehui 新疆龜茲學會, ed., *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu* 龜茲文化研究 (Research on the Culture of Kucha), No. 1 (Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2005), pp. 130–137.

I also cited as evidence the Chinese fragments of Buddhist texts such as *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom) excavated in the Khotan region, as well as a set of prayers written by Buddhist believers.[27] Now, based on the portion of the German Turfan Collection that comes from the Kumtura caves, we can supplement our list of Chinese translations of Buddhist texts popular in the Kucha region during the Tang period with the following items:

T IV K 75 (Ch 171) *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (Diamond Sutra), 8.7 × 21.2 cm, 12 lines, Tang dynasty manuscript.[28]

T IV K 75 (Ch 805) *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Lotus Sutra), *juan* 2, 27 × 10.5 cm, 4 lines, Tang manuscript.[29]

T IV K 70(+)71 (Ch 2293r) *Da ban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Nirvana Sutra), *juan* 3, 26.7 × 19 cm, 9 lines, Tang manuscript. On the verso we find the title "*Fo ming jing* (Sutra of the Names of the Buddhas), in one *juan*", but the text itself is not there.[30]

T IV K 77 (Ch 5511) *Sifenlü biqiu jieben* 四分律比丘戒本 (Prâtimokṣa of the Four-part Vinaya), 27.4 × 81.4 cm, 64 lines, approximately 9th–10th centuries from the Uighur period.[31]

T IV K 77 (Ch 5512) *Sifenlü biqiu jieben*, 26.8 × 190.1 cm, 148 lines, about 9th or 10th century from the Uighur period.[32]

T IV K 70+71 (Ch 852) Fragment of a Buddhist text, 12.1 × 22.3 cm, 12 lines.[33]

T IV K 75 (Ch 1373) Fragment of a Buddhist text, 14.1 × 10.7 cm, 10 lines.[34]

T IV K 70+71.502 (Ch 1998) Fragment of a Buddhist text, 17 × 22 cm, 12 lines.[35]

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27 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti", pp. 401–424.

28 Gerhard Schmidt and Thomas Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* I (BTT VI) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975), p. 40; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 14.

29 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* I, p. 57; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 65.

30 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* II (BTT XIV) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), p. 64; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 188.

31 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* I, p. 172; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 321.

32 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente* I, p. 172; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 321.

33 Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 69.

34 Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 114.

35 Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 165.

T IV K 70+71 (Ch 2063) Fragment of a Buddhist text, 20 × 3.2 cm, 6 lines.
T IV K 70+71.503 (Ch 2209) Buddhist text, 18.5 × 15.9 cm, 1 line.[36]
T IV K 70+71.500 (Ch 2809) Fragment of a Buddhist text, 9.6 × 10.1 cm, 5 lines.[37]

The *Jingang bore boluomi jing*, *Miaofa lianhua jing* and *Da ban niepan jing* were the most prevalent Chinese translations of Buddhist texts in the Tang dynasty, which reveals that Chinese translations of Buddhist texts prevalent here were exactly the same as those in Shazhou (Dunhuang) and Xizhou (Turfan) during the same period. Moreover, the two Uighur-period manuscripts of the *Sifenlü biqiu jieben* can probably be traced back to a Tang dynasty Chinese manuscript. There are many Buddhist texts excavated at Kumtura that have not yet been identified and whose site numbers are ambiguous.

6 Brief Summary

1. The documents obtained by the German expeditions in the Kucha region are not isolated examples. The expeditions of Paul Pelliot and Ōtani obtained even more Chinese manuscripts at the site of Duldur-aqur, west of the old city of Kucha.[38] Huang Wenbi 黃文弼 also found a small quantity of documents

36 Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 125; Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 182.

37 Rong Xinjiang, *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 228.

38 Éric Trombert et al., *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha: Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises du Collège de France, 2000); Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久 et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei* 大谷文書集成 (Compendium of the Ōtani Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1984). Regarding the investigation of these documents, see Wang Binghua 王炳華, "Tang Anxi Tuojueguan guzhi bing youguan wenti yanjiu" 唐安西拓厥關故址並有關問題研究 (The Ancient Site of Tuojueguan in Anxi during the Tang, and Related Questions), *Xibei shidi* 西北史地 (Historical Places in the North-west), No. 3, 1987, pp. 10–20; Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Dunhuang, Xinjiang wenshu suoji de Tangdai *xingke*" 敦煌新疆文書所記的唐代"行客" (Tang Dynasty *xingke* as Recorded in Manuscripts from Dunhuang and Xinjiang), *Chutu wenxian yanjiu xuji* 出土文獻研究續集 (Additional Collection of Research on Excavated Texts) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 277–290; Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Tangdai Qiuci diqu shuili" 唐代龜玆地區水利 (Irrigation Works in the Kucha Region in the Tang), in Zhang Guangda, *Wenshu, dianji yu Xiyu shidi* 文書、典籍與西域史地 (Documents, Classical Texts and Historical Places of the Western Regions) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 71–79.

at ancient sites in the Kucha region.[39] These manuscripts should be seen as a whole, which provides us with a material basis for the study of ancient Kucha from the perspective of excavated Chinese texts.

2. The Chinese manuscripts in the German Turfan Collection reveal that Chinese culture spread to the Western Regions following the extension of Tang power into the area. We have discussed Tang dynasty legal documents, rhyme books, historical texts and Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, which provide insights into the uses of Tang legal regulations, the function of rhyme books, the study of historical texts and the transmission of Buddhist literature. Together they shed light on the transmission of traditional and contemporary Chinese culture to the Kucha region in that period. These Chinese documents form an important part of the study of the cultural history of ancient Kucha during the Tang period.

3. Under the Tang, as the seat of the Anxi Protectorate, Kucha governed the whole of the Western Regions. The transmission of Chinese texts and their influx into Kucha followed in the wake of the extension of Tang power. Due to Kucha's special geographical location and military administrative status, the Chinese documents that circulated in the region of Kucha must also have spread throughout the Western Regions. The same or similar Chinese documents must also have been used in Khotan, Karashahr, Kashgar, Suyab, and other garrison towns during the same period. Some have already been excavated in the Khotan area, while others of the same type are bound to come to light elsewhere in due course. It can be said that these Chinese manuscripts are a microcosm of Chinese culture in the Western Regions in the Tang period.

4. The Chinese culture prevalent in Kucha during the Tang period had different degrees of influence on local ethnic cultures. Our study of the Chinese manuscripts will be of use for the study of manuscripts in Tokharian, Sogdian and Old Uighur, which circulated in those places at the same time or slightly later.

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39 Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, *Talimu pendi kaogu ji* 塔里木盆地考古記 (An Archaeological Record of the Tarim Basin) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1958).

FIGURE 13.1 The "Shanxing lü" 擅興律, section of the *Tanglü* excavated at Kucha (Ch 991)

FIGURE 13.2 The expanded version of the *Qieyun* excavated at Kucha
PHOTO BY WANG ZHONGMIN 王重民

CHAPTER 14

The Transmission of Chan Buddhism to the Western Regions in the Tang Dynasty

Translated by Mia Ye Ma 馬也

1 Introduction

Chan Buddhism developed steadily in the Tang period from a small sect into a powerful movement. Its status was boosted when Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) invited Hongren's 弘忍 (601–674) disciple Shenxiu 神秀 (ca. 606–706) to the eastern capital (Luoyang 洛陽) and showed him reverence. After Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705–710) ascended the throne, Shenxiu was revered even more.[1] He was praised as "Lord of the Law at two capitals, and State Preceptor of three emperors (i.e. Empress Wu, Emperor Zhongzong and Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 [r. 710–712])".[2] After Shenxiu passed away in the 2nd year of the Shenlong 神龍 reign period (706), his disciple Puji 普寂 (651–739) took over the leadership of the congregation. In the 13th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (725), Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) invited him to move to Chang'an 長安, where he stayed at the Jing'ai Monastery 敬爱寺. Later he moved to the Xingtang Monastery 興唐寺. Then another disciple of Shenxiu, Yifu 義福 (658–736), accompanied Emperor Xuanzong on his eastward imperial tour, and stayed in Luoyang at the Fuxian Temple 福先寺.[3] The power of the so-called Northern School reached its height at this time, when Shenxiu's disciples occupied the highest monastic positions in the two capitals. After the An Lushan rebellion, Shenhui 神會 (684–758) of the Southern School, who had helped the Northern Army 朔方軍 raise funds and provisions, became gradually more powerful. By the mid-to-late Tang, Chan Buddhism had spread widely and developed in the South, and eventually the Southern School became more influential than all the others.

1 Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period), *juan* 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), p. 177.

2 Zhang Yue 張說, "Jingzhou Yuquansi Datong Chanshi bei ming" 荊州玉泉寺大通禪師碑銘 (Stele Inscription on Chan Master Datong of Yuquan Monastery, Jingzhou), *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 231 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).

3 Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 9, pp. 197–199.

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Far away in the Dunhuang 敦煌 caves of western Gansu 甘肅, many Chan texts from the Tang dynasty have been preserved. Various texts of the Southern, Northern and other schools have survived, including recorded sayings, lamp histories, laudatory inscriptions and apocryphal scriptures, which reflect the circulation of Chan Buddhism in the Dunhuang region. Dunhuang's history ran a separate course, because in 786 Dunhuang was occupied by the Tibetan (Tubo 吐蕃) kingdom, and retaken by the local warlord Zhang Yichao 張議潮 (799–872) of Shazhou 沙州 in 848. During the Tang dynasty, this territory, which it called the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit), was under the nominal authority of the Tang government. In the Five Dynasties period, the Guiyijun functioned as a local kingdom. It was surrounded by political powers established by other peoples, but Chan Buddhist manuscripts survived in this island of Chinese culture and remained in circulation.

The Chan texts found in Dunhuang are already well-known, and their study made important contributions to the understanding of early Chan history.[4] The question I wish to pursue in this paper is whether Chan Buddhism was popular in the Western Regions 西域, west of Dunhuang (including Turfan 吐魯番 and Beiting 北庭, which had once been under Tang control). Below, I shall gather together the various traces of Chan texts in the Western Regions that I have noticed over the years, and discuss their origins and influence.

2 The Spread of Chan Texts in the Western Regions

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the expedition teams and archaeologists of various countries have excavated large quantities of ancient artefacts and manuscripts in the region of today's Xinjiang 新疆. After nearly a century of collation and study, the Chan texts that we know about are as described below.

2.1 *The Gaochang Region*

Located in north-eastern Xinjiang, the Turfan depression was where the Gaochang 高昌 kingdom ruled by the Qu 麴 family was originally based, and Chinese culture was dominant there. In the 14th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (640), the Tang destroyed the Gaochang kingdom, established

4 See Shinohara Hisao 篠原壽雄 and Tanaka Ryōshō 田中良昭, *Tonkō butten to Zen* 敦煌佛典と禪 (Dunhuang Buddhist Texts and Zen), *Kōza Tonkō* 講座敦煌 (Lectures on Dunhuang Series), No. 8, (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980); and Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō Zenshū bunken no kenkyū* 敦煌禪宗文獻の研究 (A Study of Chan Texts from Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1983).

Xizhou 西州, and took direct control over this area. In the 8th year of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (792), the Tibetan army occupied Xizhou for a short time, but it was soon retaken by the Tang. Probably in the 19th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (803), Tang forces in this area were replaced by those from the Uighur Qaghanate of the region north of the Gobi. In 840, after the Uighur Qaghanate was destroyed, Uighur troops moved westward and established the Xizhou Uighur kingdom in the eastern part of the Tianshan 天山 mountains, which included Turfan.

2.1.1 *Jueguan lun*

Nishiwaki Tsuneki 西脇常記 pointed out that fragment Ch 1433r (T II) obtained by the German Turfan expedition consists of ten lines from the beginning of the text called *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 (Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition) (Fig. 14.1). He compared it to the six Dunhuang texts edited by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 and found that it was very similar to those, being especially close textually and in writing style to manuscript P.2885. He also pointed out that on the verso of the document (actually it was the recto) was a household register from Xizhou, dated to the 13th year of the Kaiyuan era (725), which we can consider the earliest possible date of the manuscript of *Jueguan lun*. Nishiwaki asserts, "At the latest it was from the 8th century, the highpoint of Tang dynasty power, or the 9th century when it still had an influence". Because the original site number of the document was simply "T II", Nishiwaki could not be certain exactly where it was excavated.[5]

The household register on the verso of this fragment was first published by Thomas Thilo, and the original site number that he gave for it was also T II. Thus he too thought the site of excavation was uncertain, and did not dare say whether this household register was excavated in Dunhuang or Turfan.[6] Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和 concluded that it was a household register from Xizhou, dated the 13th year of the Kaiyuan era,[7] and also obtained Ikeda On's 池田温

5 Xixie Changji [Nishiwaki Tsuneki] 西脇常記, "Guanyu Bolin suo cang Tulufan shoujipin de Chanji ziliao" 關於柏林所藏吐魯番收集品中的禪籍資料 (The Berlin Collection of Chan Texts Excavated in Turfan), Qiu Yunqing 裘雲青, trans., *Su yuyan yanjiu* 俗語言研究 (Studies in Vernacular Languages), No. 4, 1997, pp. 136–138 and 139, plus plates; Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, "Zekkanron no honbun kenkyū" 絕観論の本文研究 (Textual Studies on Jueguan lun), *Zengaku kenkyū* 禪學研究 (Studies in Zen Buddhism), No. 58, 1970.

6 Thomas Thilo, "Fragmente Chinesischer Haushaltsregister der Tang-Zeit in der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Vol. XVI, 1970, pp. 87–88, 93–94, Abb. 4.

7 Dohi Yoshikazu 土肥義和, "Tōrei yori mitaru genson Tōdai koseki no kisoteki kenkyū" 唐令より見たる現存唐代戸籍の基礎的研究 (Basic Research on Extant Tang Dynasty

confirmation of this view.[8] Since the *Jueguan lun* was written on the verso of the Xizhou register, we cannot go too far wrong by claiming it was excavated in Turfan. Moreover, the investigation site of the second German expedition was the Turfan depression. The team went to Hami 哈密 for only a short time and did not find many manuscripts there.[9] Thus, from the original site number T II, we can say that the manuscript was excavated in Turfan. According to the records I found in the German National Library concerning this fragment, the original site number was "T II T", which signifies that it was excavated at the Toyuq caves during the second German expedition. Household register manuscripts that belonged to the local government of Xizhou during the Tang had to be kept for nine years, according to government regulations. When the official documents were discarded, they were often used by Buddhist monks for copying Buddhist sutras. The Toyuq caves were called the Dinggu caves 丁谷窟 in the Tang period. The original of this fragment must have been used by monks of the Tang-dynasty Dinggu Monastery 丁谷寺 for copying the *Jueguan lun*. Generally speaking, such copying would not have been done long after the date on the recto, that is, the 13th year of the Kaiyuan era. It must date from about the last quarter of the 8th century.

Dunhuang manuscript P.2009 with the *Xizhou tujing* 西州圖經 (Gazetteer of Xizhou) says the following under the entry "The monastery and meditation cloister at the caves":

> 丁谷窟:有寺一所，並有禪院一所。右在柳中縣界，至北山廿五里丁谷中，西去州廿里。寺其（基） 依山構，揆巇疏階，鷹塔飛空，虹梁飲漢，巖巒（巒）紛糺，叢薄阡眠，既切煙雲，亦虧星月。上則危峰迢遰，下〔則〕輕溜潺湲。實仙居之勝地，諒棲靈之秘域。見有名額，僧徒居焉。
>
> Dinggu caves: A monastery and also a meditation cloister are located there. The caves are on the border of Liuzhong county, 25 *li* from the northern mountains and 20 *li* from Xizhou. The monastery abuts against the mountain; up the steep incline there are widely spaced steps. The eagle stūpa seems to float in the sky, and from the rainbow bridge one

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Household Registers from the Perspective of Tang Decrees), Part 1, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of the Toyo bunko), Vol. 52, No. 1, 1969, pp. 124–125, n. 24.

8 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中國古代籍帳研究 (Ancient Chinese Household Registers) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1979), p. 250, No. 38.

9 Albert von Le Coq, "A Short Account of the Origin, Journey and Results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) Expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkestan", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 1909, pp. 299–322.

> can drink from the Milky Way. Jagged cliffs and mountains above; sparse shrubs and fallow fields below, smoke rises from nearby chimneys obscuring the stars and moon. Look up to see the precipitous peaks far and high, look down to hear the faint murmur of the slow brook. Truly it is a perfect place for secluded living; undoubtedly an exceptional land for resting one's soul. It has a visitor's quota, but monks and their followers can reside here.[10]

According to the investigations of Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940), the *Xizhou tujing* is a description of Xizhou between the end of the Qianyuan 乾元 reign period (758–760) and the fall of the Xizhou kingdom into the hands of the Tibetans in the Zhenyuan reign period (785–805), i.e. between 760 and 791.[11] It is worth noting that there was a meditation cloister in the Dinggu cave monastery. Clearly it was an important part of the monastery, hence its mention in this text. Those who have been to the Toyuq caves are aware that it is an ideal place for Chan meditation, thus it is not surprising that an early Chan text would be found there.

It is also worth pointing out the colophon to another Dunhuang manuscript of the *Jueguan lun* (P.2732):

> (in red ink) On the 8th day of the 2nd month of summer in the *jiaxu* year, the 10th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (794) of the Great Tang, the monk Huaisheng 懷生 from Tibetan-occupied Xizhou, who [now] dwells south of the Daning Monastery 大寧寺 in Ganzhou 甘州, re-edited [this text].
>
> (in black ink) *Ācārya* Azhicheng 阿志澄闍梨 took one volume and completed editing it.[12]

10 Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉, *Dunhuang shishi yishu* 敦煌石室遺書 (Lost Manuscripts from the Dunhuang Cave) (Suzhou: Songfenshi, 1909), p. 3r.

11 Luo Zhenyu, *Dunhuang shishi yishu*, p. 6r.

12 Since neither the images already published nor the microfilms are very clear, here we use Sui Limei 隋麗玫 [Marie-Rose Séguy], "Bali guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang xieben tiji fennian chulu" 巴黎國家圖書館藏敦煌寫本題記分年初錄 (Preliminary Inventory by Date of the Colophons of the Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學 (Dunhuang Studies), Vol. 1, 1974, p. 44; Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, *Tonkō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 (The Study of Dunhuang Buddhism) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), p. 405.

Huaisheng was a monk from Xizhou who was captured by the Tibetans. After he was taken to Ganzhou, he re-edited the *Jueguan lun*. It is not known whether he brought the copy with him from Xizhou, or copied it in Ganzhou. Because this is not certain, we take it as a reference to the transmission of the *Jueguan lun* to Xizhou.

2.1.2 *Lidai fabaoji*

In the same article, Nishiwaki introduced yet another fragment from the German Turfan collection. This was a fragment of the *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages) (Fig. 14.2), whose current pressmark is Ch 3934r, but there is no original site number. It is written on the back of an unidentified Buddhist text, of which only three lines survive. Nishiwaki compared it to the edition of the text in the Taishō Tripitaka, and to the transcription in Vol. II of Yanagida Seizan's *Shoki no zenshi* 初期の禪史 (History of Early Chan Buddhism), and found them almost the same.[13]

To date, twelve manuscripts of the *Lidai fabaoji* have been discovered among the Dunhuang documents. These are S.516, S.1611, S.1776V, S.5916, S.11014 (of which only the title survives), P.2125, P.3717, P.3727, Φ.261, Jinyi 103V and Jinyi 304V, and one in the Sekisuiken bunko collection of Ishii Mitsuo 石井光雄. Most of them are rather long manuscripts.[14] By contrast, Ch 3934 is a small fragment which seems to have been dug out of the ground at Turfan. Given the itinerary of the four German expeditions to Turfan, if it was not unearthed at Turfan, it may have been discovered further west in Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), and this would be even more helpful to our discussion. However, for the time being, it is best to place them among the Turfan excavated finds since most of the Chinese manuscripts obtained by the German expeditions to Turfan were found there.

13 Xixie Changji [Nishiwaki Tsuneki], "Guanyu Bolin suo cang Tulufan shoujipin de Chanji ziliao", pp. 138–139.

14 Concerning these manuscripts, see my articles, "Dunhuang ben Chanzong dengshi canjuan shiyi" 敦煌本禪宗燈史殘卷拾遺 (A Fragment of a Scroll of a Chan Lamp History Found in Dunhuang), in *Zhou Shaoliang xiansheng xinkai jiuzhi qingshou wenji* 周紹良先生欣開九秩慶壽文集 (Papers in Celebration of Zhou Shaoliang's 80th Birthday) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), and "Youguan Dunhuang ben *Lidai fabaoji* de xin ziliao: Jicuixuan wenku jiucang 'lüechu ben' jiaolu" 有關敦煌本《歷代法寶記》的新資料–積翠軒文庫舊藏"略出本"校錄 (New Material about the Dunhuang Manuscripts of the *Lidai fabaoji*, Transcription of the 'Abridged Version' from the Sekisuiken Bunko Collection), *Jiechuang foxue* 戒幢佛學 (Jieh Chuang Buddhist Studies), No. 2, Zhong-Ri Dunhuang fojiao xueshu huiyi zhuanji 中日敦煌佛教學術會議專輯 (Special Issue of the Sino-Japanese Academic Conference on Buddhism in Dunhuang), 2002, pp. 94–105.

The *Lidai fabaoji* records a Chan lamp history of the Baotang school 保唐宗 (Jingzhong school 淨眾宗) in the Jiannan 劍南 region. It was probably written not long after the monk Wuzhu 無住 passed away at the Baotang Monastery 保唐寺 on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the 9th year of the Dali 大曆 reign period (774). It is a rather long text. The transmission of the manuscript to the Turfan region must have occurred late in the period of Tang rule over this territory or even under Uighur rule.

2.1.3 *Fawang jing* (Sogdian Translation)

Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊 identified the documents obtained in Turfan by the Ōtani expedition (Ot.2326, Ot.2922 and Ot.2437), as Sogdian translations of a Chan apocryphal sutra called the *Fawang jing* 法王經 (Sutra of the Dharma King). The three fragments were originally part of a single manuscript. After they were assembled, they formed thirteen lines of text. Yoshida compared them to six Chinese and two Tibetan manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang, and provided a romanised version and a Japanese translation, aligned with the Chinese original.[15]

The *Fawang jing* is an apocryphal text edited by Chinese monks in approximately 664–695. It was influenced by the Huayan 華嚴 and Northern Chan schools.[16] Yoshida later also identified the Sogdian manuscript obtained by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in Dunhuang (Pelliot sogdien 23) as another translation of the *Fawang jing*.[17] Therefore, we cannot tell where the Sogdian translators were when they translated the *Fawang jing* texts excavated in Turfan. However, there were quite a few Sogdians in Turfan during the Tang period, and some

15 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, "Ōtani tankentai shōrai chūsei Iran-go monjo kanken" 大谷探險隊將來中世イラン語文書管見 (A Report on Some Middle Iranian Fragments in Sogdian from the Ōtani Collection), *Oriento* オリエント (Bulletin of the Japanese Society for Near Eastern Studies), Vol. 28, No. 1, 1985, pp. 50–54. See also, Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義 et al., eds., *Iran-go danpen shūsei: Kaisetsu hen* イラン語斷片集成・解說編 (Collection of Iranian Fragments: Commentary), *Ryūkoku daigaku zenpon sōsho* 龍谷大學善本叢書 (Rare Books at Ryukoku University Series), 17 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1997), pp. 72–73; and Kudara Kōgi et al., eds., *Iran-go danpen shūsei: Zuhan hen* 圖版編 (Plates), p. 15.

16 Okabe Kazuo 岡部和雄, "Gigi kyōten" 疑偽經典 (Apocryphal Texts), in Shinohara Hisao and Tanaka Ryōshō, eds., *Tonkō butten to Zen* (The Dunhuang Buddhist Texts and Chan) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), pp. 362–365.

17 Yoshida Yutaka, "Sogudo-go butten kaissetsu" ソグド語仏典解説 (Explanation of Buddhist Texts in Sogdian), *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 (Research on the Languages of Inner Asia) Vol. VII, 1991, p. 111.

were pious Buddhists.[18] Thus it is conceivable that there were some Chan believers among them.

2.1.4 *Jingang wuli*

Yoshida also determined that the fragments Mainz 160 and Mainz 624 obtained by the German Turfan expedition used the Sogdian script to transliterate the Chan document *Jingang wuli* 金剛五禮 (Five Rituals of the Diamond Sutra), which had a total of nine lines of writing.[19] Its original site number was T I D, showing that it was obtained during the first German expedition to Turfan at the ruins of Gaochang. Yoshida compared twelve Chinese texts of the *Jingang wuli* found in Dunhuang, transcribing them and checking them against each other. Moreover, based on the phonetic characteristics of the north-western dialect of Chinese, he postulated that they were completed in the 10th century (most likely in the latter half).[20]

2.2 *The Beiting Region*

Located in the northern part of the Tianshan mountains, Beiting (which was north of today's Jimsar county in Xinjiang) was under the control of the Western Turkic Qaghanate during the Sui and early Tang periods. It was also known as "the city of the Qaghan's stūpa". In the 14th year of the Zhenguan reign period (640) the Tang destroyed the Gaochang kingdom. The Turkic ruler Yabghu Qaghan from north of the Tianshan mountains, who supported the Qu family of the kingdom of Gaochang, then surrendered Beiting to the Tang, and the prefecture of Tingzhou 庭州 was established there. In the 2nd year of the Chang'an reign period (702), the Tang created the Beiting Protectorate 北庭都護府, which, like the Anxi Protectorate 安西都護府 in Kucha, occupied a strategic position, becoming one of the Tang's strongest military garrisons in

18 See my articles, "Beichao, Sui, Tang Suteren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落 (Study of the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), and "Huren dui Wu Zhou zhengquan zhi taidu: Tulufan chutu 'Wu Zhou Kang Jushi xiejing gongde jibei' jiaokao" 胡人對武周政權之態度 – 吐魯番出土《武周康居士寫經功德記碑》校考 (The Attitude of Hu People toward the Reign of Empress Wu: A Study of the Stele Inscription Excavated in Turfan Known as 'Merit Inscription for Copying Scriptures by Kang Jushi in Empress Wu's Zhou Dynasty'), in my *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 44–48 and 204–221.

19 Yoshida Yutaka, "Sogudo-go zatsuroku" ソグド語雜錄 (Sogdian Miscellany), Part 3, *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū*, Vol. v, 1989, p. 99.

20 Yoshida Yutaka, "Sogudo moji de hyōki sareta kanji-on" ソグド文字で表記された漢字音 (The Pronunciation of Chinese Characters Represented in the Sogdian Script), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), No. 66, 1994, pp. 367–358, and 34–32.

the Western Regions. In the 6th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (790), the Beiting Protectorate was temporarily occupied by the Tibetans, and not long after that, fell into the hands of the Uighurs. Like Turfan, it ultimately became part of the Xizhou Uighur kingdom.

Although no manuscripts related to Chan Buddhism have been found in the ancient site of Beiting, the original copy of the *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Shenhui) in the Sekisuiken bunko collection of Ishii Mitsuo was copied and edited in Beiting. The beginning of this manuscript is missing, but most of the content is complete. The colophons at the end, shown in Fig. 14.3, read as follows:

> In the 8th year of the Tang Zhenyuan reign period (792), a *wei* 未 year, the monk Baozhen 寶珍 and the administrator 判官 Zhao Xiulin 趙秀琳, in Beiting, received the order from Censor Zhang 張大夫 to edit this text. It was completed in the winter of this year, on the 22nd day of the 10th month.
>
> Recorded by the bhikṣu on the 23rd day of the 10th month of the *guisi* year (813) of the Tang.[21]

From these two colophons it seems that this copy of the *Shenhui yulu* was a Beiting manuscript copied and edited by the monk Baozhen and the administrator Zhao Xiulin, who received orders to do so. The copy was made in the 8th year of the Zhenyuan reign period, and probably some time after that it was taken to Dunhuang. Because it was unearthed in Dunhuang, it was called a Dunhuang copy, but actually it should have been called a Beiting copy.

These two colophons also include some even more important information. The "Dezong ji" 德宗紀 (Annals of Emperor Dezong), part 2, in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old History of the Tang), says:

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21 For an illustration, see Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬, ed., *Ishii Sekisuiken bunko zenpon shomoku* 石井積翠軒文庫善本書目 (Catalogue of Rare Books in the Sekisuiken Bunko Collection) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 1981), Fig. 26; Ishii Mitsuo 石井光雄, ed., *Tonkō shutsudo* Jinne-roku 燉煌出土神會錄 (The *Recorded Sayings of Shenhui* Excavated at Dunhuang) (Tokyo: Ishii Mitsuo Sekisuiken bunko, 1932), pp. 64–65. For a transcription of the text, see Suzuki Teitarō 鈴木貞太郎 and Kōda Rentarō 公田連太郎, eds., *Tonkō shutsudo Kataku Jinne Zenji goroku* 燉煌出土荷澤神會禪師語録 (The Dunhuang Text of the Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Heze Shenhui) (Tokyo: Morie shoten, 1934), pp. 67–68; Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中國古代寫本識語集録 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō Bunka kenkyūjo, 1990), p. 315, No. 923. Ikeda correctly pointed out that the character *wei* 未 should be the character *shen* 申.

> In this year (the 6th year of the Zhenyuan reign period, 790), the Tibetans captured our Beiting Protectorate, and Military Commissioner 節度使 Yang Xigu 楊襲古 (d. 789) fled to Xizhou. The Uighur chief minister Xieyujiasi 頡于迦斯 (Il Ügäsi, fl. 789–791) tricked Xigu by offering to combine forces with him to retake Beiting, and then killing him. Anxi was thus cut off; only Xizhou was still securely guarded.

Most scholars think that Yang Xigu was the last military commissioner of Beiting.[22] However, the Censor Zhang mentioned here must have been the same Zhang who concurrently served as both censor-in-chief 御史大夫 and deputy military commissioner 節度留後 or military commissioner 節度使 [mentioned in Chapter 3 above]. We know that Tang rule was fully restored in Beiting in the 6th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (790), and even as late as the *guisi* year (813), when the colophon was composed, the monk who wrote it still spoke of being under Tang rule. Whether he said this by custom or by fact, we do not know. What is certain is that the order for the *Shenhui yulu* to be edited and copied came from the highest military official in Beiting. At the beginning of the manuscript there is a line saying, "The first part of this text is missing. Later it is hoped that an erudite monk will find the original and fill it in". This shows that at this early date it was already impossible to find a complete copy of the *Shenhui lu*, and that the person who edited it hoped the missing part would later be restored.

2.3 *Khotan*

Khotan (Yutian 于闐) had been an important state in the Western Regions ever since the Han dynasty. In the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (658), the Tang dynasty replaced the Western Turks as the sovereign power over the various kingdoms in the Western Regions. The kingdom of Khotan also came under Tang rule. The Tang established a military garrison at Khotan, making it one of the Four Garrisons of Anxi. After the 2nd year of the Changshou reign period (693), it expanded from a garrison 鎮 to a circuit 軍. Either the Anxi vice area commander 安西副都護 or the deputy military commissioner 節度副使 often resided in Khotan because of its strategic location.[23] After the

22 For example, Meng Fanren 孟凡人, *Beiting shidi yanjiu* 北庭史地研究 (A Study of the Historical Geography of Beiting) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 92; Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Tang cishi kao quanbian* 唐刺史考全編 (Complete Study of Tang Prefects), No. 1 (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2010), p. 536.

23 See my "Yutian zai Tangchao Anxi sizhen zhong de diwei" 于闐在唐朝安西四鎮中的地位 (Khotan's Role in the Four Garrisons of Anxi during the Tang), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 3, 1992, pp. 56–64.

An Lushan rebellion, the Tibetans advanced from the Hexi 河西 area into the Western Regions, and finally occupied Khotan in the 17th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (801).[24] The kingdom of Khotan thus became a dependency of the Tibetan empire. After the disintegration of this empire in approximately the middle of the 9th century, Khotan again became a strong, independent state of the Western Regions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) excavated numerous ancient sites in the Khotan region, obtaining many Khotanese, Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts. Among them, he excavated the fragment M.T.b.001 (Fig. 14.4) in the Buddhist monastery ruins at the Mazar Tagh site, north of Khotan on the western shore of the Khotan river. Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) published this text, interpreting it as a Buddhist sutra.[25] The manuscript is missing both top and bottom portions; all that is left are eight fragmentary lines of writing. Paul Demiéville, with his unique insight, identified this as a fragment from the *Shenhui yulu*. He also provided a line-by-line comparison with Hu Shi's 胡適 (1891–1962) *Shenhui heshang yiji* 神會和尚遺集 (The Legacy of Shenhui), the Ishii edition of the *Shenhui lu* edited by Suzuki Teitarō 鈴木貞太郎 (1870–1966) et al., and S.6557.[26] From the perspective of Khotan's history, this manuscript must have either been brought from Central China to Khotan in the second half of the 8th century or copied in Khotan.

3 The Origin of Chan Texts in the Western Regions

The above Chan Buddhist texts from Gaochang, Beiting and Khotan, were for the most part copied after the An Lushan rebellion. After the rebellion, the

24 See Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Ba shiji xiaban zhi jiu shiji chu de Yutian" 八世紀下半至九世紀初的于闐 (Khotan in the Second Half of the 8th Century and the Beginning of the 9th), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 3, 1997, pp. 339–361.

25 Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913), p. 203, No. 958, pl. XXXII.

26 Paul Demiéville, "Deux documents de Touen-houang sur le Dhyana chinois", in Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinenkai 塚本博士頌壽記念會, ed., *Bukkyō shigaku ronshū: Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen* 佛教史學論集: 塚本博士頌壽記念 (Essays on the History of Buddhism Presented to Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto) (Kyoto: Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinenkai, 1961), p. 6; Paul Demiéville, "Pōru Domieuiru zengaku ronshū" ポール・ドミエヴィル禪學論集 (Paul Demiéville's Essays on Chan Buddhism), trans. by Lin Xinming 林信明, *Hanazono daigaku kokusai zengaku kenkyūjo hōkoku* 花園大學國際禪學研究所報告 (Reports of the International Research Institute for Zen Studies at Hanazono University), Vol. 1, 1988, p. 113. (I would like to thank Kinugawa Kenji 衣川賢次 for pointing out this translation to me.)

Tibetans took advantage of the power vacuum and invaded the region, advancing and attacking step-by-step from east to west. They first occupied Longyou 隴右, and then followed the Hexi corridor, heading west. In 764 they occupied Liangzhou 涼州, in 766 Ganzhou and Suzhou 肅州, in 776 Guazhou 瓜州, in 781 Yizhou 伊州, in 786 Shazhou, in 792 Xizhou and in 790 Beiting. After this, the Tibetans had a firm grip on the Hexi region. They were in the southern part of the Western Regions, opposite the Uighurs in the north, with the Tarim basin as the boundary between them. Against this background, where did the Chan texts in the Western Regions come from?

One possibility is that, because the Tibetans also believed in Buddhism, they did not prevent Buddhist believers from travelling back and forth, and for this reason Tang monks could take their Chan texts from Central China to the Western Regions. A rather late example was the text of the *Lidai fabaoji*. Moreover, when the Tibetans and the Tang negotiated treaties, as in the 2nd year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign period (781), the Tibetans permitted Tang envoys to go to Anxi and Beiting, and these envoys may have brought Chan texts to the Western Regions.

Another possibility is that in Dunhuang and the other parts of Hexi under the period of Tibetan rule, Chan texts were very popular and circulated widely. They may have also circulated within other regions ruled by the Tibetans, such as Khotan.

The above-mentioned Chan texts in the Western Regions were small in number. Thus it is difficult to speak generally about which school of Chan or which text was more popular than the others. We can confirm, however, that among this small number of manuscripts that are already known, there were two copies of the *Shenhui yulu*, and perhaps this was not accidental. We know that after the An Lushan rebellion broke out, the main force of the Tang sent to counter the rebels was the Northern Army, commanded by Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697–781). However, the army was not adequately funded, therefore the government sold official ranks and also raised money by asking monks to lecture and by selling ordination certificates to the public. The biography of Shenhui in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period) says the following:

> Vice Marshal 副元帥 Guo Ziyi commanded troops to suppress the rebellion. However, they were low on supplies, so he used a strategy proposed by the Vice Director of the Right 右僕射 Pei Mian 裴冕 (d. 770). In all superior prefectures an ordination altar was set up for the ordination of monks. Each monk paid a string of cash, called "money for incense and water" 香水錢. The government collected it to help the army with necessities. In the beginning, when Luoyang fell, Shenhui fled to the

> wilderness. At that time [the defender of Luoyang] Lu Yi 盧奕 (d. 755) was killed by the rebels. By popular demand, Shenhui was invited to take charge of the ordination. At that time all the Buddhist and Daoist monasteries and temples had been burnt down, so they built a temporary temple, with everyone contributing grass to make a thatched roof, and a rectangular altar set up within it. All the funds they raised were immediately given to the army. When Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779) and Guo Ziyi restored the two capitals, Shenhui made great efforts to help. Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) invited Shenhui to the court so that he could venerate him, and ordered the best artisans and craftsmen to build a Chan hall in the Heze Monastery 荷澤寺. Shenhui gave sermons extolling the teaching of the Chan patriarch Huineng 惠能, and Shenxiu's school fell out of favour.[27]

Shenhui thus contributed to the recapture of the two capitals by the Northern Army. On the one hand, this allowed the Southern School of Chan, which he promoted, to spread and prosper in the two capitals. On the other, he established close relations with the Northern Army, and some of the officers and soldiers became his followers. The stūpa inscription for the Seventh Patriarch 第七祖 and State Preceptor 國師大德 Shenhui from 765, excavated at Longmen 龍門 in Luoyang says:

> There were also the patrons and meritorious officials Gao Fucheng 高輔成 and Zhao Lingzhen 趙令珍, who reported to the throne that the monastery ordained monks, in accordance with their former wishes.[28]

According to previous research, Gao Fucheng was a military commander in the service of Pugu Huai'en 僕固懷恩 (d. 765) in the Beiting Northern Army. Later, because he helped to pacify the region north of the Yellow river (Heshuo 河朔), he was promoted to the position of junior mentor of the heir apparent 太子少傅, as well as palace aide to the censor-in-chief 御史中丞. He also filled the position of marshal of Hebei 河北副元帥, and supreme commander

27 Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, *juan* 8, p. 180.

28 Luoyang shi wenwu gongzuodui 洛陽市文物工作隊, "Luoyang Tang Shenhui heshang shenta taji qingli jianbao" 洛陽唐神會和尚身塔塔基清理簡報 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Foundations of the Stupa for the Tang Monk Shenhui in Luoyang), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 3, 1992, p. 67, and p. 66, Fig. 7.

都知兵馬使,[29] thus we know that he was an important general in the Northern Army under Guo Ziyi's command. He was also a disciple of Shenhui.

In Dunhuang manuscript P.2942, which is a collection of judgements by the Hexi military commissioner in one year (approximately 765), the last item is a letter from Zhou Yi 周逸 (d. 784) to "the rebel Pugu Huai'en".[30] When Pugu Huai'en turned to rebellion, Zhou Yi was deputy 留後 to the military commissioner of the Yi 伊, Xi 西 and Ting 庭 prefectures; he was the official in charge of military affairs in the Western Regions. He corresponded by letter with Northern Army leaders, thus revealing the connections between the Northern Army and the Western Regions. Through such channels, the Chan texts of Shenhui's line, especially the *Shenhui yulu*, may have spread from the Northern Army to the Western Regions. Beiting Military Commissioner and concurrently Censor Zhang, although very busy with running military affairs, still did not forget to ask the monk and one of his administrators to edit the *Shenhui yulu*, which shows the importance of Shenhui's works among the armies in the Western Regions.

4 Further Remarks

The survival of Chan manuscripts in the Western Regions makes us realise that when the Tang forces were declining and withdrawing from this area, Chan teachings were just beginning to circulate there. Local Chinese monks must first have made copies of Chinese-language scriptures; then later on, high ranking military officials participated in the editing of recorded sayings of Chan masters. Afterward, local Hu 胡 people also translated Chinese apocryphal texts into their own languages.

However, we do not yet have evidence of how great or how widespread the influence of Chan Buddhism was in the Western Regions. There are three excavated non-Chinese texts from Dunhuang and other places that are worth examining in this respect.

One is the Sogdian translation of the *Fo wei Xinwang pusa shuo toutuo jing* 佛為心王菩薩說頭陀經 (The Buddha Recites the Sutra on Ascetic Practices to

29 "Pugu Huai'en zhuan" 僕固懷恩傳 (Biography of Pugu Huai'en), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 121, p. 3482. See Wu Qiyu 吳其昱, "Heze Shenhui zhuan yanjiu" 荷澤神會傳研究 (A Study of the Biography of Shenhui of Heze), *Shiyusuo jikan* 史語所集刊 (Journal of the Institute of History and Philology), Vol. 59, No. 4, 1988, p. 904; Ogawa Takashi 小川隆, "Kataku Jinne no hito to shisō" 荷澤神會の人と思想 (The Personality and Thought of Shenhui of Heze), *Zengaku kenkyū* 禪學研究 (Zen Studies), No. 69, 1991, p. 40.

30 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū*, p. 497.

the Bodhisattva Mind-King). This is an important apocryphal text of the Chan school. In 1931, Hans Reichelt published Dunhuang manuscript Or.8212(160) from the collection of the British Library, a fragment of a Buddhist scroll in Sogdian.[31] Demiéville argued it was the missing part from the end of the Chinese *Toutuo jing* 頭陀經 (Sutra on Ascetic Practices),[32] but this identification could not be confirmed. In recent years, Fang Guangchang 方廣錩 took manuscript Xin 新 1569 from the Beijing Library as a base text and compared it to S.2474, P.2052, the Mitsui bunko copy, and the Tianjin Art Museum copy, and provided a full Chinese version of the text.[33] The publication of the complete Chinese text allowed for a comparison with the Sogdian text and proved that Demiéville's speculation was not mistaken.[34] This exquisite Sogdian manuscript shows that the Sogdians had already accepted certain Chan teachings. Although this manuscript was discovered in Dunhuang, the Sogdians could have brought this Chan text (as well as other ones) to the Western Regions while engaged in their commercial activities.

The second one is the Khotanese transliteration of "Liangchao Fu dashi song Jingang jing xu" 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經序 (Preface to the Verses on the Diamond Sutra by Master Fu of the Liang Dynasty). This is a scroll that is joined together from two manuscripts: fragment P.5597 from the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and manuscript Ch 00120 from the India Office Library in London. There are a total of 94 lines written in Khotanese in Brāhmī script. After many years of research, it has been determined that the first 23 lines are the "Liangchao Fu dashi song Jingang jing xu", and the text after line 24, is from Kumārajīva's (344–413) translation of the *Jingang bore boluomi jing*

31 Hans Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, Vol. I (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928), pp. 15–32. For a new edition, see David N. MacKenzie, *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

32 Paul Demiéville, *apud* Émile Benveniste, "Notes sur le fragment sogdien du *Buddhadhyānasamādhi-sāgarasūtra*", *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 223, 1933, p. 240.

33 Published in Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, ed., *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 (Buddhist Texts Outside the Canon), No. 1 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995), pp. 251–328.

34 Yutaka Yoshida, "The Sogdian Dhuta Text and its Chinese Original", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, No. 10, 1996, pp. 167–173. Yanagida Seizan has noticed the significance for Chan studies of the discovery of this complete Chinese text and the identification of this Sogdian text. See his "Zen bukkyō no kenkyū: Yanagida Seizan shū" 禪佛教の研究·柳田聖山集 (Studies of Zen Buddhism: Collection of Yanagida Seizan's Writings), Vol. 1, *Chosha kaidai* 著者解題 (Authors) (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1999), pp. 687–699.

金剛般若波羅蜜經 (Diamond Sutra).[35] Transliteration was a method used for learning Chinese Buddhist texts, thus at the very least we can see that people in Khotan were definitely not strangers to this type of Chan text.

The third one is a Uighur translation of the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (Sutra of Complete Enlightenment). Kudara Kōgi 百濟康義 identified a printed fragment in Uighur obtained by the Ōtani expedition from an unknown site, and also a four-page manuscript of an annotated *Yuanjue jing* in Uighur acquired in Dunhuang by Sven Hedin's (1865–1952) expedition.[36] Later, Peter Zieme also published six Uighur manuscripts of *Yuanjue jing* from Turfan, showing that this Chan text was popular in the Uighur kingdom at the time – the dates of the texts were all rather late, from the 11th century onward.[37] Even more importantly, among the Uighur manuscripts Or.8212(108) from Dunhuang kept in London, there is also an abridged version of the *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on Observing the Mind) by Shenxiu of the Northern School.[38] The date of this manuscript can be confirmed as the Yuan dynasty. In addition, a Uighur manuscript of the "Liangchao Fu dashi song Jingang jing xu", also related to Chan, was discovered in Turfan.[39] Most of these Uighur translations from Turfan and Dunhuang date from the Xizhou Uighur Kingdom to the 11th century or later. Some are as late as the 13th century. Although this period is beyond the

35 Frederick William Thomas, "A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, No. 91, 1937, pp. 1–48; Harold W. Bailey, "Vajra-prajñā-pāramitā", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, No. 92, 1938, pp. 579–593; Walter Simon, "A Note on Chinese Texts in Tibetan Transcription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXI, No. 1/3, 1958, p. 335, n. 3; Takata Tokio 高田時雄, *Tonkō shiryō ni yoru Chūgokugo shi no kenkyū* 敦煌資料による中国語史の研究 (The History of Chinese Language based on Dunhuang Sources) (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988), pp. 38–40.

36 Kudara Kōgi, "Uiguru-yaku *Engaku-kyō* to sono chūshaku" ウイグル譯《圓覺經》とその注釋 (The Uighur *Yuanjue jing* and its Commentary), *Ryūkoku kiyō* 龍谷紀要 (Ryukoku Bulletin), Vol. 14, No. 1, 1992, pp. 1–23.

37 Peter Zieme, "The 'Sutra of Complete Enlightenment' in Old Turkish Buddhism", in Erik Zürcher, Lore Sander et al., *Collection of Essays 1993. Buddhism Across Boundaries: Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions* (Taibei: Foguang Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd., 1999), pp. 449–483.

38 Zieme, "The 'Sutra of Complete Enlightenment' in Old Turkish Buddhism", pp. 470–474.

39 Georg Hazai and Peter Zieme, *Fragmente der uigurischen Version des "Jin'gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu"*, nebst einem Anhang von T. Inokuchi (Berliner Turfantexte I), Akademie Verlag Berlin (Turnhout: Brepols Academic Publishers, 1971); Peter Zieme, "Probleme alttürkischer Vajracchedikā-Übersetzungen", in Alfredo Cadonna, ed., *Turfan and Tun-huang. The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route* (Firenze: De Gruyter, 1992), pp. 21–42.

scope of this discussion, they can be seen as indirect evidence of the depth and breadth of the influence of Chan in the Western Regions.

In sum, after the mid-Tang, the Chan School of Central China became widely popular and influential. Although Tang political power gradually withdrew from the Western Regions, Chan texts and thought spread widely and freely in this area, and had a far-reaching impact.

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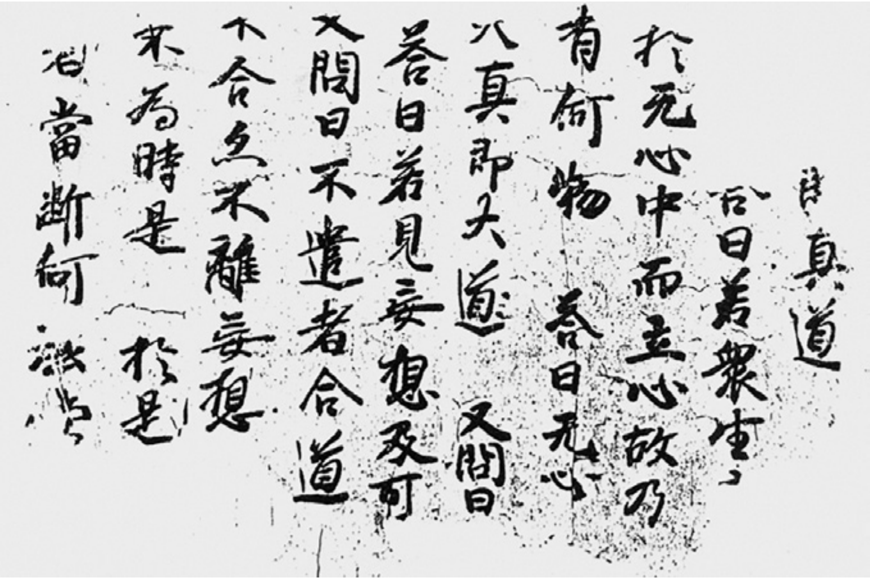
真道
答曰若衆生
於无心中而立心故乃
有何物　答曰无心
入真即大道　又問曰
答曰若見妄想及可
又問曰不遣者合道
不合亦不離妄想
不爲時是　於是
[illegible]當斷何　識心

FIGURE 14.1 The *Jueguan lun* excavated at Turfan

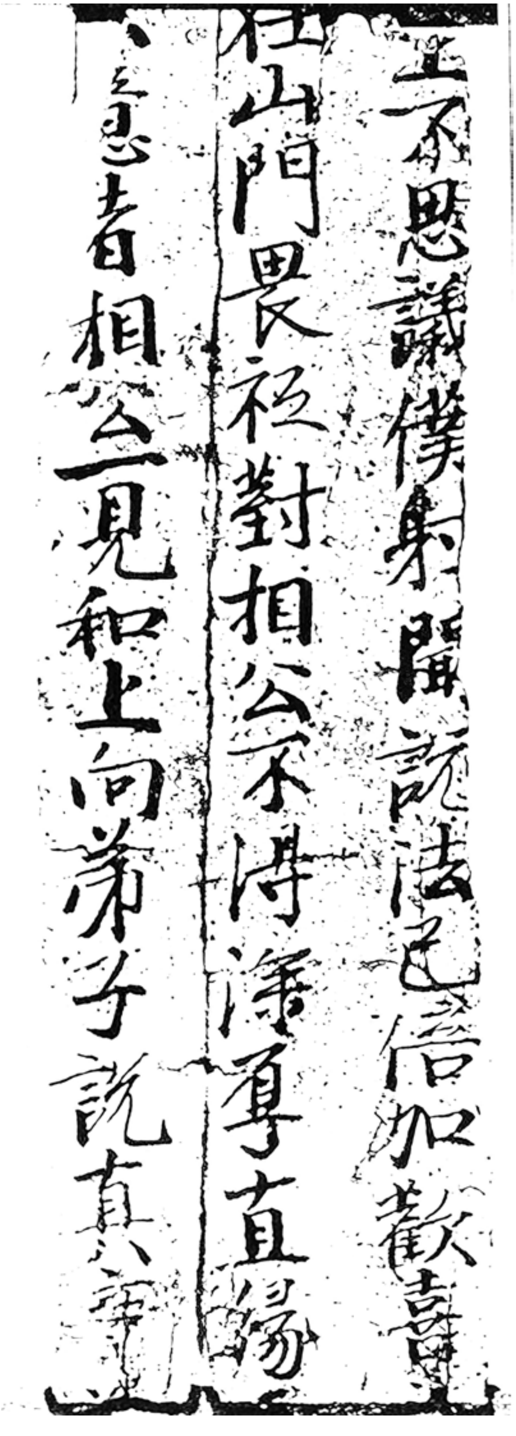

FIGURE 14.2
The *Lidai fabaoji* excavated at Turfan

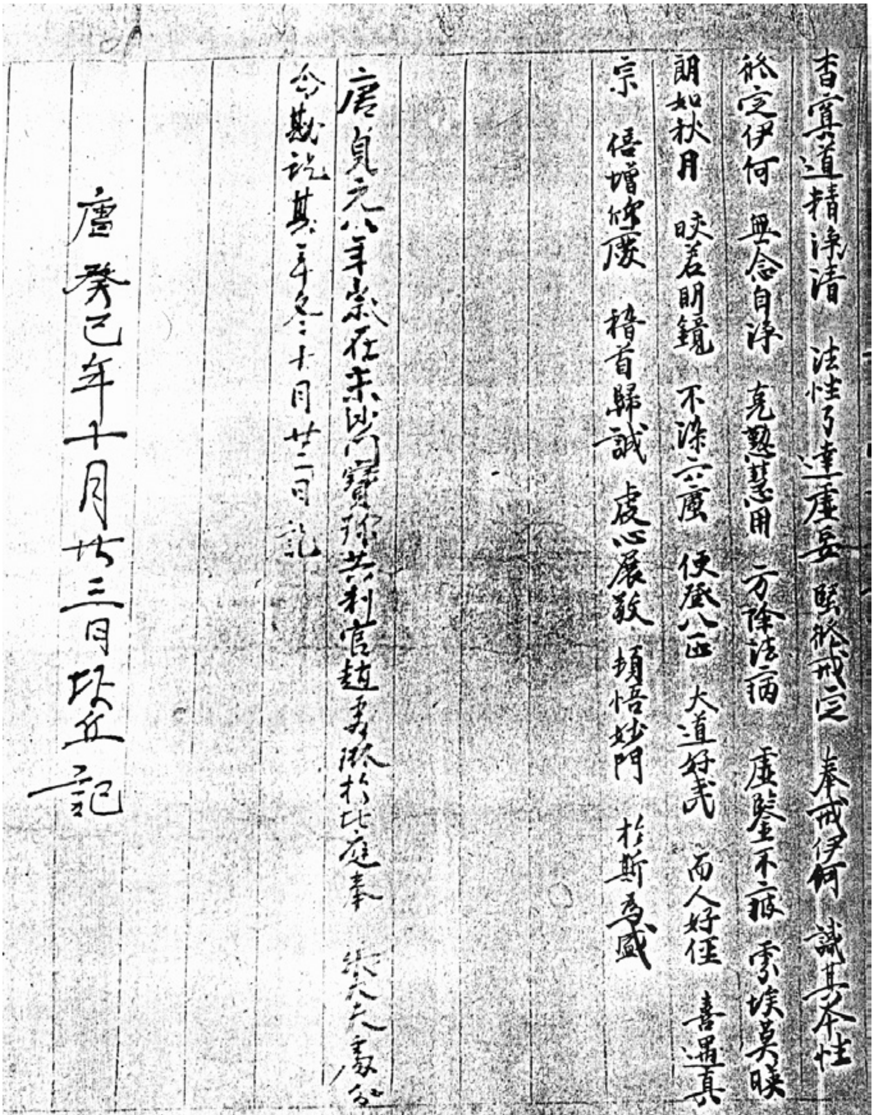
杳冥道精淨清 法性了達虛妄 既於戒定 奉戒伊何 識其本性
於定伊何 無念自淨 亮懃慧用 方除法病 虛鑒不寐 雲埃莫昧
朗如秋月 皎若明鏡 不染六塵 便登八正 大道好哉 而人好徑 喜遇真
宗 悟增修慶 稽首歸誠 虛心展敬 頓悟妙門 於斯爲盛
唐貞元八年歲在未沙門寶珍共判官趙秀琳於北庭奉 張大夫處分
令勘記 其年冬十月廿二日記
唐癸巳年十月廿三日比丘記

FIGURE 14.3 The colophon of the Dunhuang copy of *Shenhui yulu* in the Ishii Mitsuo Sekisuiken bunko collection

FIGURE 14.4 Fragment of the *Shenhui yulu* excavated at Mazar Tagh near Khotan

CHAPTER 15

The “Lanting xu” in the Western Regions

Translated by James Kunling He 何坤靈

Feng Qiyong 馮其庸, also called Kuantang 寬堂, is not only proficient in calligraphy, but also an advocate of the study of the Western Regions 西域. The School of Chinese Classics at Renmin University promotes the study of Chinese culture, and has also established the Research Institute for the Study of History and Linguistics in the Western Regions. Today, on the occasion of Feng’s 88th birthday, and also the 5th anniversary of the founding of the School of Chinese Classics, this short article is a way to express my sincere congratulations.

In the past, I have discussed Central China’s cultural influence on the kingdom of Khotan (Yutian 于闐) from various perspectives, such as political structure, administration, official documents, weights and measures, and the sinicisation of Buddhism; and I have also discussed the dissemination of traditional Chinese culture based on the locally excavated copies of texts such as *Shangshu Kong shi zhuan* 尚書孔氏傳 (The Kong Commentary to the Book of Documents) and *Liuzi xinlun* 劉子新論 (New Essays of Master Liu).[1] Here, by focusing on the recently discovered copies of Wang Xizhi’s 王羲之 (ca. 303–361) “Lanting xu” 蘭亭序 (Preface to the Orchid Pavilion) made in the Khotan region during the Tang dynasty, I shall elaborate further on the influence of the culture of Central China on the Western Regions.

1 Copies of the “Lanting xu” Excavated in Khotan

In 2002, I co-authored a paper with my teacher Zhang Guangda 張廣達 on the Chinese documents excavated in Khotan and held in St. Petersburg. From the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts in Russian collections, whose pressmarks begin with Дх, we identified groups of Tang-dynasty documents in Chinese that were excavated in Khotan. These were numbers Дх.18915–Дх.18931 and

* I would like to thank Wei Jian 魏堅, Meng Xianshi 孟憲實, Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒 and Shi Rui 史睿 for their assistance and corrections in the preparation of this article.

1 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, “Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti” 關於唐宋時期中原文化對于闐影響的幾個問題 (Some Questions Concerning Chinese Cultural Influences on Khotan in the Tang and Song Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 1, 1993, pp. 401–424.

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Дх.18937–Дх.18942. Based on their content, the items in these two groups, i.e. documents Дх.18932–Дх.18936, can be identified as Dunhuang manuscripts.[2] Numbered consecutively after the Khotan documents, Дх.18943–1 is a copy of the "Lanting xu", and Дх.18943–2 consists of three fragments, none of which has enough characters to form complete sentences. After Дх.18945, however, the items seem to be Dunhuang manuscripts again. The "Lanting xu" is written on wrinkled paper, quite similar to other documents excavated at Khotan and unlike the flat, smooth paper of Dunhuang manuscripts. Thus we have concluded that it was excavated at Khotan. However, since its content is not related to the previously published official and private documents from the Dali 大暦 (766–779), Jianzhong 建中 (780–783) or Zhenyuan 貞元 (785–805) reign periods, it did not fit within the scope of earlier discussions. Another reason is that at that time we had not grasped the possibility that an integral and representative masterpiece of traditional Chinese culture such as the "Lanting xu" could have been distributed as far away as Khotan.

With the support of Renmin University's officials, the museum, the Faculty of History and leaders of the School of Chinese Classics, and other specialists, as well as Feng Qiyong's vigorous encouragement, the Renmin University Museum obtained a set of documents excavated in Khotan from the donation of a collector at the end of 2009. Among them were classical texts and documents written in Chinese, Khotanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Sogdian, Chagatai and other languages. I was fortunate to participate in the work of sorting the Chinese documents. Our attention was first drawn to two fragments with the date "the 9th year of the Yonghe 永和 reign period" written on them. We know that Yonghe is a reign title of the Eastern Jin 東晉 dynasty (317–420). The Western Regions kingdom of Khotan in the mid-4th century could not have used a reign name belonging to the Eastern Jin, so far away to the southeast, to record dates. In addition, this semi-cursive style of writing was also highly unlikely to have been popular in Khotan at the time. We can see from the handwriting used in texts excavated at Turfan 吐魯番 and Loulan 樓蘭 from the Western Jin 西晉 dynasty (266–316) to the Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 period (304–439), that the style that was popular in Hexi 河西 and the

2 Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang, "Shengbidebao cang Hetian chutu Hanwen wenshu kaoshi" 聖彼得堡藏和田出土漢文文書考釋 (A Study of the Chinese Manuscripts from Khotan in St. Petersburg), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 6, 2002, pp. 221–241; reprinted in Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*) 于闐史叢考（增訂本）(Studies on the History of Khotan [enlarged edition]) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 267–288.

Western Regions still retained a strong flavour of the clerical script 隸書.[3] For this reason, these two fragments dated the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period (353), containing so few characters, must have been written by someone in the Tang period copying the "Lanting xu". This new discovery thus provides strong evidence that manuscript Дх.18943–1 in the Russian collection of Dunhuang manuscripts is a copy of the "Lanting xu" excavated in the Khotan region.

Let us first examine these three fragments of the "Lanting xu".

Дх.18943–1: Because I have not seen the original manuscript, I do not know its dimensions. Only the upper part of the right edge and the top edge of the beginning of the manuscript are intact, the other parts are all damaged. All that survive are five incomplete lines:[4] (Fig. 15.1)

1 永和 [
2 於會稽山陰 [
3 羣賢畢至 [
4 □ 山峻嶺 [
5 湍暎帶 [

1 In the Yonghe reign period …
2 In Shanyin, Kuaiji …
3 All the literati have arrived …
4 … mountains and steep peaks …
5 stream, reflecting …

The characters in this manuscript are written close to the edge of the paper, unlike in copies of classical texts, which have bigger margins at the top and bottom. It must have been a piece that survived from calligraphy practice. The space between the lines and the characters is equal and regular, which is probably the result of copying from a model. The writing in this copy of "Lanting xu" is commendable because the characters have considerable force, suggesting that the model was excellent, and that the person who wrote the copy was also quite competent.

The Renmin University Museum has in its collection item GXW0112, of which only the first six characters survive (Fig. 15.2a). These six characters give

3 See Liu Tao 劉濤, *Zhongguo shufa shi: Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao juan* 中國書法史·魏晉南北朝卷 (The History of Chinese Calligraphy: Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), pp. 118–140 and 365–389.

4 *E cang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections), Vol. 17 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxue bu, 2000–2001), p. 296B.

the date: "Yonghe jiu nian sui gui" 永和九年歲癸 (the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period, a *gui*[*chou*] year). It is not known why the copyist stopped writing. The characters in this fragment are also written close to the edge of the paper. Judging by the size of the characters and the length of the blank space, it shares the same format as other copies of the "Lanting xu", with thirteen characters in the first line. On the other side of this fragment is the end of a Tang official document (Fig. 15.2b), containing a signature and a verdict. This document may have been used as scrap paper for practicing the characters in the "Lanting xu", though the work was left unfinished. As for the calligraphy itself, it is far inferior to that in Дх.18943–1.

The Museum at Renmin University also has another document, GXW0017, in its collection, which must also be a fragment of writing practice. The first two lines repeat the character *jing* 經, and the last line contains the date, the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period, which must also be from "Lanting xu". Unfortunately, the rest of the text is missing. Shi Rui 史睿 reminded us that another fragment of writing practice from the "Lanting xu" (BH3–7v) has been found among the National Library of China's newly acquired documents from Khotan. On the front of this fragment the same character *jing* 經 is written multiple times, as is the character *yu* 餘 before it. Other characters that were practiced are *ji* 極, *re* 熱, and *chu* 初. The two fragments can be joined vertically (Fig. 15.3) to form the text of the "Lanting xu". Moreover, the character *sui* 歲, which had been divided in half, can now be pieced together into a single, complete character. This character is followed by "zai guichou" 在癸丑 (in a *guichou* year). After this, the character *zai* 在 is repeated three times, which is clearly a mistake, therefore the writer did not continue, leaving an empty space. On the other side of the two fragments is an incomplete text of a Tang dynasty account of grains, in which the character *shi* 石, which was torn apart, is also pieced together into a single character at the point where the two fragments are joined.

The above four fragments, after two are joined together, derive from three distinct manuscripts of the "Lanting xu". Although they are simply tracings or copies of writing practice, with little artistic value, their appearance in a remote desert oasis like Khotan has a significance that cannot be ignored.

2 The Transmission of the "Lanting xu" in the Tang Dynasty

On the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period of the Eastern Jin dynasty, Emperor Mu 穆 (r. 344–361), Wang Xizhi, with Xie

An 謝安 (320–385), Sun Chuo 孫綽 (320–377), Xi Tan 郗曇 (320–361), Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366) and others, altogether 41 literati, gathered at Lanting 蘭亭 (Orchid Pavillion) in Shanyin 山陰, Kuaiji 會稽 prefecture (present-day Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang 浙江 province) to perform the Spring Purification ritual 祓禊之禮. They drank together and composed poems, which were combined into the *Lanting ji* 蘭亭集 (Orchid Pavillion Collection). Wang Xizhi wrote a preface to the collection, and this is the "Lanting xu". It is said that Wang composed this exquisite preface on a single piece of paper while drunk, and that later, when he sobered up, he "rewrote it tens and hundreds of times, but none was as perfect as the one he had written during the Spring Purification. He cherished this composition as a valuable treasure and passed it down to his children and grandchildren".[5]

The historian Liu Su 劉餗 (fl. 742–755) of the early Tianbao 天寶 era (742–756) of the Tang dynasty records the following in *juan* 3 of his *Sui Tang jia hua* 隋唐嘉話 (Fine Stories from the Sui and Tang Periods):

> Wang Youjun's 王右軍 (Wang Xizhi) "Lanting xu" was lost during the disorder at the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557) and circulated outside the palace. It fell into the care of Sengyong 僧永 during the Tianjia 天嘉 reign period (560–566) of the [Southern] Chen 陳 dynasty (557–589). In the Taijian 太建 reign period (569–582) it was offered to Emperor Xuan 宣 (r. 568–582). When the [Southern] Chen was conquered by the Sui 隋 (581–619), someone offered it to the Prince of Jin 晉王 (569–618), who did not value it highly. Later, Sengguo 僧果 borrowed it from the emperor to make a copy. However, even after the prince was enthroned as emperor, he did not ask for it to be returned. After the death of Sengguo, it came into the hands of his disciple Sengbian 僧辯.[6]

However, after searching through a large quantity of historical records relating to "Lanting xu", Hagi Nobuo 萩信雄 concluded that from the time of Wang Xizhi to the compilation of the *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) at the beginning of the Tang, it was not mentioned in a single source. Hagi therefore argues

5 He Yanzhi 何延之, "Lanting ji" 蘭亭記 (Record of the Orchid Pavilion), *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄 (Compendium of Calligraphy), *juan* 3 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1984), p. 124.

6 *Sui Tang jia hua* 隋唐嘉話 (Fine Stories from the Sui and Tang Periods), final volume (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 53.

that all the discussions about the "Lanting xu" began after its inclusion in the "Wang Xizhi zhuan" 王羲之傳 (Biography of Wang Xizhi) in the *Jinshu*.[7]

Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) had been a keen advocate of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy. His four historical commentaries on the *Jinshu* include an essay called "Wang Xizhi zhuan zan" 王羲之傳贊 (In Praise of the Biography of Wang Xizhi).[8] This essay first enumerates the flaws in the calligraphy of such literati as Zhang Boying 張伯英 (Zhang Zhi 張芝, d. 192), Zhong Yao 鐘繇 (151–230) and Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344–386), and then goes on with great gusto to recommend Wang Xizhi's calligraphy: "I have meticulously scrutinised the calligraphy of ancients and moderns, but only Wang Yishao 王逸少 (Wang Xizhi) has achieved the exquisite but simple, unsurpassed beauty and perfection". Before ascending the throne, as Prince of Qin 秦王, Li Shimin 李世民 (i.e. Emperor Taizong) had already expended great effort collecting famous pieces of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy. After he ascended the throne, he used his imperial resources to continue gathering additional examples of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy for his palace collection in Chang'an 長安. Among them was one piece that would continue acquiring fame: the "Lanting xu".

There are two different versions of the story of the emperor's acquisition of the "Lanting xu": either that the Prince of Qin sent Xiao Yi 蕭翼 (d.u.) to Yuezhou 越州 to purchase the text, or that he sent Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641) to procure it. In his *Sui Tang jia hua*, Liu Su continues the discussion quoted earlier as follows:

> When Emperor Taizong was Prince of Qin, he was delighted to find a copy of the "Lanting [xu]" and sought to purchase it at a high price. However, he did not succeed in obtaining it. Later, when he discovered that the original was in Master Bian's care, he sent Xiao Yi (written 蕭翊) to Yuezhou to request it. He obtained it and delivered it in the 4th year of the Wude 武德 reign period (621) to [the Prince of] Qin's residence. In the 10th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (636), Emperor Taizong had ten copies made of it and gave them as gifts to his closest ministers. After the emperor died, the Grand Councilor 中書令 Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (597–658) wrote in a memorial, "The 'Lanting [xu]' was highly valued by

7 Hagi Nobuo 萩信雄, "Bunken kara mita 'Ranteijo' no ruten" 文獻から見た蘭亭序の流轉 (The Transmission of the "Lanting xu" as seen from Textual Sources), *Sumi* 墨 (Ink), Vol. 148, No. 1, 2001, pp. 48–53.

8 *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 80, pp. 2107–2108.

> the late emperor, therefore we must not retain it”. Thus, the original was sealed inside Zhaoling 昭陵 (Taizong’s tomb).[9]

The story of Xiao Yi’s 蕭翊 / 蕭翼 acquisition of the “Lanting [xu]” was popular during the Tang period. Before Liu Su, He Yanzhi 何延之 (fl. 713–742) elaborated it in a Tang classical tale 傳奇, entitled “Lanting ji” 蘭亭記 (Story of the Preface to the Orchid Pavilion). This work was included in Zhang Yanyuan’s 張彥遠 (ca. 815–post-875) *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄 (Compendium of Calligraphy) in its entirety, and thus became part of the “trusted history” of calligraphy. However, challenges to the credibility of this story arose as early as the Song period. For instance, Zhao Yanwei 趙彥衛 (fl. 1195) pointed out seven fallacies in the story in his *Yun lu man chao* 雲麓漫鈔 (Loose Notes from a Cloud-covered Foothill).[10]

Juan 4 of the *Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 (New History of the South) by Qian Yi 錢易 (968–1026) of the Song period records the following:

> “Lanting [*xu*]” was acquired by Ouyang Xun who went to Yue to search for it in the 4th year of the Wude reign period. That was when it first entered the residence of the Prince of Qin. Ma Daosong 麻道嵩 (d.u.) was asked to make two copies of it, one for Biancai 辯才 (fl. 626) and the other to be retained by the prince. Ma Daosong also secretly made an extra copy for himself. At that time the dynasty was newly established. The Prince of Qin was a regional commander, but he kept the copy of the preface by his side at all times. After ascending the throne, he studied it tirelessly. In the 23rd year of the Zhenguan reign period (649), Chu Suiliang asked for it to be deposited in [his tomb] at Zhaoling. Later generations could only see tracings of it.[11]

After this, Liu Youding’s 劉有定 (ca. 1330) Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) commentary on *Yan ji* 衍極 (Utmost Change),[12] Song Lian’s 宋濂 (1310–1381) Ming dynasty

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9 *Sui Tang jia hua*, final volume, p. 53.

10 *Yun lu man chao* 雲麓漫鈔 (Loose Notes of the Cloud-covered Foothill), *juan* 6 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), p. 104.

11 *Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 (A New History of the South), *juan* 4 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), p. 50.

12 “Yan ji” 衍極 (Utmost Change), *Lidai shufa wenxuan* 歷代書法文選 (Selected Writings on Calligraphy through the Ages) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1979), p. 442. [Editor’s note: *Yan ji* was written by Zheng Biao 鄭杓 (fl. 14th century), see Pietro De Laurentis, “The Forbidden Classic of the Jade Hall: A Study of an Eleventh-century Compendium on Calligraphic Technique”, *Asia Major*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (January 2011), pp. 113–146, esp. p. 117.]

(1368–1644) "Ba 'Xitai yushi Xiao Yi zhuan Lantingxu'" 跋《西臺御史蕭翼賺蘭亭圖》 (Colophon to "The censor-in-chief Xiao Yi Acquires the 'Lanting tu' by Deception"),[13] and Li Ciming's 李慈銘 (1830–1895) Qing dynasty (1644–1911) *Yuemantang dushu ji* 越縵堂讀書記 (Reading Notes from Yueman Studio),[14] all emphasise that it was Ouyang Xun, not Xiao Yi, who acquired the preface for the Prince of Qin. As for the question of why the historian Liu Su said that Xiao Yi acquired it from Yuezhou, Hagi Nobuo found three Song and Yuan period quotations in the *Sui Tang jia hua* saying that it was Ouyang Xun rather than Xiao Yi who acquired "Lanting xu" from Yuezhou. He therefore concludes that the text originally attributed this to Ouyang Xun, and only later was his name changed to Xiao Yi.[15] Furthermore, Arakane Osamu 荒金治 pointed out that the version of Liu Su's "Lanting ji" included in *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), which is almost identical to the version in *Sui Tang jia hua*, has Ouyang Xun rather than Xiao Yi. This is strong evidence that *Sui Tang jia hua* originally recorded that it was Ouyang Xun who acquired it in Yuezhou.[16] Considering the historical background, the relationship between the Prince of Qin and Ouyang Xun, and the later studies that have been done on the two theories based on textual sources, I support the view that Ouyang Xun was the one who acquired the "Lanting xu" in Yuezhou.[17]

According to Chu Suiliang's *Youjun Shumu* 右軍書目 (A Catalogue of Wang Xizhi's Calligraphy), the version of the "Lanting xu" obtained by Emperor Taizong was listed as the top one of the 252 calligraphy samples in the 58 *juan* of Wang Xizhi's semi-cursive script held in the collection of the imperial household during the Zhenguan reign period. Emperor Taizong ordered Feng Chengsu 馮承素 (617–672), Tang Puche 湯普徹 (fl. 627–649) and other copyists in the Institute for the Advancement of Literature 弘文館 to make tracings

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13 *Hanyuan bieji* 翰苑別集 (Unofficial Writings of the Hanlin Academy), *juan* 3, *Song Lian quanji* 宋濂全集 (Complete Works of Song Lian) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 1006.

14 *Yuemantang dushu ji: Zhaji* 越縵堂讀書記·札記 (Reading Notes from Yueman Studio) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2000), p. 1310.

15 Hagi Nobuo, "Bunken kara mita 'Ranteijo' no ruten", p. 49.

16 Arakane Osamu 荒金治, *Tang chu de shufa yu zhengzhi* 唐初的書法與政治 (Calligraphy and Politics at the Beginning of the Tang), MA Thesis, Faculty of History, Peking University, 2005, pp. 35–36.

17 There are many theories concerning the debate about the arrival of the "Lanting xu" in Chang'an, but there is no need to go into details here. See the articles in the following two works: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, ed., *Lanting lunbian* 蘭亭論辨 (Debates about the Orchid Pavilion) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973); Hua Rende 華人德 and Bai Qianshen 白謙慎, eds., *Lanting lunji* 蘭亭論集 (Collected Essays on the Orchid Pavilion) (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 2001).

using the "double-hook outline filling method" 雙鉤廓填法 and give them as gifts to his close ministers. Among them, Tang Puche "secretly made a copy to take outside the imperial household, thus the 'Lanting [xu]' began to circulate beyond the palace".[18] At present, the Palace Museum in Beijing possesses three tracings of the "Lanting xu". The first was made by Feng Chengsu and features, at the beginning and the end, half seal impressions with Emperor Zhongzong's 中宗 (r. 684) reign title Shenlong 神龍 (705–707), which is why it is called the Shenlong copy (Fig. 15.4). The second was made by Yu Shinan 虞世南, which, according to Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) of the Ming period, was presented to Yuan Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 1328–1332) by Zhang Jinjienu 張金界奴 (b. 1296); thus it is called the Zhang Jinjienu copy. The third is the copy made by Chu Suiliang. Because it has a poetic inscription written by Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) at the end, it is sometimes considered to be a copy made by Mi Fu.[19] In addition, there is also the Dingwu 定武 copy, based on Ouyang Xun's copy, which was named after the Dingwu Arsenal 定武軍庫 in Dingzhou 定州, where it was once stored. These editions are all identical in style and alignment, all having the two characters for Chongshan 崇山 in line 4, written in the space between the lines. This suggests that all of them can be traced back to the same original.[20]

The copies of the "Lanting xu" held in the Palace Museum today were all made by ministers who were close to Emperor Taizong. Copies that circulated outside the palace were extremely few. Therefore, some scholars argue that Wang Xizhi's calligraphy was not popularised in the Tang by the "Lanting xu", which was so rare at the time, but instead by the monk Huairen's 懷仁 (fl. 672) collection of Wang's calligraphy reproduced in his "Shengjiao xu" 聖教序 (Preface to the Sacred Teachings), and later from "Yong zi ba fa" 永字八法 (The Eight Strokes of the Character *Yong*). Since some characters in the "Shengjiao xu" are taken from the "Lanting xu", these scholars argue that

18 *Fashu yaolu, juan* 3, pp. 114 and 131.

19 For some exquisite copies of the above three works and detailed descriptions and explanations, see Shi Anchang 施安昌, ed., *Jin Tang Wudai shufa* 晉唐五代書法（故宮博物院文物珍品大系）(Calligraphy of the Period from the Jin through the Tang and Five Dynasties) (Shanghai: Shanghai keji chubanshe and Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2001), pp. 30–58.

20 See Liu Tao, *Zhongguo shufa shi: Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao juan*, p. 199; Zhu Guantian 朱關田, *Zhongguo shufa shi: Sui, Tang, Wudai juan* 中國書法史·隋唐五代卷 (The History of Chinese Calligraphy: Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties Periods) (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 56–57.

the common people learned the calligraphy in the “Lanting xu” from the stele inscription of the “Shengjiao xu”.[21]

However, I am afraid this is not the case.

3 The Westward Transmission of the “Lanting xu”

Because the original copy of the “Lanting xu” had already been sealed in Emperor Taizong’s Zhaoling tomb, it was unavailable to anyone after Emperor Gaozong’s 高宗 reign (649–683). The copies held by the emperor’s close officials were also “worth tens of thousands each”,[22] thus they too were not accessible to the general public. Some individuals, however, had made private copies or tracings and circulated them outside the palace. This allowed the common people to practice and learn from them. Yet in the past, most calligraphy-enthusiasts focused their attention primarily on the highest quality, most “inspired pieces” 神品, those that were copied frequently, and those that famous calligraphers used as a basis for their new creations; they were seldom concerned with the survival of copies made by ordinary people. Since the opening of the Dunhuang library cave in 1900, scholars have found some handwritten copies of the “Lanting xu” among the Dunhuang manuscripts. At present we know of over 10 of such manuscripts, which we can call popular copies of the “Lanting xu”.

Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 was first to notice the existence of three Dunhuang manuscripts of the “Lanting xu” of this type. They are documents P.2544 (recto), P.2622 (verso) and P.3194 (verso). He included a life-size photo-lithographic copy of P.2544 in his *Dunhuang shufa congkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 (Dunhuang Calligraphy Collection), mentioning in his appended note the existence of the other two.[23] There are two possible explanations for the existence of these

21 Zhu Guantian, “‘Lanting xu’ zai Tangdai de yingxiang” 《蘭亭序》在唐代的影響 (The Influence of the “Lanting xu” in the Tang Dynasty), in Hua Rende and Bai Qianshen, eds., *Lanting lunji*, pp. 318–321; also included in Zhu Guantian’s *Chu guo ji: Zhu Guantian lunshu wenji* 初果集 – 朱關田論書文集 (*Collection of Early Work: Zhu Guantian’s Essays on Calligraphy*) (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 2008), pp. 6–11.

22 *Fashu yaolu, juan* 3, p. 131.

23 Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, ed., *Dunhuang shufa congkan* 敦煌書法叢刊 (Dunhuang Calligraphy Collection), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1983); here I follow the Chinese revised edition, *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua* 法藏敦煌書苑精華 (Masterpieces from Dunhuang in French Collections), Vol. 1: *Taben – Suijin* 拓本 · 碎金 (Rubbings: Pieces of Gold) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 101–102, for the colophon see p. 267.

copies of the "Lanting xu" among the Dunhuang manuscripts. One is that they were copies of ancient literature, while the other is that they were used for calligraphy practice. For this reason, the function of these three copies of the "Lanting xu" found in Dunhuang is worthy of careful analysis.

The recto of P.2544 contains, on ruled paper, a collection of poems such as Liu Changqing's 劉長卿 (718–790) "Jiu fu" 酒賦 (Rhapsody on Wine), "Jinyi pian" 錦衣篇 (On Brocade Robes), "Hanjia pian" 漢家篇 (On the Han Family), "Laoren pian" 老人篇 (On an Old Man), "Laoren xiangwen xiaotan hanshi" 老人相問曉歎漢詩 (An Old Man's Morning Appreciation for Han Poetry), "Longmen fu" 龍門賦 (Rhapsody on Longmen), and "Beimang pian" 北邙篇 (On Beimang Mountain). The poems are followed by two blank lines, and then the full text of the "Lanting xu" in fourteen lines. The calligrapher then writes the characters [*wen*] *yi tong* [文] 義同, skips one line, then the date, "the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period". The date is written again in the next column, in a slightly longer form, and the document ends. These are all written as writing practice.[24] Having carefully analyzed this fragment in detail, Xu Jun 徐俊 has pointed out that the poems preceding the "Lanting xu" are basically identical in content and order to the poems in P.4994 + S.2049: "The 'Lanting xu' and the preceding poems were copied by the same person, but the characters clearly copied the shape of those in Wang Xizhi's 'Lanting xu'. Therefore we can conclude that it was written to practice calligraphy".[25] Xu is well-versed in calligraphy and has studied the whole corpus of Dunhuang manuscripts of poetry and song collections, therefore I completely agree with his judgment. Given the addition of extra characters and the repetition of characters from the "Lanting xu" after the main text, it was unquestionably written for calligraphy practice. This copy was written in columns with approximately 24 characters per line, unlike the format of the usual copies of the "Lanting xu". Thus, although it was copying a model, it did not follow the original format.

On the recto of P.2622 is the document "Ji xiong shuyi" 吉凶書儀 (Letter Models for Events of Good and Bad Fortune) with the postscript, "Written at noon on the 4th day of the 4th month of the 13th year of the Dazhong 大中 reign period (859)". This date is followed by five student and other miscellaneous poems. On the verso are eight poems copied in the same hand, some

24 For images of the entire work, see *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts from the Western Regions in French Collections), Vol. 15 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 255–258, "Lanting xu" is on p. 257.

25 Xu Jun 徐俊, *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao* 敦煌詩集殘卷輯考 (Textual Research on Fragments of an Anthology of Poems from Dunhuang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 465.

incomplete. Scholars argue that the person who copied this scroll is Li Wenyi 李文義 because a note within the letter models on the recto include the words "This was written by Li Wenyi".[26] After the first fragmentary poem copied on the verso, there are three lines of character practice from the "Lanting xu" (Fig. 15.5), beginning with the date, "the 9th day of the Yonghe reign period". However, the original, which says "cidi you chongshan junling maolin xiuzhu" 此地有崇山峻嶺茂林修竹 (in this place are lofty mountains and steep peaks, luxuriant woods and slender bamboos), is mistakenly written as "cidi you maolin xiuzhu chong" 此地有茂林修竹崇. Perhaps the copyist stopped abruptly after realising the mistake. This text is formatted differently to the letter models and the poems on the verso: it has no top margin, preserving the format of the original model. Thus it is unquestionably calligraphy practice. Moreover, on the verso there are still many miscellaneous scribbles, doodles of animals and signatures all resembling writing exercises. These aspects help us determine that the "Lanting xu" had the function of calligraphy practice. The date written at the end of the letter models on the recto, the 13th year of the Dazhong reign period (859), shows that it was copied during the late Tang.

The recto of P.3194 consists of a Tang manuscript of *Lunyu jijie* 論語集解 (Collected Annotations on the Analects of Confucius), with the end title "*Lunyu*, *juan* 4" 論語卷第四 (Analects of Confucius, *juan* 4).[27] The colophon at the end is illegible; it is covered with thick ink. On the verso is the draft of a complaint by Zhang Tongxin 張通信 and others, as well as a few random jottings, half a line of Tibetan text, and finally three lines from the "Lanting xu" written upside down (Fig. 15.6). These lines start from "the 9th day of the Yonghe reign period" and end at "shaozhang xianji" 少長咸集 (young and old ones have gathered together) followed by a blank space.[28] The writing begins at the top edge of the paper with no margin. Its line length differs from the Shenlong and other copies, with the first two lines having 18 and 13 characters respectively. The expression *zhi Lanting* 之蘭亭 is also written mistakenly

26 For images of both sides, see *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian*, Vol. 16 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 315–324, "Lanting xu" is on p. 320. Concerning "Ji xiong shuyi" 吉凶書儀 (Letter Models for Events of Good and Bad Fortune), see Zhao Heping 趙和平, *Dunhuang xieben shuyi yanjiu* 敦煌寫本書儀研究 (A Study of the Dunhuang Manuscripts with Letter Models) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1993), pp. 568–601; regarding the part with poems, see Xu Jun, *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao*, pp. 775–779; when he mentions "Lanting xu", he calls it "character practice"; see p. 777.

27 Li Fang 李方, *Dunhuang "Lunyu jijie" jiaozheng* 敦煌《論語集解》校正 (Collated Edition of the "Lunyu jijie" from Dunhuang) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), pp. 219–329; this is taken as the reference edition.

28 For images of both sides, see *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian*, Vol. 22 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), pp. 120–123, "Lanting xu" is on p. 123.

as *zhi Lanting* 至蘭亭. These details all show that it is writing practice. Rao Zongyi commented that it is "extremely good calligraphy".[29] Given the content of Zhang Tongxin's complaint, we speculate that the fragment dates from the period of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit, 851–1036). The text addresses an attendant-in-ordinary 常侍; the Guiyijun military commissioners 節度使 who were attendants-in-ordinary include Zhang Huaishen 張淮深 (867–872), Suo Xun 索勳 (d. 894) and Zhang Chengfeng 張承奉 (896–901).[30] Therefore, this complaint must date within this period of time, and the "Lanting xu" calligraphy practice that follows must also date to the late Tang or Five Dynasties periods.

As the scope of research into these documents has broadened and new materials have been published, the following additional fragments of character practice modelled on the "Lanting xu" have been discovered:

P.4764: Two fragmented sheets survive. The beginning of the second sheet is torn, with only traces of writing. Then there are two lines from the "Lanting xu", starting from "qunxian bizhi" 群賢畢至 (all the worthies have arrived) and ending at "youyou qingliu ji" 又有清流激 (and also a clear, swiftly-flowing stream). The character *ji* 激 is repeated twice, and the rest is blank.[31] It is indeed an example of character practice.

S.1619: Another piece of character practice modelled on the "Lanting xu". Sixteen lines survive, consisting of the eight characters "ruo he yiqi weichang bulin" 若合一契未嘗不臨 (I share their melancholy, and have never approached [their works] without …), with two lines of practice for each character.[32] The top line consists of sample characters provided by the teacher, and below are the student's attempts to copy them.[33]

P.3369, Pièce 2: The verso consists of character practice from the "Lanting xu". On the recto are strings of characters such as *gong qi zhai* 供其齋, *jinguang*

29 *Fa cang Dunhuang shuyuan jinghua*, Vol. 1 (Rubbings: Pieces of Gold), p. 267.

30 See Rong Xinjiang, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究 (Study of the History of the Guiyijun) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), pp. 78–84, 88–93 and 131.

31 *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian*, Vol. 33 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), p. 162, originally titled "Shuyi". See Wo Xinghua 沃興華, *Dunhuang shufa yishu* 敦煌書法藝術 (Dunhuang Calligraphic Art) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 39–40.

32 *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* 英藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections), Vol. 3 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1990), p. 109, labelled "character practice". Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Ying cang Dunhuang shehui lishi wenxian shilu* 英藏敦煌社會歷史文獻釋錄 (Annotated Transcription of the Dunhuang Manuscripts concerning Social History Preserved in Britain), Vol. 7 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), pp. 371–372, also called *xizi*.

33 See Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, pp. 42 and 44.

mingdao 金光明道 and *qian sheshen sanwan* 前赦生三萬. On the verso with the "Lanting xu", there are five lines practicing the three characters "zhi shi xi" 之視昔 (as we look upon the past), with one line for the character *zhi* still surviving, and two lines for the other two characters (*shi xi*). To the left of the character *xi*, the "heart" 心 radical is still visible in the lower half of the character *bei* 悲.[34]

Дx.00528A: The verso is severely damaged, with only two lines of practice for the character *zhi* 之 and six lines for *lan* 蘭 remaining. Thus it must be character practice using the "Lanting xu" as a model.[35] On the recto side are the words, "household register of Shensha village, Dunhuang county, Shazhou" 沙州敦煌縣神沙鄉籍, which show that the students used scrap paper for their character practice.

Дx.00528B: This item consists of several fragments, with character practice on both sides. On the recto, the characters *zhishao* 至少 and *he* 和, undoubtedly taken from the "Lanting xu", are repeated. The verso includes the characters *he* 和, *ye* 也 and others, and one fragmentary line from the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Character Text): "ming lin shen lü bo su xing" 命臨深履薄夙興 (life is like facing the deep, like treading on thin ice; early to rise).[36]

Дx.00538: This fragment contains two lines of writing, one with the words "Fo shuo Wuchang jing [...] *juan*" 佛說無常經 □ 卷 (The Buddha's Teaching on Impermanence, [...] *juan*) and the other containing the opening words of the "Lanting xu" "Yonghe jiu nian sui zai guichou mu chun zhi chu hui yu Kuaiji" 永和九年歲在癸丑暮春之初會於會稽 (in the 9th year of the Yonghe reign period, a *guichou* year, at the beginning of spring we met at Kuaiji). After this, the character *da* 大 is written four times, and there is also one line of *da* [...] 大 □ □ written upside down.[37]

Дx.11023: The recto has three lines practicing the characters *zhi lan* 之蘭. The first line is for *zhi* 之, the second is for *lan* 蘭, and the third contains an incomplete character *lan*. These are all from the "Lanting xu". The verso has traces of the characters [*xing*] *wen qing* [興] 溫凊, which must be from the *Qianzi wen*.[38] In my view, this fragment can be combined with the fragment

34 For an image, see *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian*, Vol. 23 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), p. 365.

35 For an image, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 6 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxue bu, 2000), pp. 342–343.

36 *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 6, pp. 343–344.

37 *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 6, p. 351.

38 For an image, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 15 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxue bu, 2000), p. 132.

Дх.00528B, containing the words *ming lin shen lü bo su* [*xing*] 命臨深履薄夙[興].

Дх.11024: This item contains four fragments, which have character practice on both sides modelling the "Lanting xu". On the recto are the characters *yiyong yizu* 一詠亦足, *ri ye youqing shi ri* 日也幽情是日, *zhi sheng* 之盛, and *yi changxu* 以暢敘, written separately, with each character practiced in two lines. On the verso are the phrases *zhang xianji cidi you chongshan junling* 長咸集此地有崇山峻嶺, *Kuaiji shanyin zhi lanting xiuxi shi* 會稽山陰之蘭亭脩禊事, *shi ye qunxian binzhi* [*shao*] 事也群賢畢至[少] and *liu ji tuanying* 流激湍映, with one line of practice for each character.[39]

Дх.05687: Only one side of this fragment has been published as an image. It has eight lines of writing on it, consisting of the four-character phrase *youmu changhuai* 游目暢懷, with two lines of practice for each character.[40] The "Lanting xu" contains the line "suoyi youmu cheng (chang) huai" 所以游目騁(暢) 懷 (as our eyes wandered, our hearts opened), thus this fragment is a practice of characters from the "Lanting xu".

Дх.12833 has writing on both sides. The recto contains three lines practicing the character *he* 和, with some other incomplete characters, and the verso has three lines practicing the character *yong* 永, and some incomplete characters. The characters *yong* 永 and *he* 和 resemble the style used in the "Lanting xu". Therefore, this fragment should be considered character practice of the characters *yong* and *he* from the beginning of the "Lanting xu".[41]

Apart from these, the Dunhuang manuscript Hane 羽 664, formerly in the collection of the renowned scholar Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, was displayed at the "54th Special Exhibition of the Kyōu Shooku Library", hosted by the Takeda Science Foundation of Osaka, Japan, on 19–24 April 2010.[42] It is a fragment

39 *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 15, pp. 132–133. Regarding P.3369, Pièce 2V, Дх.00528AV, Дх.00528B, Дх.00538, Дх.11023, Дх.11024V, Cai Yuandi 蔡淵迪 confirmed that these are fragments of the "Lanting xu", see his *Dunhuang jingdian shufa ji xiangguan xizi yanjiu* 敦煌經典書法及相關習字研究 (Calligraphy Using Classical Texts in Dunhuang and Other Writing Exercises), MA Thesis, Zhejiang University, 2010, p. 42.

40 For an image of this, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 12 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxue bu, 2000), p. 218.

41 See *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 16 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxue bu, 2001), p. 177. For the identification of items Дх.05687 and Дх.12833 mentioned above, I am grateful for the advice of Tian Weiwei 田衛衛, PhD student at Peking University.

42 Manuscript Hane 664 is described in Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, ed., "Dunhuang miji mulu: Xin zeng mu lu (*Dunhuang xieben 433–670 fan*)" 敦煌秘笈目錄·新增目錄 (敦煌寫本 433–670 番) (Dunhuang Secret Book Catalog: New Catalog [Dunhuang Manuscripts, Items 433–670]), along with 14 other Dunhuang manuscripts that were purchased in

of a student's character practice that interestingly contains elements from Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" 尚想黃綺帖 (In Admiration of Huang and Qi) on the recto and elements from the "Lanting xu" on the verso (Fig. 15.7).[43] In both cases the characters to be copied are written by the teacher horizontally along the top edge of the paper, in a relatively thick, large style. Each model character is written twice, and the student has copied it in the vertical column below. It vividly demonstrates the way in which Dunhuang students imitated Wang Xizhi's calligraphy to learn Chinese. In this document, the "Lanting xu" side has the characters *he jiunian suizai guichou muchun zhichu hui* 和九年歲在癸丑暮春之初會 and *tuan ying dai zuo* 湍暎帶左, and the two seem to have a seam between them, which is why the two fragments do not directly connect.

Judging by the style of the characters and other writings in the same documents, the above Dunhuang manuscripts of the "Lanting xu" all date from the mid-to-late Tang to the Five Dynasties periods. This shows that copies of the "Lanting xu" circulated among the common people during the Tang period, not only in Chang'an, but also as far west as Dunhuang, to be used by local students practicing writing.

In addition, Stein discovered manuscript M.T.b.006 (Fig. 15.8) at Mazar Tagh on his second expedition.[44] On its recto are the remains of one line with the character *xin* 欣 repeated, and two lines of the character *fu* 俛, both from the "Lanting xu" sentence "xiangzhi suoxin, fu yang zhijian" 向之所欣，俛（俯）仰之間 (what previously brought joy, has now quickly …), thus this too is character practice based on the "Lanting xu".[45] On the verso are the remains of two lines with the character *dang* 當 and four lines with the

May 1941. See Luohe Jundian [Ochiai Toshinori] 落合俊典, "Dunhuang miji mulu (Di 433 hao zhi 670 hao) lüekao" 敦煌秘笈目錄（第 433 號至 670 號）略考 (A Brief Study of the Tonkō hikyū Collection [Items 433 to 670]), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 7, 2004, p. 175; see Ochiai Toshinori, "Tonkō hikyū: maboroshi no shirukurōdo shahon wo sagashite" 敦煌秘笈 – 幻のシルクロード寫本を探して (The Tonkō hikyū Collection: Looking for Phantom Silk Road Manuscripts), *Kachō tanki daigaku gakuhō* 華頂短期大學學報 (Journal of the Kacho College), No. 6, 2002, pp. 15–19.

43 See, *Dai 54 kai Kyōu Shooku tokubetsu tenjikai "Tonkō no tenseki to ko bunsho" suroku* 第 54 回杏雨書屋特別展示會"敦煌の典籍と古文書"圖錄 (Illustrated Catalogue of the 54th Special Exhibition of the Kyōu Shooku Library: "Dunhuang Texts and Ancient Documents") (Osaka: Kyōu Shooku, 2010), pp. 27–28.

44 Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913), p. 204, pl. XXXII.

45 Chen Lifang 陳麗芳, "Tangdai Yutian de tongmeng jiaoyu: Yi Zhongguo renmin daxue bowuguan cang Hetian xizi wei zhongxin" 唐代于闐的童蒙教育 – 以中國人民大學博物館藏和田習字為中心 (Elementary Education in Khotan during the Tang Dynasty:

character *kang* 抗, corresponding to the lines in the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie": "wu bizhi Zhang, Zhong dang kangxing" 吾比之張，鐘當抗行 (my [calligraphy] can be compared to that of Zhang and Zhong).[46] It is thus clear that students copied the "Lanting xu" on the recto and "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" on the verso of the same sheet. From it we know that, as in Dunhuang, the local students in Khotan used both works at the same time as models for their character practice.

In sum, we are fortunate to have four written manuscript fragments of the "Lanting xu" from Tang dynasty Khotan. From the public and private texts excavated in the Khotan region that have already been published, it is clear that the Chinese manuscripts date for the most part between the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741) and the Zhenyuan periods. However, in the documents most recently acquired by the Renmin University Museum, we have discovered some official documents containing characters from the reign of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705), pushing back the date when the Chinese script was used in Khotan to the period between the 1st year of the Tianshou 天授 reign period (690) and the 1st year of the Shenlong reign period (705), when these new characters were commonly used. Yet, if we consider the corpus as a whole, the copies of the "Lanting xu" unearthed in Khotan are most likely to be dated from the latter half of the 8th century when Chinese manuscripts were most prevalent there.

Concerning the format and layout of the manuscripts, the two items from the Renmin University Museum are either fragmentary or unfinished, so they do not provide sufficient information. The one in the Russian collection is similar to the traced copies of the "Lanting xu" made by Feng Chengsu, Yu Shinan, and Chu Suiliang, so its appearance seems closer to the palace copy, and is of better quality than the Dunhuang copies.

From the 10th month of the 1st year of the Changshou 長壽 reign period (692), when the Tang restored the Four Garrisons of Anxi and sent 30,000 Chinese troops to be stationed in the Western Regions, officials from Central China started migrating to the Western Regions in large numbers, bringing Chinese culture and bureaucratic institutions to Khotan and other regions of the Four Garrisons. Judging by the skilled fluency of strokes in the four "Lanting xu" manuscripts from Khotan, it seems that they must have been written by Tang officials who were stationed there or their family members.

Character Practice from Khotan in the Collection of the Renmin University Museum), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 1, 2014, p. 41.

46 I am grateful for the advice received from Bao Xiaoyue 包曉悅, graduate student at Peking University.

The recto of GXW0112 in the Renmin University Museum's collection contains an official document with a highly skilled handwriting, and the characters in the legal judgment are even more fluent and unrestrained, which may help us understand who the owners of these "Lanting xu" manuscripts were.[47] However, we should not exclude the possibility that these manuscripts were written by local non-Chinese people. I have once mentioned that [Geshu] Daoyuan 哥舒道元 (d.u.), father of the famous Tang general Geshu Han 哥舒翰 (699–757), was stationed in Khotan as the vice protector 副都護 of Anxi, and married the daughter of the King of Khotan who gave birth to Geshu Han. "Han enjoyed reading the *Zuoshi Chunqiu zhuan* 左氏春秋傳 (Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals, i.e. *Zuozhuan* 左傳), and the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty) and, on account of his generosity and personal integrity, was popular among the officials".[48] In his early years he must have studied in Khotan. Therefore, non-Chinese people like Geshu Han, who could read the *Zuozhuan* and the *Hanshu*, must have been able to produce calligraphy at the level of the excavated copies of the "Lanting xu".

The discovery of the copies of the "Lanting xu" in Khotan is highly significant because the "Lanting xu" is the most fundamental model of calligraphy in Chinese culture, a masterpiece that no history of Chinese culture can fail to take into account. Its popularity in the Khotan region in the south-western corner of the Tarim basin is unquestionably the most forceful evidence for the transmission of Chinese culture to the Western Regions.

Apart from this, in histories of Chinese calligraphy, the calligraphy of early manuscripts from the Western Regions, such as *Li Bai wenshu* 李柏文書 (The Li Bai Document), already occupies an important place. However, from the Tang period onward, because of the abundance of extant calligraphy copybooks 法帖 and stone inscriptions 碑刻, few of the texts and manuscripts excavated in the Western Regions have been used or studied for their calligraphy. In fact, in the Western Regions of the Tang period, not only did writings with a practical

47 Note that from surviving Han wood slips that were used for calligraphy practice, it is clear that Han frontier generals and clerks used their spare time to practice writing characters. This must have been a continuous tradition. See Lu Weiyi 魯惟一 [Michael Loewe], *Handai xingzheng jilu* 漢代行政記錄 (Records of Han Administration), trans. by Yu Zhenbo 于振波 and Che Jinhua 車金花, Vol. 1 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2005), p. 55.

48 "Biography of Geshu Han" (Geshu Han zhuan 哥舒翰傳), *Jiu Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *juan* 104, p. 3212. See Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti", p. 416; also, "*Shiji* yu *Hanshu*: Tulufan chutu wenxian zhaji zhi yi" 《史記》與《漢書》 – 吐魯番出土文獻札記之一 (*Shiji* and *Hanshu*: A Manuscript Excavated in Turfan), *Xinjiang shifan daxue xuebao* 新疆師範大學學報, No. 1, 2004, pp. 41–43.

purpose now serve as incidental examples of calligraphy, but as with the copies of the "Lanting xu", works whose very purpose was calligraphy itself also survive, and these deserve to be included in the history of Chinese calligraphy.

Chinese calligraphy in the Western Regions is a missing link in the study of Chinese calligraphy as a whole. The large quantity of official and private documents excavated in the Western Regions reveals the system by which common people in the Tang dynasty studied and practiced this skill. Without the energetic promotion of calligraphy by Tang officialdom, and the attention paid to embodied manner 身, speech 言, calligraphy and composition 書, and judgment 判 in the Tang Civil Service Examinations, the Tang would not have seen such a high level of competence in overall calligraphic skills as it did, and it might not have been able to cultivate a succession of great calligraphers.

(The draft of this paper was completed on 10 October 2010. It was originally published in *Guoxue de chuancheng yu chuangxin – Feng Qiyong xiansheng congshi jiaoxue yu keyan liushi zhounian qinghe xueshu wenji* 國學的傳承與創新 – 馮其庸先生從事教學與科研六十週年慶賀學術文集 [Tradition and Innovation in Chinese Studies – A Collection of Academic Papers in Celebration of Feng Qiyong's 60 years of Teaching and Research] [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013], pp. 1099–1108. It was updated on 10 February 2015.)

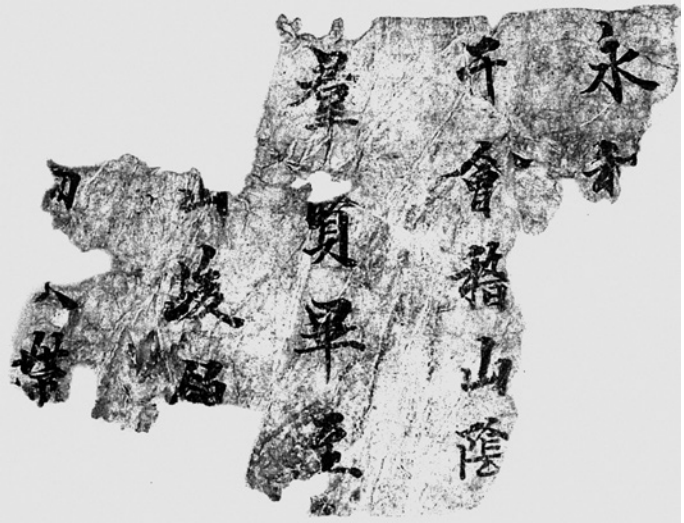

FIGURE 15.1 Copy of the "Lanting xu", Дх.18943–1

FIGURE 15.2A
Copy of the "Lanting xu"
RENMIN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM GXW0112

FIGURE 15.2B
The end of a Tang official document
RENMIN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM GXW0112,

FIGURE 15.3 Two "Lanting xu" fragments joined together

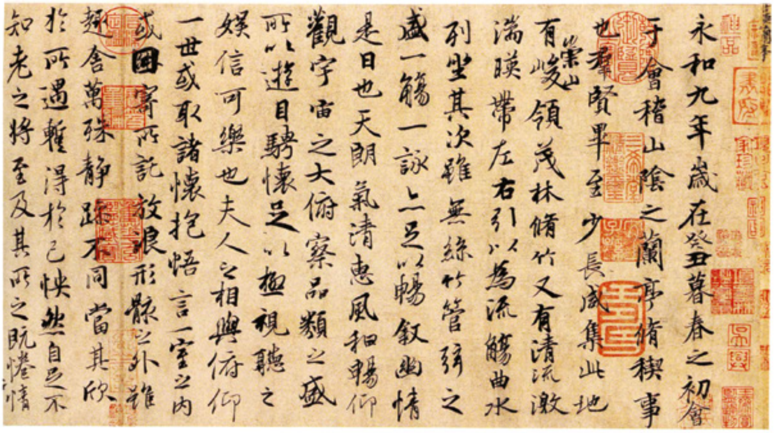

FIGURE 15.4 Feng Chengsu's copy of the "Lanting xu"

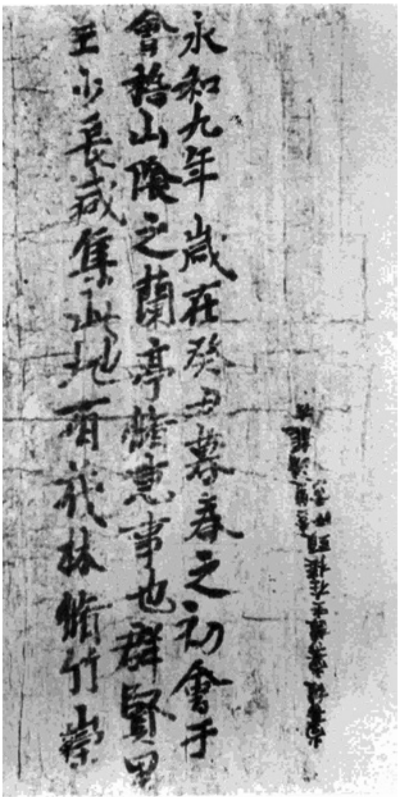

FIGURE 15.5
The "Lanting xu" in Dunhuang manuscript P.2622

FIGURE 15.6
The "Lanting xu" in Dunhuang manuscript P.3194

FIGURE 15.7 "Lanting xu" writing practice on Dunhuang manuscript Hane 644 (verso)

FIGURE 15.8 Writing practice using the "Lanting xu" and "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" as models, excavated in Mazar Tagh, near Khotan

CHAPTER 16

The Transmission of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" in the Western Regions

Translated by James Kunling He 何坤靈

In 2010, I wrote an article on the "Lanting xu" and the transmission of Chinese calligraphy to the Western Regions for the "International Academic Conference to Celebrate Feng Qiyong's 馮其庸 60 Years of Teaching and Research", organised on the 16th and 17th of October by the School of Chinese Classics, Renmin University of China.[1] In fact, however, the westward transmission of Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 (ca. 303–361) calligraphy occurred not only through the "Lanting xu" 蘭亭序 (Preface to the Orchid Pavilion), but also via the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" 尚想黃綺帖 (In Admiration for Huang and Qi), although there are no copies of the original form of this document in circulation.

There are a few copies of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" (also known as "Zi shu lun" 自書論 [Discussing My Own Calligraphy]) among the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts. Two of these are S.214 and S.3287 in the British Collection of Dunhuang Documents, identified by Ikeda On 池田温 and discussed in his excellent paper on Wang Xizhi's treatise on calligraphy in the Dunhuang manuscripts.[2] Here, with reference to Ikeda's article, as well as findings from other Dunhuang studies, I shall introduce these two Stein documents.

On the recto of S.3287 are the household registers of Fan Lüqian 氾履倩 and other commoners from the 5th month of the Year of the Rat during the Tibetan rule. There are five fragments in total, though the first and last pieces

1 The hosts of the conference first published my article "'Lanting xu' zai Xiyu" 蘭亭序在西域 (The "Lanting xu" in the Western Regions) in the journal of the School of Chinese Classics, Renmin University, *Guoxue xuekan* 國學學刊 (Research in the Tradition of Chinese Culture), No. 1, 2011, pp. 65–71. Later, it was reprinted in Zhongguo renmin daxue Guoxueyuan 中國人民大學國學院, ed., *Guoxue de chuancheng yu chuangxin: Feng Qiyong xiansheng congshi jiaoxue yu keyan liushi zhounian qinghe xueshu wenji* 國學的傳承與創新 – 馮其庸先生從事教學與科研六十週年慶賀學術文集 (Tradition and Innovation in Chinese Studies: Collection of Academic Essays to Celebrate Feng Qiyong's 60 Years of Teaching and Research) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), pp. 1099–1108.

2 Ikeda On 池田温, "Tonkō bon ni mieru Ō Gishi ronsho" 敦煌本に見える王羲之論書 (Wang Xizhi's Treatise on Calligraphy as Seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), *Chūgoku shoron taikei* 中國書論大系 (Chinese Calligraphy Monthly), No. 5, 1979, pp. 8–12.

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are seriously damaged. At the end are some stray characters, which are from the first line of "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" (Fig. 16.1).[3] As for the Year of the Rat, Ikeda On speculates that it was in the early half of the 9th century. Yang Jiping 楊際平 has an article on this issue, arguing that it was 820, a *gengzi* 庚子 year.[4] On the verso of the document, the following works are copied: *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand-Character Text), "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", "Shiwu yuan li fo" 十五願禮佛 (Fifteen Vows Paying Homage to the Buddha), "Jiazi wuxing gejue" 甲子五行歌訣 (Song of the *jiazi* Cycle and the Five Phases), "Zao chu chan" 早出纏 (Early Release from Bondage), "Le ru shan" 樂入山 (Joyfully Entering the Mountains), "Le zhu shan" 樂住山 (Joyfully Living in the Mountains), "Li She fashi quanshan wen" 李涉法師勸善文 (Master Li She's Text of Urging Kindness), and so on.[5] According to what has usually occurred with the Dunhuang manuscripts, this household register was an official document, which was written first, on the recto of the paper. The *Qianzi wen* and other texts, must have been written by students who used this document as scrap paper on which to copy primers, calligraphic model texts, pieces of popular literature, and so

3 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中國古代籍帳研究 (Ancient Chinese Household Registers) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1979), pp. 519–522; *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* 英藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections), Vol. 5 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1992), p. 34. Wo Xinghua 沃興華, *Dunhuang shufa yishu* 敦煌書法藝術 (Dunhuang Calligraphic Art) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1994), p. 54, and Zhang Tiangong 張天弓 "Lun Wang Xizhi 'Shang xiang Huang Qi tie' ji qi xiangguan wenti" 論王羲之《尚想黃綺帖》及其相關問題 (On Wang Xizhi's 'Shang xiang Huang Qi tie' and Related Questions), *Quanguo di liu jie shuxue taolunhui lunwenji* 全國第六屆書學討論會論文集 (Papers from the 6th National Conference on Calligraphic Studies) (Zhengzhou: Henan meishu chubanshe, 2004), pp. 36–51, later included in his *Zhang Tiangong xian-Tang shuxue kaobian wenji* 張天弓先唐書學考辨文集 (Zhang Tiangong's Research Papers on pre-Tang Calligraphy) (Beijing: Rongbaozhai chubanshe, 2009), pp. 129–147. Both Wo and Zhang identified manuscript P.2378 as writing exercise from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", but this is in fact the *Wuzanglun yijuan* 五藏論一卷 (On the Five Viscera, in one *juan*) preserved in the Daoist Canon. For photographs, see *Fa cang Dunhuang wenxian* 法藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Documents in French Collections), Vol. 13 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000), pp. 82–84. Perhaps they confused manuscript P.2378 with S.3287.

4 Yang Jiping 楊際平, "Tubo zinian zuo er jiang huzhuang yu suowei 'bosan buluo'" 吐蕃子年左二將戶狀與所謂'擘三部落' (Household Registers of the Left Second General of the Year of the Rat during the Tibetan Period and the So-called "Bosan buluo"), originally published in *Dunhuang xue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Journal of Dunhuang Studies), No. 2, 1986; here following the version in Yang Jiping, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yanjiu wenxuan* 敦煌吐魯番文書研究文選 (Selected Papers on the Study of Dunhuang and Turfan Documents) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 新文豐出版公司, 2007), pp. 281–291.

5 *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 5, pp. 27–30. See Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, pp. 53–55.

forth; these must have been written later, on the verso of the official document. Dunhuang was under Tibetan rule from 786 to 848, therefore the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" and the other texts must have been copied after 848, during the period of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit, 851–1036) period of the late Tang and Five Dynasties eras.

On the recto of document S.214 is a copy of "Yanzi fu" 燕子賦 (Rhapsody on the Swallow) with two colophons at the end. The first says: "Written by Du Yousui 杜友遂, student at the Yong'an Monastery 永安寺, on the 21st day of the 12th month of the *guiwei* year". The second says: "Written by Du Yousui, student at the Yong'an Monastery, on the 23rd day of the 3rd month of the *jiashen* year".[6] Scholars have concluded that both dates are in the year 924.[7] The verso of this document contains some scattered characters and copies of texts. The first line has the date, "The 20th day of the 10th month of the *jiashen* year". The next line copies the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" in darker ink. After that, there are copies of watchmen circulars 行人轉帖, association circulars 社司轉帖, poetry, lists of household items and other writings. Among them is another inscription, which says "Written by Secretary Du Yousui on the 20th day of the 11th month of the *jiashen* year" 甲申年十一月廿日綠（錄）事杜友遂帖.[8] From these indications we can conclude that these writings are products of the student Du Yousui's writing exercises in the year 924.

On the recto of document P.2671 in the French Collection of Dunhuang documents is a copy of the *Dasheng wuliangshou zongyao jing* 大乘無量壽宗要經 (Mahāyāna Sutra of the Essence of Limitless Life). On the verso are draft drawings of "Weisheng yuan" 未生怨 (Ajātaśatru) and "Shiliu guan" 十六觀 (Sixteen Meditations). On these drawings are some miscellaneous writings, including the three characters "Shang xiang Huang" 尚想黃 which are practiced in three

6 *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 1 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1990), pp. 84–86; Huang Zheng 黃征 and Zhang Yongquan 張涌泉, *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu* 敦煌變文校注 (Annotated Edition of Dunhuang Bianwen) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 376–380; Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Ying cang Dunhuang shehui lishi wenxian shilu* 英藏敦煌社會歷史文獻釋錄 (Annotated Transcription of the Dunhuang Manuscripts Concerning Social History Preserved in Britain), Vol. 1 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2001), pp. 315–320.

7 Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1957), p. 236; Li Zhengyu 李正宇, "Dunhuang xuelang tiji jizhu" 敦煌學郎題記輯注 (Annotated Collection of Student Colophons from Dunhuang), *Dunhuangxue jikan* (Journal of Dunhuang Studies), No. 1, 1987, p. 35.

8 *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 1, pp. 86–87; Hao Chunwen, *Ying cang Dunhuang shehui lishi wenxian shilu*, Vol. 1, pp. 330–338.

lines, one for each character, written from left to right.[9] This was a practice of the first three characters of "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie".

Document P.3368 is a copy of "Xinji wenci jiujing chao" 新集文詞九經抄 (New Collected Terms from the Nine Classics), from which several paper fragments have been removed. The seventh of these fragments contains the characters *chi shui* 池水 written in three lines, and the word *chi* alone in another one and a half lines.[10] This was a practice of individual characters from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie".

Apart from the above, the verso of manuscript BD9089 (陶 10) in the collection of the National Library of China features the characters "Shang xiang Huang Qi yixiang ..." 尚想黃綺意想□□, and so on. Manuscript Дх.00953 in the Russian Collection of Dunhuang documents has, on its verso, the three characters "Shang xiang Huang" 尚想黃. These again are practicing characters from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie".[11]

In addition, on the recently published verso of Hane 3 from the Kyōu Shooku collection in Japan, the second text is also a copy of "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" (Fig. 16.2). Note that the manuscript Hane 3 was formerly in Li Shengduo's 李盛鐸 collection of Dunhuang documents, which was later purchased in China by Haneda Tōru 羽田亨 for his collection. On its recto, it has the *Shijie jing* 十戒經 (Sūtra of the Ten Precepts) in the regular script, with a colophon by Wu Ziyang 吳紫陽 dated the 14th day of the 5th month in the 2nd year of the Zhide 至德 reign period (757). This document displays imprints of seals of Li Shengduo's collection, including one at the beginning, saying "Pavilion of Marvellous Calligraphy from the Two Jin Kingdoms, the Six Dynasties, the Three Tang periods and the Five Dynasties" 兩晉六朝三唐五代妙墨之軒, and others at the end, which say, "Li Pang" 李滂, "Secret Texts from the Dunhuang Library Cave" 敦煌石室秘籍, and "Offering by the Li Shengduo Family" 李盛鐸合家眷屬供養. On the verso, the first *juan* of the Buddhist text *Bian zhongbian lun* 辨中邊論 (Commentary on Distinguishing between the Middle and Extremes) is copied, followed by some empty space, and then three-and-a-half lines from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" written upside down.

9 *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts from the Western Regions in French Collections), Vol. 17 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), p. 179. See Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, p. 54.

10 *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian*, Vol. 23 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), p. 360. See Wo Xinghua, *Dunhuang shufa yishu*, p. 54.

11 See Cai Yuandi 蔡淵迪, *Dunhuang jingdian shufa ji xiangguan xizi yanjiu* 敦煌經典書法及相關習字研究 (Calligraphy Using Classical Texts in Dunhuang and Other Writing Exercises), MA Thesis, Zhejiang University, 2010, p. 42.

The writing stops before the end of the text; thus it must have been a writing exercise.[12] The calligraphy in this copy is particularly beautiful, capturing the spirit of Wang Xizhi. Perhaps it was copied from a proper calligraphy model book, hence it was preserved.

At the "54th Special Exhibition Conference of the Kyōu Shooku Library" hosted by the Takeda Science Foundation in Osaka, Japan, held on 19–24 April 2010, the Dunhuang document Hane 664, formerly in the collection of the late Haneda Tōru, was displayed.[13] It is a fragment of a student's writing exercise, which on the recto has characters from Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", and on the verso from the "Lanting xu" (Fig. 16.3a–b).[14] Both sides have the same format. Each character is written by the teacher twice across the top of the page, with heavy strokes, as models for the students to copy below, in straight vertical columns. This reflects the way in which students in Dunhuang copied the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi to learn and practice characters. The "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" section has the characters from the end and opening of the essay: "practicing calligraphy by the pond" 池學書 and "I still admire Huang and Qi and want to surpass [Zhong] Yao [鐘]繇, [but] I have grown old" 尚想黃綺意想疾於繇年在. There seems to be a seam in the middle of the paper and the characters do not line up perfectly.[15]

What has been said above is all we know so far about the copies of "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" preserved in Dunhuang. As was true with Wang

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12 Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan no Kyōu Shooku 武田科学振興財団の杏雨書屋, ed., *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 (Precious Books from Dunhuang: Photographs), Vol. 1 (Osaka: Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan, 2009), p. 39; pictured in *Dai 54 kai Kyōu Shooku tokubetsu tenjikai "Tonkō no tenseki to komonjo" zuroku* 第 54 回杏雨書屋特別展示會"敦煌の典籍と古文書"圖錄 (Illustrated Catalogue of the 54th Special Exhibition of the Kyōu Shooku Library: "Dunhuang Texts and Ancient Documents") (Osaka: Kyōu Shooku, 2010), p. 27.

13 Hane 664 is recorded in Haneda Tōru, ed. *Tonko hikyū mokuroku: Shin zō mokuroku* 敦煌秘籍目錄・新増目錄 (New Catalogue of Dunhuang Collections: Catalogue of Newly Added Items) (Dunhuang manuscripts Nos. 433–670), as having been purchased in May 1941 along with 14 items. See Luohe Jundian [Ochiai Toshinori] 落合俊典, "Dunhuang miji mulu (Di 443 hao zhi 670 hao) lüekao" 敦煌秘笈目錄（第 443 號至 670 號）略考 (A Brief Study of the Tonkō hikyū Collection [Items 433–670]), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 7, 2004, p. 175; see Ochiai "Tonkō hikyū – Maboroshi no shirukurōdo shahon wo sagashite" 敦煌秘笈 – 幻のシルクロード写本を探して (The Tonkō hikyū Collection: Looking for Phantom Silk Road Manuscripts), *Kachō tanki daigaku gakuhō* 華頂短期大學學報 (Journal of the Kacho College), No. 6, 2002, pp. 15–19.

14 See *Dai 54 kai Kyōu Shooku tokubetsu tenjikai "Tonkō no tenseki to komonjo" zurku*, figures, pp. 27–28.

15 See Rong Xinjiang, "'Lanting xu' zai Xiyu".

Xizhi's "Lanting xu", the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" followed in the wake of the westward spread of Tang culture, and was transmitted to the Western Regions.

First, we must mention Xizhou 西州, which was established after the Tang empire destroyed the Gaochang 高昌 kingdom in the 14th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (640). As an official prefecture of the Tang empire, Xizhou should have had a system of cultural education that was consistent with the interior, and one would therefore expect to see the transmission of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy in this region. However, thus far no examples of calligraphy from "Lanting xu" have been found in the documents excavated in Turfan 吐魯番. Yet we have found two manuscripts of calligraphy practice from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi [tie]" there.

In 1972, a few fragments of student calligraphy practice were excavated in Astana Tomb 179, Turfan. The editor of *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Documents Excavated in Turfan) transcribed only two of them, which they called "Writing Exercise of the Student Linghu Cimin 令狐慈敏 from the Wu Zhou 武周 Period", and were explained as follows:

> This set of documents contains 13 fragments, all of which are students' writing exercises. Among them, nine are by a student named Linghu Cimin, and the other four are by another pupil named He Duli 和闍利. The characters they wrote do not connect to each other. Therefore, we now only transcribe the first and second fragments written by Linghu Cimin.

The other fragments have been published as facsimile copies and are all labelled as "Document fragments".[16] Fukuda Tetsuyuki 福田哲之 discovered that the fragments in item 72TAM179:18 were all copies of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" written by Linghu Cimin, including the words " ... compared to it, or even surpass it; Zhang's cursive script [...] like this, I may not be inferior to him; approach learning by considering it less important ..." ... 當抗行，或謂過之，張草 ... 若此，未必謝，臨學後之... (Fig. 16.4), with two lines of practice per character. In addition, the student He Duli's calligraphy practice contained characters from the *Qianzi wen* (all included in item 72TAM179:17).[17] Between the characters *wei* 未 and *guo* 過 is the note: "Written

16 Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, ed., *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Documents Excavated at Turfan), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 363 and 366.

17 Fukuda Tetsuyuki 福田哲之, "Torufan shutsudo bunsho ni mirareru Ō Gishi shūsho: Asutana 179-gō haka bunsho' (72TAM179:18) wo chūshin ni" 吐魯番出土文書に見られ

by Linghu Cimin on the 17th day of the 3rd month". Then there are the characters "jiyi" 記憶 (remember) written in another hand,[18] probably a teacher's comment. There is yet another fragment that contains nothing but the colophon "the [student] Ling[hu Cimin] on the 19th day of the 3rd month". Here the characters *yue* 月 (month) and *ri* 日 (day) are in the form introduced during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705), indicating that the colophon was written during that period.

This manuscript is extremely important for the history of the transmission of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie". First, it contains the "new characters" of Wu Zetian's Zhou 周 dynasty (690–705), which places its date much earlier than other copies from Dunhuang. Secondly, the colophon of this manuscript shows that students were required to copy the characters from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie": each student had to fill two lines on the page for each character. After the student's colophon, the larger characters written in a different hand must have been the teacher's comment. Thus, it is clear that, at least since the Zhou dynasty (or perhaps even in the time of Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), who was so fond of Wang's calligraphy), "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" had become a character practice model for students throughout the empire. The convention of filling two rows with each character is also confirmed by Dunhuang manuscript Hane 664 and others.

Another example among the Turfan finds of writing practice using the characters from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" is Ōtani 4087. The first three lines are taken from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", while the next five are from "Tuyuan cefu" 兔園策府 (Storehouse of Bamboo Slips from the Rabbit Garden).[19] The handwriting in this document is not very good; it is written by a student. The fact that it was copied together with lines from a children's primer also suggests that it was written by a young pupil.

The Xizhou region, where Turfan was located, was officially part of the Tang empire at that time. The transmission of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi

る王羲之習書 – 阿斯塔那一七九號墓文書 (72TAM179: 18) を中心に (The Calligraphy of Wang Xizhi as seen in Turfan Manuscripts: Manuscript 72TAM179:18 from Astana Tomb 179), *Shogaku shodō-shi kenkyū* 書學書道史研究 (The History of Calligraphy), No. 8 (1998), pp. 29–41. See Zhang Nali 張娜麗, *Saiiki shutsudo munjo no kisoteki kenkyū* 西域出土文書の基礎的研究 (Basic Research on the Manuscripts Excavated in the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2006), pp. 312–315.

18 Note that the character *yi* 憶 is written in its alternative form here. I am especially grateful to Professor Xue Longchun 薛龍春 of Nanjing Art Academy 南京藝術學院 and Professor Liu Tao 劉濤 of the Chinese Central Art Academy 中央美術學院 for their help in identifying and explaining this character.

19 Fukuda Tetsuyuki, "Torufan shutsudo bunsho ni mirareru Ō Gishi shūsho", pp. 33–34; Zhang Nali, *Saiiki shutsudo munjo no kisoteki kenkyū*, pp. 310–312 and 315–318.

tie" did not stop here, but like "Lanting xu", spread further west, first reaching Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲) , the seat of the Anxi Protectorate 安西都護府. The Ōtani 大谷 (1902–1904) expedition discovered a small paper fragment in Duldur-aqur (Ōtani 1510, Fig. 16.5), which contains only 3 lines (10 characters). The characters are larger than those seen in most of the documents – about as wide as a finger. At the bottom of the fragment is the end of the paper, thus the last character in the third line is written smaller than the others.[20] The first two lines contain the character *yan* 雁 (wild geese) and the following one contains the character *hang* 行 (in this case meaning "fly in line"); these are the characters "Zhang cao you dang yan hang" 張草尤當雁行 (Zhang's cursive script is exactly like wild geese flying in line) from Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie". The characters are written close to the edge of the paper, which was also the format followed in other examples of character practice. Though an extremely small fragment, this specimen proves that Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" had already spread beyond the official borders of the Tang empire into the Western Regions proper.

The story of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy has not yet come to an end. Like "Lanting xu", "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" also reached Khotan (Yutian 于闐), the furthermost heartland of the Western Regions. So far, three relevant manuscripts have been discovered there.

The first one is document M.T.095 (Or.8212/1519), a fragment discovered at the Mazar Tagh site in northern Khotan by M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) during his third Central Asian expedition. It contains nine lines of writing which repeat the three characters "dan zhi ruo" 躭之若 (concentrate and work hard like [Zhang Zhi 張芝] ...) (Fig. 16.6).[21] We can tell at a glance that it is writing exercise based on "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie". Although it is from a student's hand, and the handwriting is not very good, it has a pivotal significance in the history of the transmission of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy because it was discovered in such a remote place in the Western Regions.

The second manuscript consists of five fragments excavated in Khotan, now in the collection of the Renmin University Museum, all practicing the characters "wu fu ji" 吾弗及 (I couldn't keep up with). The characters are practiced

20 Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久 et al., eds., *Ōtani bunsho shūsei* 大谷文書集成 (Compendium of the Ōtani Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1984), p. 73, labelled "Fragments of Writing Exercises", Fig. 132.

21 Sha Zhi 沙知 and Wu Fangsi 吳芳思 [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*) 斯坦因第三次中亞考古所獲漢文文獻（非佛經部分）(Archaeological Finds of Chinese Documents from Stein's Third Expedition to Central Asia [Non-Buddhist Texts]), Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005), p. 197, labelled "Writing exercise".

one at a time, filling three lines with one character before moving on to the next. From manuscript S.214 we can see that these are the last three characters in the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie". Although the fragments are badly damaged, they are still valuable as examples of writing exercise modelled after the work of the master calligrapher Wang Xizhi.

Furthermore, among the paper fragments discovered at the Mazar Tagh site near Khotan during Stein's second expedition was the document M.T.b.006, which on its recto contains characters from the "Lanting xu", specifically one line of the character "xin" 欣 (joy) and two lines of the character "fu" 俛 (look down) (which come from the lines "xiangzhi suo xin, fu (fu) yang zhijian" 向之所欣，俛（俯）仰之間 (what previously brought joy, has now quickly …). On the verso are two lines of the character *dang* 當 and four lines of the character *kang* 抗, which are from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" (corresponding to the lines "wu bizhi Zhang, Zhong dang kang xing" 吾比之張、鐘當抗行 [my calligraphy] is comparable to that of Zhang and Zhong).[22] Thus this text of student writing practice clearly has characters from the "Lanting xu" on the recto and from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" on the verso, similar to Dunhuang manuscript Hane 664 mentioned above, formerly in the collection of Haneda Tōru. This juxtaposition of the two texts is probably not a coincidence, but a manifestation of Tang calligraphy teaching conventions.

We know that the Tang empire re-established the Four Garrisons of Anxi in the 10th month of the 1st year of the Changshou 長壽 reign period (692), and stationed 30,000 Chinese troops there to guard the Western Regions. After this, many literate officials from Central China moved to the Western Regions, taking Chinese culture with them to the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The children who accompanied them also had to study calligraphy, and the character practice fragments from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" may have come from the hand of these children. The excavations in Turfan, Kucha and Khotan of documents containing writing exercises from the "Lanting xu" and the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", show that these calligraphic models 法帖 recorded in the *Youjun shumu* 右軍書目 (Catalogue of Wang Xizhi's Calligraphy) in the

22 Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913), p. 204, pl. XXXII. For the identification of the recto, see Chen Lifang 陳麗芳, "Tangdai Yutian de tongmeng jiaoyu: Yi Zhongguo renmin daxue bowuguan cang Hetian xizi wei zhongxin" 唐代于闐的童蒙教育 – 以中國人民大學博物館藏和田習字為中心 (Children's Education in Khotan during the Tang: Writing Exercises in the Khotanese Collection of the Renmin University Museum), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 1, 2014, p. 41; for the identification of the verso, I am grateful to Bao Xiaoyue 包曉悅, graduate student at Peking University.

Tang Palace Collection were not only appreciated by the imperial family, but were also transmitted among the common people. They spread far and wide, becoming models for students in Dunhuang and the Western Regions in their practice. They can thus serve as indications of the westward transmission of Chinese culture.

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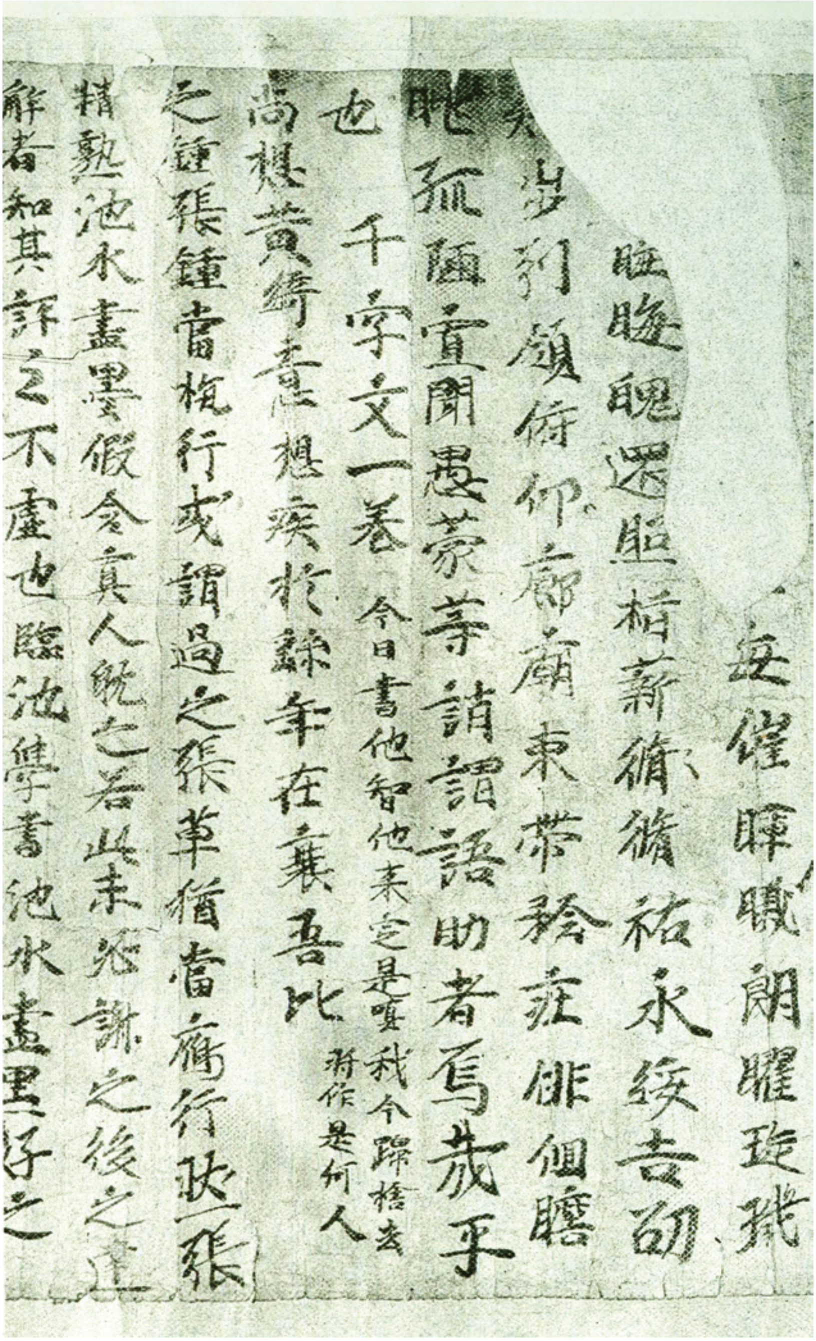
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FIGURE 16.1 Writing exercise from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" in Dunhuang Manuscript S.3287

FIGURE 16.2 Copy of "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", Dunhuang document Hane 3 (verso)

FIGURE 16.3A Writing exercise from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", Hane 664 (recto)

FIGURE 16.3B Writing exercise from the "Lanting xu", Hane 664 (verso)

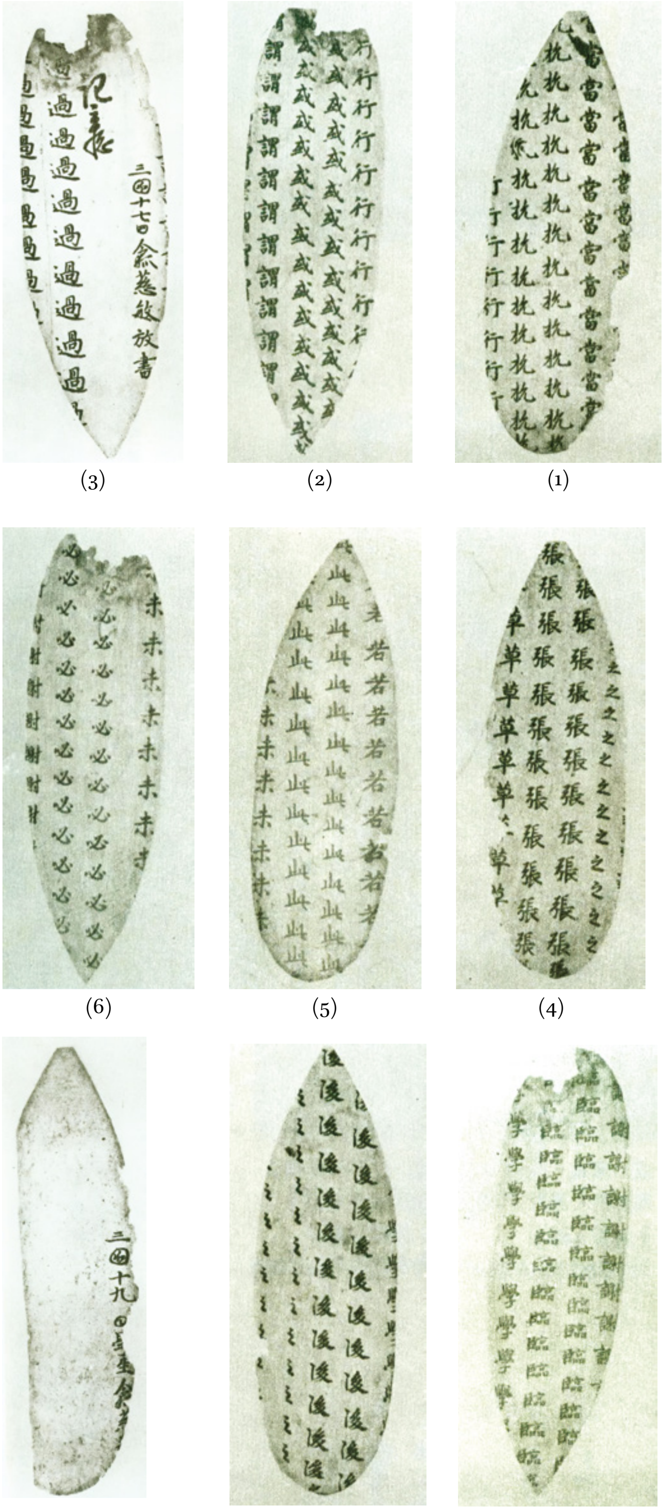

FIGURE 16.4
Writing exercise from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" by the student Linghu Cimin,

FIGURE 16.5 Writing exercise from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" from the Kucha Region

FIGURE 16.6 Writing exercise from the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" from Khotan

CHAPTER 17

Reception and Rejection: The Transmission of Chinese Texts into the Western Regions during the Tang Dynasty

Translated by Sally K. Church

The Tang dynasty began extending its power into the Western Regions during the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), and when it destroyed the Western Turkic Qaghanate at the time of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683), the sovereignty of the Western Regions came under the Tang. Later, although the dynasty was often on the receiving end of attacks and invasions from the Tibetans and the remnants of the Turkic tribes, it was able to sustain its rule over the Western Regions for over a century. During this period, the Tang administrative system and culture gradually penetrated into the Western Regions and were absorbed and adopted by the oasis kingdoms there.

However, because of the relative scarcity of historical records, and because past manuscript discoveries in the region were so patchy, it was previously impossible even to begin discussing the depth and breadth of the influence of mainstream Chinese culture on the Western Regions during the Tang. Based on the Chinese manuscripts and those in other languages unearthed in Kucha, Khotan and other sites since the end of the 19th century, and especially on the new materials that have been discovered in recent years, I focus here on investigating the circulation in the Western Regions of the core texts in Chinese culture. I discuss which texts were transmitted to the Western Regions, in what form they were transmitted, what route they took, who used them, what influence they had, what significance they had for the knowledge structure of the local peoples in these areas, and what resistance there was to their transmission, in order to conduct a comprehensive discussion of the spread of Chinese texts in this region, and to explore the reasons why this transmission did not continue.

1 The Geographical Scope of the Western Regions and the Limits of the Current Investigation

The term "Western Regions" has both a narrow and a broad meaning. The narrow meaning usually refers to the area south of the Tianshan mountains,

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north of the Kunlun mountains, east of the Pamirs and west of the Jade Gate pass. The broad meaning refers to the whole region west of the western border of the Chinese empire; in addition to the Western Regions in the narrow sense, it also includes South Asia, West Asia and even North Africa and Europe. We can see that in its narrow sense it is the core of the wider Western Regions. Our discussion here concerns the Western Regions in its narrow meaning.

However, it should be explained that the scope of the term "Western Regions" and its boundaries does not remain unchanged throughout the different historical periods. From the Han dynasty onwards, the Chinese states generally took the Jade Gate and the Yang Gate north-west of Dunhuang 敦煌 as their boundary. As soon as one went beyond these two passes, one would enter the Western Regions. Poets expressed this idea in such lines as "Xi chu yangguan wu guren" 西出陽關無故人 (West out of Yang Gate there are no old friends) and "Chun feng budu Yumen guan" 春風不度玉門關 (The spring wind does not go beyond Jade Gate pass). In 60 BCE, the Western Han empire established protectorates (*duhufu* 都護府) in the Western Regions, whose jurisdiction included the northern and southern parts of present-day Xinjiang 新疆. However, by the beginning of the Tang, these borders had changed. In the early years of the dynasty, the monk Xuanzang 玄奘, who was on his way to India to acquire Buddhist scriptures, passed through the Gaochang 高昌 kingdom (present-day Turfan 吐魯番) and received a warm welcome and generous hospitality from the ruler of this kingdom, Qu Wentai 麴文泰. In 644, however, when Xuanzang passed through the Western Regions on his way back to China and went to repay the kindness he had received from Qu Wentai, he found that the Gaochang kingdom had been destroyed four years earlier by the troops of Tang Taizong, and the region had already been renamed Xizhou 西州 under Tang jurisdiction.[1] Thereupon, when Xuanzang wrote his *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, he opened with the words, "I left the former territory of Gaochang, and the nearest place was called the kingdom of Aqini 阿耆尼 (formerly called Yanqi 焉耆)".[2] Thus, the eastern border of the Western Regions had been moved west of the Turfan depression. By the Kaiyuan 開元 (713–741) and Tianbao 天寶 (742–756) reign periods, the Tang dynasty had already expanded the territory under its direct control from a line that went through Xizhou (Turfan), Yizhou 伊州 (Hami 哈密, i.e. Kumul), Shichengzhen

1 See Meng Xianshi, 孟憲實, "Tang Xuanzang yu Qu Wentai" 唐玄奘與麴文泰 (Xuanzang and Qu Wentai), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 4, 1999, pp. 89–101.

2 Ji Xianlin et al., eds., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Annotated Edition of the *Journey to the Western Regions in the Great Tang*) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), p. 46.

石城鎮 (Ruoqiang 若羌, i.e. Charkliq), Boxianzhen 播仙鎮 (Qiemo 且末, i.e. Charchan) to the region of the Four Garrisons of Anxi in the Tarim basin. Moreover, the western border of the Tang dynasty also moved further west to the Pamir mountains.[3] Precisely for these reasons, when we discuss the situation in the Western Regions during the Tang, we have to exclude the extremely rich manuscript material excavated in Turfan.[4]

The narrow meaning of the "Western Regions" in general is equivalent to the southern and northern parts of Xinjiang. The Xinjiang region is divided by the Tianshan mountain range into northern and southern parts. Since ancient times the northern part was mostly inhabited by nomadic tribes, while the southern border region consisted of oasis kingdoms settled by sedentary agriculturalists who made their living by farming. In 1759, the Qing 清 government annexed both the northern and southern parts, and in 1884 established the province of Xinjiang, although the word "Xinjiang" (New Frontier) was used differently in different works during the Qing period. The famous author Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848), in his *Xiyu shuidao ji* 西域水道記 (Record of the Waterways in the Western Regions) included Dunhuang within the Western Regions. However, his work *Xinjiang shilüe* 新疆識略 (Understanding Xinjiang), officially commissioned by Yili 伊犁 general Song Yun 松筠 (1752–1835), identified Xinjiang as being west of Hami. Modern Xinjiang is located in

3 Concerning the different meanings of the term "Western Regions" in the Tang period, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Dunhuang ben *Tianbao shi dao lu* ji qi jiazhi" 敦煌本《天寶十道錄》及其價值 (The Dunhuang Version of *The Ten Circuits of the Tianbao Period* and its Value), *Jiu zhou* 九州 (The Nine Regions), Vol. 2, 1999, p. 125; Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin 文欣, "'Xiyu' gainian de bianhua yu Tangchao 'bianjing' de xiyi: Jian tan Anxi duhufu zai Tang zhengzhi tixi zhong de diwei" "西域"概念的變化與唐朝"邊境"的西移 – 兼談安西都護府在唐政治體系中的地位 (Changes in the Concept of the "Western Regions", and the Westward Shift of the Tang "Border": A Discussion of the Anxi Protectorate in the Tang Political System), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報 (Journal of Peking University), No. 4, 2012, pp. 113–119.

4 Concerning the presence of Chinese works among the Turfan manuscripts, Zhu Yuqi 朱玉麒 has made a comprehensive collection and study of Chinese texts among the Turfan manuscripts from a broad perspective of literature. See Zhu Yuqi, "Zhonggu shiqi Tulufan diqu Hanwen wenxue de chuanbo yu jieshou: Yi Tulufan chutu wenshu wei zhongxin" 中古時期吐魯番地區漢文文學的傳播與接受：以吐魯番出土文書為中心 (The Transmission and Reception of Chinese Literature in the Turfan Region during the Medieval Period: Excavated Manuscripts from Turfan), *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學 (Chinese Social Sciences), No. 6, 2010, pp. 182–194; and also Zhu Yuqi, "Tulufan wenshu zhong de Hanwen wenxue ziliao xulu" 吐魯番文書中的漢文文學資料敘錄 (Description of Chinese Literary Texts in the Turfan Manuscripts), *Tulufanxue yanjiu* 吐魯番學研究 (Turfan Studies), No. 2, 2009, pp. 89–98; and his "Tulufan wenshu zhong de Xuanzong shi" 吐魯番文書中的玄宗詩 (The Poetry of Tang Xuanzong in the Turfan Manuscripts), *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), No. 7, 2012, pp. 63–75.

the heart of the Eurasian continent. It occupies over 1,600,000 square kilometres, about one sixth of all of China's land area.

From the second half of the 19th century, Western scholars undertook a thorough study of Xinjiang's geography and archaeology. They too were inconsistent in their use of the term "Western Regions" in their writings. The geographical scope of the various names they used was also not the same. Many people have used the general term "Central Asia" to refer to the Western Regions and this of course is not incorrect. Some people called it Chinese Turkestan or Eastern Turkestan; these two terms were used in contrast to the terms Russian Turkestan and Western Turkestan. This is because from the perspective of the first Westerners who went there, these places were mostly inhabited by Turkish-speaking people, which is the derivation of the term "Turkestan". From the perspective of modern geography, the "Western Regions" belongs to "Central Asia", or even more broadly to "Inner Asia", and roughly corresponds to Xinjiang.

Below we shall discuss four aspects of the transmission of texts from Central China to the Western Regions.

2 The Gradual Westward Spread of Chinese Classical Texts

Apart from Tang dynasty Xizhou, most of the excavated texts have come from the oasis kingdoms of Kucha and Khotan. Based on both the transmitted texts and excavated manuscripts, we shall examine the circumstances surrounding the transmission of Chinese works from Central China to these areas.

2.1 *Kucha*

Kucha was a large kingdom in the Western Regions from the Han through the Tang periods. In the north it nestles against the Tianshan mountains and in the south it borders on the Taklamakan desert. It was the most important oasis kingdom in the Western Regions. From the Han period onward, Kucha maintained relations with the Chinese states. When Tang forces destroyed the Qaghanate of the Western Turks in 658, the sovereignty of the kingdoms in the Western Regions, including Kucha, was transferred to the Tang empire. The Tang administration moved the seat of the Anxi Protectorate from Jiaohe 交河 in Xizhou to the city of Kucha, and placed the Four Garrisons of Anxi (Kucha), Khotan, Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar) and Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr) under its jurisdiction. Kucha became the military administrative centre of the Western Regions under Tang rule. As Kucha's relationship with Central China became closer, Chinese manuscripts were wrapped together in white silk and transported in bundles to Kucha, from where they were distributed to other regions.

In the German collection of manuscripts excavated in the region of ancient Kucha, there is a copy of the rhyme book *Qieyun* 切韻 (T IV K 95–100 a, b, modern pressmark Ch 1991),[5] as well as a fragment of the expanded version of the *Qieyun* (T IV K 75, Ch 2094).[6] Tang dynasty rhyme books had two functions. One was for people to use as reference works when writing poetry, to help one compose lines of verse and choose the right rhymes. The other was to serve as reference works for people preparing to take the Civil Service Examinations. In the Tang dynasty the examination system emphasised the *jinshi* 進士 exam, which tested candidates on their composition of poetry (*shi* 詩) and rhapsodies (*fu* 賦). Therefore they needed to use rhyme books for reference.[7]

The last volume of *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of the Archaeological Exploration of the Western Regions), in the category of classical texts, shows a manuscript fragment obtained by the Ōtani expedition, which has on its recto and verso passages from the "Biography of Zhang Liang" (*Zhang Liang zhuan* 張良傳) from Ban Gu's 班固 *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty) and the "Biographies of the Disciples of Zhongni (Confucius)" (*Zhongni dizi liezhuan* 仲尼弟子列傳) from Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian). The fragment has a site number identifying the place where it was excavated, which was the Kumtura caves.[8] Coincidentally, the German "Turfan collection" contains a fragment (T II T 1132, Ch 938), which on its recto and verso also has text from the "Biography of Zhang Liang" in the *Hanshu*, and the "Biographies of the Disciples of Zhongni

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5 Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun* 唐五代韻書輯存 (Extant Rhyme Dictionaries from the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods) (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1994), pp. 71 and 825–827; Gaotian Shixiong [Takata Tokio] 高田時雄, *Dunhuang, Minzu, Yuyan* 敦煌·民族·語言 (Dunhuang: Peoples: Languages), trans. by Zhong Chong 鐘翀 et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 24–27, and 37 (Fig. 2).

6 Zhou Zumo, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun*, pp. 236, 239 and 865–866; Tokio Takata, "The Chinese Language in Turfan with a Special Focus on the *Qieyun* Fragments", in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al., eds., *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2004), pp. 333–335; Gaotian Shixiong [Takata Tokio], *Dunhuang, Minzu, Yuyan*, pp. 24–27.

7 See Pingtian Changsi [Hirata Shōji] 平田昌司, "*Qieyun* yu Tangdai gongling: Keju zhidu yu Hanyu shi, di san"《切韻》與唐代功令 – 科舉制度與漢語史第三 (The *Qieyun* and Tang Decrees: The Examination System and the History of the Chinese Language, Part 3), in Pan Wuyun 潘悟雲, ed., *Dongfang yuyan yu wenhua* 東方語言與文化 (Languages and Cultures of the East) (Shanghai: Shanghai dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2002), pp. 327–359.

8 Kagawa Mokushiki 香川默識, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜 (Illustrated Catalogue of Archaeological Explorations of the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kokkasha, 1915), "Keiseki rui zuhan" 經籍類圖版 (Plates to Works of Classical Literature), Pl. (5) – (1) and (2). "Biography of Zhang Liang" 張良傳, *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962; reprinted 1975), *juan* 40, pp. 2023–2038; "Biographies of the Disciples of Zhongni (Confucius)" 仲尼弟子列傳, *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959; reprinted 1973), *juan* 67, pp. 2185–2226.

(Confucius)" in the *Shiji*.[9] The texts' *juan* number in the two fragments are a perfect match, and so is the handwriting. Clearly, they must be from the same manuscript. Moreover, they must even be from the top and bottom parts of the same sheet of paper, although there is a gap in the middle so they do not fit together perfectly (Fig. 17.1).[10] The German site number implies that this document was obtained on the Second Turfan Expedition at Toyuq in Turfan, which is different from how the Ōtani expedition marked their fragment. At present it is impossible to determine which site number is correct, but at least one possibility is that the document came from Kucha.

West of the city of Kucha, on the western shore of the Muzart river at the site of Duldur-aqur, the Ōtani expedition discovered a small paper fragment (Ōtani 1510), which consists only of three lines with 10 characters.[11] From the contents we can see that it consists of writing practice of the last two characters of the line, "Zhang cao you dang yan hang" 張草尤當雁行 ("Zhang's cursive script is exactly like wild geese flying in line") in Wang Xizhi's 王羲之 "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" 尚想黃綺帖 (In Admiration for Huang and Qi).

In the region of the kingdom of Kucha some fragments of Chinese Buddhist texts have been discovered, which are, as far as I was able to determine, as follows:

Jingang bore boluomi jing 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (Diamond Sutra), T IV K 75 (Ch 171).[12]

Jingang bore boluomi jing, found by Paul Pelliot at Duldur-aqur, numbered D.a.113.[13]

9 Rong Xinjiang, "Deguo Tulufan shoujipin zhong de Hanwen dianji yu wenshu" 德國吐魯番收集品中的漢文典籍與文書 (Chinese Books and Documents in the German Turfan Collection), *Huaxue* 華學 (Chinese Studies), No. 3, 1998, pp. 312, 315; Tsuneki Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung* (*Chinesische und manjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke*, Teil 3) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), pp. 58–59, Pl. 6; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*) 吐魯番文書總目(歐美收藏卷) (Catalogue of Turfan Manuscripts [European and American Collections]) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2007), p. 77.

10 Rong Xinjiang, "*Shiji* yu *Hanshu*: Tulufan chutu wenxian zhaji zhi yi"《史記》與《漢書》– 吐魯番出土文獻札記之一 (The *Shiji* and *Hanshu*: A Manuscript Excavated in Turfan), *Xinjiang shifan daxue xuebao* 新疆師範大學學報 (Journal of Xinjiang Normal University), No. 1, 2004, pp. 41–43, and 4 plates.

11 Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久 et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei* 大谷文書集成 (Compendium of the Ōtani Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1984), p. 73, Pl. 132, with the caption "Xizizhi duanpian" 習字紙斷片 (Fragment of Writing Practice).

12 Gerhard Schmidt and Thomas Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Vol. I (BTT VI) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975), p. 40; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 14.

13 Éric Trombert (with the collaboration of Ikeda On and Zhang Guangda), *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha: Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: lnstitut des

Mohe bore boluomi jing 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom), *juan* 24 (Ōtani 8123).[14]

Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經 (Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma), *juan* 2, T IV K 75, Ch 805.[15]

Miaofa lianhuajing, *juan* 5, Ōtani 8125.[16]

Miaofa lianhuajing, *juan* 5, Ōtani 7518+ Ōtani 7126+ Ōtani 7244+ Ōtani 7005, unearthed at Kumtura.[17]

Daban niepan jing 大般涅槃經 (Great Nirvana Sutra) *juan* 3, T IV K 70(+)71 Ch 2293r, on the recto it says "*Foming jing* 佛名經 (Sutra of the Buddha's Names), one *juan*", but the text itself is missing.[18]

Weimojie suoshuo jing 維摩詰所說經 (Sutra Spoken by Vimalakīrti) *juan* 1, Ōtani 8122.[19]

Apart from these, there are also six fragments in the German collection that have not been identified: T IV K 70(+)71 (Ch 852),[20] T IV K 75 (Ch 1373),[21] T IV K 70(+)71.502 (Ch 1998),[22] T IV K 70(+)71 (Ch 2063), T IV K 70(+)71.503 (Ch 2209),[23] and T IV K 70(+)71.500 (Ch 2809).[24] There are also five fragments that Pelliot found in Duldur-aqur: D.a.5,[25] D.a.25,[26] D.a.26,[27] D.a.241[28] and D.a.246.[29]

Of these, the *Diamond Sutra*, *Lotus Sutra* and *Nirvana Sutra* were the most popular Buddhist texts to be translated into Chinese during the Tang period, which shows that the Chinese Buddhist texts recited by the monks here were

hautes études chinoises de Collège de France, 2000), p. 99.

14 Kagawa, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 2, Buddhist Texts 13; Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 3 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2003), p. 244.

15 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Vol. I, p. 57; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 65.

16 Kagawa, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 3, Buddhist Texts 58; Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 3, p. 244.

17 Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 4, pp. 79, 28, 45 and 8.

18 Thomas Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Vol. II (BTT XIV) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), p. 64; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 188.

19 Kagawa, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 2, Buddhist Texts 66; Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 3, p. 244.

20 Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 69.

21 Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 114.

22 Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 165.

23 Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 125; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 182.

24 Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 228.

25 Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha*, p. 50.

26 Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha*, p. 60.

27 Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha*, p. 60.

28 Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha*, p. 127.

29 Trombert, *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha*, p. 128.

the same ones that were read at the same time in Shazhou 沙州 (Dunhuang) and Xizhou (Turfan). In addition, there are also two 9th- to 10th-century Uighur period manuscripts of the *Sifen biqiu jieben* 四分律比丘戒本 (*Dharmaguptaka-bhikṣu-pratimokṣa-sūtra*) (T IV K 77, Ch 5511 and T IV K 77, Ch 5512).[30] Their source text may be a Chinese manuscript of the Tang period. There must be many other Buddhist text fragments that have not been identified, and whose site numbers do not allow us to be certain that they were excavated in Kucha.

In addition to these, there is a fragment of the "Shanxinglü" 擅興律 chapter of the Tang Code (*Tanglü* 唐律) (T IV K 70(+)71, Ch 991),[31] which was also transmitted to Kucha.

2.2 *Khotan*

The Ōtani expedition had discovered a fragment of *juan* 8 of Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Orthodox Meanings of the Book of Documents) (Fig. 17.2).[32] From the style of writing, we can see that it must be a Tang dynasty manuscript. It is a very rare remnant of a core Confucian classic. Moreover, one of the German expeditions excavated another remarkable manuscript in Khotan, namely, a section from the "Weizi" 微子 chapter of the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects of Confucius), as presented in the *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 (Explanations of the Classics) (T IV Chotan, Ch 3473r) with seven lines of writing on it.[33]

What is very interesting is that M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943), on his third expedition to Central Asia, at the site of Mazar Tagh north of Khotan, discovered a fragment which we identified as Chapter 48, "Huofu" 禍福 (Misfortune and Fortune), of the *Liuzi* 劉子, written by Liu Zhou 劉晝 in the Northern Qi 北齊

30 Schmidt and Thilo, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Vol. 1, p. 172; Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tulufan wenshu zongmu* (*Ou-Mei shoucang juan*), p. 321.

31 Tatsuro Yamamoto, On Ikeda and Makoto Okano, *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents concerning Social and Economic History*, Vol. 1. *Legal texts* (A) (B) (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1978–1980), A, 26, 121; B, 16.

32 Kagawa, ed., *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 2, *Keiseki* 經籍 (Classical Literature) (2) – (1); Oda Yoshihisa et al., eds., *Ōtani monjo shūsei*, Vol. 3, p. 233.

33 Nishiwaki, *Chinesische Texte vermischten Inhalts aus der Berliner Turfansammlung*, p. 40. This item has disintegrated into several small fragments, and the two sides were mixed up when they were inserted into a thick glass frame for preservation. It was restored by Oguchi Masashi 小口雅史; see his "Berurin Torufan korekushon-chū no Kōtan jinmeiroku (Ch 3473) wo megutte" ベルリン·吐魯番コレクション中のコータン人名録 (Ch 3473) をめぐって (On the Index of Khotanese Personal Names [Ch 3473] in the Berlin Turfan Collection). *Hōsei shigaku* 法政史學 (Journal of the Hōsei Historical Society), No. 67, 2007, pp. 16–29; see also a revision in *Hōsei shigaku*, No. 68, 2007, pp. 11–119.

dynasty (550–577) (M.T.0625, Or.8212/725, Fig. 17.3).[34] This may represent the transmission of Daoist thought.

Wang Xizhi's "Lanting xu" 蘭亭序 is the most representative piece of Chinese calligraphy. Because it was promoted by Emperor Tang Taizong, it was revered in the Tang period as a model to be followed, and became the most popular work copied as calligraphy practice. Not only have many copies of the "Lanting xu" been discovered in Dunhuang, but copies of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" have also been discovered in Turfan and Kucha. In recent years an exquisite fragment of five lines from the "Lanting xu" (Дx.18943–1) has been identified in the Russian collection of manuscripts excavated in Khotan. Unfortunately only the beginning of the text survives. Even more instructive are two additional copies of the "Lanting xu" identified among the fragments kept at the Museum of Renmin University of China and the National Library of China. The first of these (GXW0112) contains only six characters from the very beginning of the text, representing the words "the 9th year of Yonghe in the *gui* year". It is unclear why the writing does not continue. From the writing at the top and in the margins, the size of the characters, and the amount of blank space around the edges of the paper, there is no doubt that it is a copy of writing practice of the "Lanting xu". Another fragment can be pieced together from two separate fragments: GXW0017 from the Museum of Renmin University of China and BH3–7 from the National Library of China. It contains only a few words: "Yonghe jiu sui zai guichou" (the 9th year of Yonghe, the *guichou* year). These characters do not show a very high level of literacy; they look as if the writer was just practising writing, not trying to copy the text.[35] Apart

34 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti" 關於唐宋時期中原文化對于闐影響的幾個問題 (Some Questions concerning Chinese Cultural Influences on Khotan in the Tang and Song Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 1, 1993, p. 416. For the image, see Henri Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisiéme expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale* (London: The British Museum, 1953), p. 191, Pl. XXXV; Sha Zhi 沙知 and Wu Fangsi 吳芳思 [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*) 斯坦因第三次中亞考古所獲漢文文獻（非佛經部分）(Archaeological Finds of Chinese Documents from Stein's Third Expedition to Central Asia [Non-Buddhist Texts]), Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005), p. 196.

35 Rong Xinjiang, "'Lanting xu' zai Xiyu" 蘭亭序在西域 (The "Lanting xu" in the Western Regions), *Guoxue xuekan* 國學學刊 (Research in the Tradition of Chinese Culture), No. 1, 2011, pp. 65–71; later incorporated in Zhongguo renmin daxue Guoxueyuan 中國人民大學國學院, ed., *Guoxue de chuancheng yu chuangxin: Feng Qiyong xiansheng congshi jiaoxue yu keyan liushi zhounian qinghe xueshu wenji* 國學的傳承與創新 – 馮其庸先生從事教學與科研六十周年慶賀學術文集 (Tradition and Innovation in Chinese Studies: Collection of Academic Essays to Celebrate Feng Qiyong's 60 Years of Teaching and Research) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013), pp. 1099–1108.

from this, Stein discovered a piece of a student's writing practice (M.T.b.006) at Mazar Tagh. On one side of the fragment the character *dang* 當 is repeated in two lines and the character *kang* 抗 in four lines. On the other side all that survives are one line of the character *xin* 欣 and two lines of the character *fu* 俛. Between them is the following colophon by the student:

>] 補仁里　祖為戶
> □生李仲雅倣書卌行謹呈上
>
> Student Li Zhongya 李仲雅, whose family household had been established in Buren Hamlet by his grandfather, copied 40 lines as writing practice and presents them respectfully.[36]

The characters *xin* 欣 and *fu* 俛 fit perfectly with the words *Xiang zhi suoxin, Fu yang zhi jian* 向之所欣，俛（俯）仰之間 ("What previously brought joy, has now quickly …") in the "Lanting xu". For this reason it must be a student's writing practice based on the "Lanting xu".[37] On the other side, the characters that are being practised are *dang* 當 and *kang* 抗, which correspond to the words in the couplet from "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie", *Wu bi zhi Zhang, Zhong dang kang hang* 吾比之張、鐘當抗行 ("my [calligraphy] can be compared to that of Zhang and Zhong").[38]

What is more, at Mazar Tagh Stein discovered a paper fragment (M.T.095, Or.8212/1519) containing nine lines of writing in which the three characters *dan zhi ruo* 躭之若 ("concentrate and work hard like [Zhang Zhi 張芝] …") are repeated over and over.[39] This undoubtedly is character practice from Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie". Moreover, the Museum of Renmin University of China has in its collection five fragments excavated in Khotan, practising the three characters *wu fu ji* 吾弗及 ("I couldn't keep up with"), which are the

36 Édouard Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental* (Oxford: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913), p. 204, pl. XXXII.

37 Chen Lifang 陳麗芳, "Tangdai Yutian de tongmeng jiaoyu: Yi Zhongguo renmin daxue bowuguan cang Hetian xizi wenshu wei zhongxin" 唐代於于闐的童蒙教育 – 以中國人民大學博物館藏和田習字文書為中心 (Elementary Education in Khotan during the Tang Dynasty: Character Practice from Khotan in the Collection of the Museum of Renmin University of China), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 1, 2014, p. 41.

38 Here I would like to express my thanks to Peking University graduate student Bao Xiaoyue 包曉悅 for her help on this point.

39 Sha Zhi and Wu Fangsi [France Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*), Vol. 2, p. 197, with the caption "writing practice".

last three characters of Wang Xizhi's "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie".[40] These two fragments of character practice show that model copies (*tieben* 帖本) of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy were transmitted from Central China to Dunhuang, then to Turfan, Kucha, and finally to Khotan.

Another fragment with a writing exercise excavated by Stein at Mazar Tagh contains characters from the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Text) (M.T.0199a, Or.8212/1859) written on both sides.[41] The *Qianzi wen* was even more popular in the Tang dynasty as a text used to learn and practise characters, thus its spread to Khotan is understandable.

As for Buddhist texts, in England there is a manuscript in the A. F. R. Hoernle collection that is Chinese on one side and Khotanese on the other. It is said to have come from a site called Khadalik, east of Khotan. Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918) had identified the Chinese text on the recto as the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom). The Khotanese text on the verso was published by Hoernle himself, and also belongs to the Perfection of Wisdom genre.[42] Later, Stein also discovered fragments of Chinese translations of *Da bore boluomiduo jing* and other such fragments in the Buddhist monastery at Mazar Tagh. These are pressmarks M.T.a.004(a), M.T.a.004, M.T.a.003, M.T.b.004, M.T.b.004(a), and M.T.b.004(b),[43] and also prayers written by believers (M.T.0634[3]).[44] Another fragment from the British collection is *juan* 6 of the *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden Light Sutra, modern pressmark Or. 8212/1573), which does not have an original

40 Ei Shinkyō [Rong Xinjiang], "'Ranteijo' oyobi 'Shō sō Kō Ki' jō no Saiiki ni okeru ryūden" 《蘭亭序》 および 《尚想黃綺》 帖の西域における流傳 (The Circulation of 'Lanting xu' and 'Shang xiang Huang Qi' Calligraphy Models in the Western Regions), translated by Murai Kyōko 村井恭子, in Tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū kankō-kai 東方學研究論集刊行會, ed., *Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū* 高田时雄教授退職紀念東方學研究論集 (Festschrift on the Retirement of Professor Takata Tokio: Papers on Oriental Studies) (Japanese-English translation) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2014), pp. 89–104.

41 Sha Zhi and Wu Fangsi [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian* (*fei fojing bufen*), Vol. 2, p. 247; the caption says "writing practice", but it is actually the *Qianzi wen*.

42 A. F. R. Hoernle, "A Bilingual Fragment in Chinese-Khotanese, Hoernle MSS., Nos. 142 and 143", in A. F. R. Hoernle, ed., *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), pp. 387–399, pl. XXII. Cf. Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, Vol. V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 67–68.

43 Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, pp. 202–203, pl. XXXII.

44 Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*, p. 189.

site number,[45] but there are Mazar Tagh documents in the sequence both before and after it, thus it may have been a Chinese sutra transmitted to ancient Khotan.

Especially worth pointing out is a fragment of the *Shenhui yulu* 神會語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Shenhui) excavated at Mazar Tagh (M.T.b.001).[46] It includes only eight lines of writing, with the text before and after it missing, but it contains quotations of the Buddhist monk Shenhui 神會 (684–758) of the Southern School of Chan Buddhism, and is therefore very valuable.

In recent years some other texts have been identified among the Khotanese manuscripts acquired by the National Library of China. They are *Sengqie zha jing* 僧伽吒經 (Sutra of the Assembly), *Daban niepan jing* and, most importantly, the *Guanshiyin pusa quan rangzai jing* 觀世音菩薩勸攘災經 (Sutra of Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva Encouraging Resistance to Disaster) (BH1–11). This is an apocryphal Buddhist text produced in the Kucha region during the Tianbao 天寶 (742–756) and Zhide 至德 (756–758) periods, or perhaps within the following decade, which spread to Khotan.[47] Although there are not many such materials, they are sufficient to show that many types of Chinese Buddhist texts were transmitted to the Khotan region.

45 Sha Zhi and Wu Fangsi [Frances Wood], eds., *Sitanyin disanci Zhongya kaogu suohuo Hanwen wenxian (fei fojing bufen)*, Vol. 2, p. 226; the caption says "fragmentary documents from temples", but it actually is the "Jin guangming jing".

46 Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*, p. 203, No. 958, pl. XXXII. The texts have been identified by Paul Demiéville, see his "Deux documents de Touen-houang sur le Dhyana chinois", in Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinenkai 塚本博士頌壽記念會, ed., *Bukkyō shigaku ronshū: Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinen* 佛教史學論集：塚本博士頌壽記念 (Essays on the History of Buddhism Presented to Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto) (Kyoto: Tsukamoto Hakushi shōju kinenkai, 1961), p. 6; for a Japanese translation see Paul Demiéville, *Pōru Domieuiru zengaku ronshū* ポール・ドミエヴィル禪學論集 (Paul Demieville's Essays on Chan Buddhism), trans. by Lin Xinming 林信明, *Hanazono daigaku kokusai zengaku kenkyūjo hōkoku* 花園大學國際禪學研究所報告 (Report of the International Research Institute for Zen Studies, Hanazono University), Vol. 1, 1988, p. 113.

47 Lin Shitian 林世田 and Liu Bo 劉波, "Guotu cang Xiyu chutu *Guanshiyin pusa quan rangzai jing* yanjiu" 國圖藏西域出土《觀世音菩薩勸攘災經》研究 (Study of the *Sutra of Avalokitêśvara Bodhisattva Encouraging Resistance to Disaster* Excavated in the Western Regions, from the Collection of the National Library of China), in Fan Jinshi 樊錦詩, Rong Xinjiang and Lin Shitian, eds., *Dunhuang wenxian, kaogu, yishu zonghe yanjiu: Jinian Xiang Da jiaoshou danchen 110 zhounian guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌文獻、考古、藝術綜合研究 – 紀念向達教授誕辰 110 周年國際學術研討會論文集 (Comprehensive Study of the Manuscripts, Archaeology and Art of Dunhuang: Papers from the International Academic Conference in Honour of Professor Xiang Da's 110th Birthday) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), pp. 306–318.

3 The Routes of Transmission and the Recipients of the Manuscripts

As mentioned above, in the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (658) Tang forces destroyed the Qaghanate of the Western Turks and moved the Anxi Protectorate from Jiaohe in Xizhou to the city of Kucha. Under its jurisdiction were the garrisons of Anxi (Kucha), Khotan, Shule (Kashgar) and Yanqi (Karashahr). Kucha was the military administration centre of the Western Regions under Tang rule, while Khotan was in second rank. After this, the Tang was engaged in a tug of war with the Tibetans and the remnants of the Turkic tribes in the Western Regions, and the Anxi Protectorate was withdrawn to Xizhou. In the 2nd year of Changshou 長壽 (692), the Tang general Wang Xiaojie 王孝傑 commanded troops to take the Four Garrisons of Anxi back from the hands of the Tibetans, and Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) decided to send out 30,000 troops to defend the Western Regions. Although this decision encountered opposition from some important officials, its implementation doubtlessly had the desired effects, because it greatly enhanced the ability of the four Anxi garrisons to resist external assaults. From this time on, all the way to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th centuries, apart from some local disturbances caused by the Türgesh tribes, the foundations of the Four Garrisons of Anxi remained unshaken.

The period from the reigns of Gaozong and Empress Wu to that of Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756) was one of change in the Tang military system from a mobile army to a garrison-based army. The border defence system also gradually changed from a garrison militia (*fubing* 府兵) guarding the garrisons on a rotational basis to a military garrison-based defence system under a military commissioner 節度使. When the Tang Chinese force of 30,000 went to defend the Four Garrisons of Anxi, each garrison had over 5,000 troops to guard it. The Four Garrisons were also upgraded from garrisons that were under the Protectorate to military garrisons directly under the military commissioner. The post of the Anxi Protector (*duhufu*) also gradually evolved into the Anxi Military Commissioner (*jiedushi*). The Four Garrisons of Anxi were described as follows: "A large army of ten thousand, A small army of a thousand, Beacon outposts and troops on patrol, Miles passing by in the thousands, All to counter strong enemies".[48] The new system under the military commissioner was one of "stalwart soldiers on long expeditions". Those who served in the Western Regions were professional soldiers, no longer rotational

48 "Tubo zhuan" 吐蕃傳 (Treatise on the Tibetans), *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old Tang History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 5236.

replacements. They were posted there permanently, and their families accompanied them.[49]

Against this general background, some Chinese manuscripts from Central China must have been brought to the Western Regions by Tang officials, generals, soldiers and even their families. If one looks at the two manuscripts of the *Qieyun* described above from the perspective of their function, they probably had something to do with either the popularity of writing poetry or the examination system. We know that in the early Tang period there were quite a few literati who went to the Anxi region. The most famous ones were the poets Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (640–684) and Cen Shen 岑參 (715–770). Traces of their journeys are found not only in the poems they left behind, but also in some of the Tang official documents excavated in Turfan.[50] There must also have been some literati or scholars unmentioned in historical sources, and even some students who had not yet acquired a name. They probably took such books such as the *Qieyun* with them while they were travelling in the Western Regions. Of course even more importantly, the Civil Service Examination System directly influenced the elementary curriculum, and the *Qieyun* became one of the essential reference books to prepare for the examinations.

How did such works as the *Shenhui yulu* spread to Khotan? In the past I have speculated that, given Master Shenhui's relations with the Northern

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49 For the changes that occurred in the Tang military administration, see Kikuchi Hideo 菊池英夫, "Tōdai hembō kikan to shite no shusoku, jō, chin nado no seiritsu katei ni tsuite" 唐代邊防機關としての守捉、城、鎮等の成立過程について (On the Process of Establishing the Defence Detachments, Cities and Garrisons in Tang Border Organisations), *Tōyō shigaku* 東洋史學 (Oriental Historiography), No. 27, 1964, pp. 31–57; also Kikuchi Hideo, "Saiiki shutsudo monjo wo tsūjite mitaru Tō Gensō jidai ni okeru fuheisei no un'yō" 西域出土文書を通じてみたる唐玄宗時代における府兵制の運用 (The Operation of the Fubing System during the Reign of Tang Xuanzong as seen in Manuscripts Excavated in the Western Regions), Vol. 1, *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko), Vol. 52, No. 3, 1969, pp. 22–53; and Vol. 2, *Tōyō gakuhō*, Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 52–101; Meng Xianshi 孟憲實, "Yutian: Cong zhenshu dao junzhen de yanbian" 于闐：從鎮戍到軍鎮的演變 (Khotan: Evolution from Garrison Defence to a Military Garrison), *Beijing daxue xuebao*, No. 4, 2012, pp. 122–128.

50 See Guo Pingliang 郭平梁, "Luo Bingwang Xiyu zhi xing yu Asitana 64TAM35:19(a) hao wenshu" 駱賓王西域之行與阿斯塔那 64TAM35: 19(a) 號文書 (Luo Bingwang's Westward Journey and Astana Document 64TAM35:19[a]), *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 (Studies in the Ethnography of the North-west), No. 1, 1989, pp. 53–62; Wang Su 王素, "Tulufan wenshu zhong youguan Cen Shen de yixie ziliao" 吐魯番文書中有關岑參的一些資料 (Some Materials about Cen Shen among the Turfan Manuscripts), *Wenshi* 文史 (History and Literature), No. 36, 1992, pp. 185–198; Liao Li 廖立, "Tulufan chutu wenshu yu Cen Shen" 吐魯番出土文書與岑參 (Turfan Manuscripts and Cen Shen), *Xinjiang daxue xuebao* 新疆大學學報 (Journal of Xinjiang University), No. 1, 1996, pp. 88–92.

Army (*shuofang jun* 朔方軍), and the Northern Army's connections with the standing army stationed in the Western Regions, the Chan texts belonging to Shenhui's lineage were probably brought to the Western Regions by soldiers of the Northern Army. There is some supporting evidence for this. The Sekisuiken bunko 積翠軒文庫 collection of Ishii Mitsuo 石井光雄 (1881–1966) has a Dunhuang manuscript of the *Shenhui yulu*, the colophon of which states that in the 8th year of Zhenyuan 貞元 (792) Zhang Dafu 張大夫, the Military Commissioner of Beiting 北庭, in the intervals between his military responsibilities, ordered monks and his administrators to copy and collate the text. This shows the important status of Shenhui's works in the army of the Western Regions.[51]

According to the account of the monk Hyecho 慧超 (704–787) who passed through Kucha during the Kaiyuan reign period on his way back from India, there were two Chinese monasteries there, and also one each in Khotan and Shule. Their monk-officials (*sengguan* 僧官) and directors (*sangang* 三綱) were also eminent monks from the capital, Chang'an 長安.[52] A donor inscription in the Kumtura caves, which was later removed by members of the Ōtani expedition, refers to the "rector of the [Zhuang]yan [莊] 嚴 Monastery of the Great Tang, district *saṃgha* overseer of the Four Garrisons, vinaya master (*dutong lüshi* 都統律師) [...]dao □道".[53] This was the name of the highest monk official, the district *saṃgha* overseer, who governed the affairs of the monks in the Four Garrisons of Anxi, and who came from the great Zhuangyan Monastery in Chang'an. When these Chinese monks came to the Anxi region, they must have brought Chinese Buddhist ideas and texts with them.[54] The Chinese Buddhist

51 Rong Xinjiang, "Tangdai Chanzong de Xiyu liuchuan" 唐代禪宗的西域流傳 (The Transmission of Chan Buddhism to the Western Regions in the Tang Dynasty), in Tanaka Ryōshō hakase koku kinen ronshū kankōkai 田中良昭博士古稀記念論集刊行会, ed., *Tanaka Ryōshō hakase koki kinen ronshū: Zengaku kenkyū no shosō* 田中良昭博士古稀記念論集·禪學研究之諸相 (Papers Presented on the Occasion of Dr. Tanaka Ryōshō's 70th Birthday: Aspects of Chan Studies) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 2003), pp. 62–65.

52 Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, ed., *Echō Ō go Tenjikukoku den kenkyū* 慧超往五天竺國傳研究 (Study of Hyecho's *On Travelling to the Five Indias*) (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1992), pp. 25–26; see also in the same volume Antonino Forte, "Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries", pp. 213–258.

53 Kagawa, *Saiiki kōko zufu*, Vol. 1, Fig. 9.

54 See Rong Xinjiang, "Huichao suoji Tangdai Xiyu de Hanhua fosi" 慧超所記唐代西域的漢化佛寺 (Sinicised Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions during the Tang Dynasty as Recorded by Hyecho), in Wang Sanqing 王三慶, ed., *Ran Yunhua xiansheng bazhi huadan shouqing lunwenji* 冉雲華先生八秩華誕壽慶論文集 (Papers Presented on the Occasion of Ran Yunhua's 80th Birthday) (Taibei: Faguang chubanshe, 2003), pp. 399–407; also "Tangdai Xiyu de Hanhua fosi xitong" 唐代西域的漢化佛寺系統 (The System of Sinicised Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Regions during the Tang

texts discovered in the Kucha and Khotan regions were probably left behind by these Chinese monks. Of course, we are uncertain about where some of the texts were excavated, therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that they came from local non-Chinese monasteries.

From the currently existing historical materials, we know that among the local Hu 胡 leaders there were some who were extremely familiar with Chinese texts. The best example is Geshu Han 哥舒翰. His biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 records the following:

> Geshu Han was descended from the Geshu clan, who were the leaders of the Türgesh tribe. [...] His grandfather [Geshu] Ju 沮 was a commander of the left police patrol guard (*zuo qing dao shuai* 左清道率). His father [Geshu] Daoyuan 道元 was Vice Protector of Anxi whose family had lived in Anxi for generations. [...] When Geshu Han was 40, his father died. For three years, he lived in the capital as a guest until he was insulted by the Chang'an Guard (Chang'an wei 長安尉). He then indignantly decided to make a change, so he took up his sword and went to Hexi 河西. [...] [Geshu] Han liked to read the *Zuoshi chunqiu zhuan* 左氏春秋傳 (*Zuo* commentary on the *Chunqiu*) and the *Hanshu*; he was generous and of high integrity, attracting many followers. His mother, whose surname was Yuchi 尉遲, was from a royal Khotanese lineage (*juan* 104, pp. 3211–3212).

Geshu Han's father Geshu Daoyuan had been Vice Protector of Anxi. His wife Lady Yuchi must have been a princess of the Yuchi royal family of Khotan. According to the biography of Śikṣānanda in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period), the Khotanese Tripitaka Master Śikṣānanda died in Central China in the 10th month of the 1st year of the Jingyun 景雲 reign period (710), and Geshu Daoyuan transported his bones and ashes back to Khotan. For this reason, I have speculated that the Vice Protector of Anxi and later the Anxi Vice Military Commissioner were the same person, who must have been stationed in Khotan.[55] The place where Geshu Han read the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and the *Hanshu* when he was young must also have been Khotan, because he must have accompanied his father there to take his position. When his biography in the *Jiu Tangshu* says his family

Dynasty), Xinjiang Qiuci xuehui 新疆龜茲學會, ed., *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu* 龜茲文化研究 (Research on the Culture of Kucha) No. 1 (Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2005), pp. 132–137.

55 Rong Xinjiang, "Yutian zai Tangchao Anxi sizhen zhong de diwei" 于闐在唐朝安西四鎮中的地位 (Khotan's Role in the Four Garrisons of Anxi during the Tang), *Xiyu yanjiu*, No. 3, 1992, pp. 59–60.

"had lived in Anxi for generations", this is the broad meaning of Anxi, which included Khotan.[56]

The Yuchi royal family's close contacts with Central China must have made its members the main beneficiaries of Chinese culture. When the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–763) broke out, the King of Khotan, Yuchi Sheng 尉遲勝 led troops in 755 to join in the effort to support the Tang. After the fighting was over, he did not return to Khotan, but settled down in Chang'an. "In the capital, Sheng magnificently decorated a pavilion in Xiuxing Hamlet 修行里 in order to entertain his guests; gentlemen of leisure often visited him".[57] He did not return to his kingdom [of Khotan] but instead stayed in Chang'an, which on the one hand may have been because he had an enjoyable life there, and on the other because he was so well-cultivated in Chinese culture that he truly enjoyed being in that environment. The people with whom he had contact must have included eminent writers and poets of Chang'an. The Dunhuang manuscripts show that by the 10th century, the King of Khotan Li Shengtian 李聖天 and his son Crown Prince Congde 從德 (i.e. King Yuchi Shuluo 尉遲輸羅) were familiar with Chinese Buddhist texts. This is especially true of Prince Congde, who left behind a Khotanese version of a Chinese liturgical text, showing that he was deeply influenced by Chinese Buddhism.[58]

As for common Hu people from this region, it does not seem that any of them used Chinese texts. However, it is worth noting that the Mazar Tagh fragment M.T.b.006 (see above), with the "Lanting xu" used as writing practice, has a student's colophon, which says that the student Li Zhongya at his grandfather's home in Buren Hamlet copied 40 lines as writing practice and respectfully presented these. This inscription is very similar to one written on the manuscript of the *Lunyu Zheng shi zhu* 論語鄭氏注 (The Zheng Commentary to the *Analects of Confucius*) found in 1969 in Tomb 363 at Astana, Turfan. The inscription says, "Presented by the private school student Bu Tianshou 卜天壽", "age 12, from Houfeng Hamlet 厚風里, Ningchang Parish 寧昌鄉, Gaochang county, Xizhou, on the 1st day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of

56 Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Tang-Song shiqi Zhongyuan wenhua dui Yutian yingxiang de jige wenti", p. 416.

57 "Yuchi Sheng zhuan" 尉遲勝傳 (Biography of Yuchi Sheng), *Jiu Tangshu*, *juan* 144, p. 3925.

58 Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang wenshu P.3510 Yutian wen 'Congde taizi fayuanwen' (ni) ji qi niandai" 敦煌文書 P.3510 于闐文《從德太子發願文》（擬）及其年代 (The Khotanese-language 'Prayer of Crown Prince Congde' in Dunhuang Manuscript P.3510, and its Date), in *1983 Quanguo Dunhuang xueshu taolunhui wenji – Wenshi yishu bian* 1983 年全國敦煌學術討論會文集 · 文史遺書編 (Papers from the 1983 Nationwide Dunhuang Conference: Manuscripts on History and Literature), Vol. 1 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 163–175.

Jinglong 景龍 (710)".[59] Since Li Zhongya's family had lived in Buren Hamlet since his grandfather's generation, he was likely to have been a local child from Khotan. He probably had a Chinese name because he had studied Chinese. If this hypothesis is correct, use of the writing practice from the "Lanting xu", which was a model for learning to write Chinese characters, had already been incorporated into children's education in that region, even if we do not know whether Li Zhongya was enrolled in a regular or, like Bu Tianshou, a private school. From the Empress Wu-period fragment of the "Shang xiang Huang Qi tie" used by the student Linghu Cimin 令狐慈敏 in Turfan,[60] we can tell that Wang Xizhi's calligraphic works were required material for writing practice in regular Tang dynasty schools. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that as the Tang dynasty introduced administrative systems, such as the local village system, into the Four Garrisons of Anxi, Chinese-style education also spread to smaller Hu communities.

4 Refused or Rejected?

From the above investigation we can see that the Chinese texts transmitted to the Western Regions for the most part have been discovered in Kucha and Khotan. Although this is in part related to the uneven distribution of archaeological excavations in Xinjiang, the fact that Chinese texts have mostly been found in these areas over the course of the past century, whether by accidental discovery or through archaeological excavation, is perhaps a reflection of the specific historical circumstances of the Tang period. Of course, Chinese documents must have also spread to Yanqi and Shule; we have just not yet discovered the relevant sites there to excavate.

59 Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, "Tang xieben 'Lunyu Zheng shi zhu' shuoming" 唐寫本《論語鄭氏注》說明 (Notes on the Tang Manuscript of the "Zheng Commentary to the *Analects of Confucius*"), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 2, 1972, p. 13.

60 Tang Zhangru 唐長孺, ed., *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 363 and 366, with the caption "Writing practice by the student Linghu Cimin at the time of Empress Wu". For this identification, see Fukuda Tetsuyuki 福田哲之, "Torufan shutsudo monjo ni mirareru Ō Gishi shūsho: Asutana 179-gō haka monjo (72TAM179:18) wo chūshin ni" 吐魯番出土文書に見られる王羲之習書 – 阿斯塔那一七九號墓文書 (72TAM179: 18) を中心に (The Calligraphy of Wang Xizhi as Seen in the Turfan Manuscripts: Manuscript 72TAM179:18 from Astana Tomb 179), in *Shogaku shodō-shi kenkyū* 書學書道史研究 (The History of Calligraphy), No. 8, 1998, pp. 29–41. See Zhang Nali 張娜麗, *Saiiki shutsudo monjo no kisoteki kenkyū* 西域出土文書の基礎的研究 (Basic Research on the Texts Excavated in the Western Regions) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2006), pp. 312–315.

Seen from the perspective of the above Chinese texts discovered at Kucha and Khotan, and transmitted historical sources, the audience for Chinese documents in the Western Regions consisted mostly of generals sent there from the Chinese interior to engage in battle or serve as guards, as well as some local Hu leaders, and children who had just begun to study Chinese culture. From recently excavated manuscripts in Chinese and other languages, it is evident that the influence of Chinese texts in those regions was limited, and that they had little significance for the non-Chinese population's structure of knowledge.

Now, what kind of resistance did the powerful cultural system of Tang China and its well-developed text-based tradition encounter when they spread to these areas? Now that we have charted the course of the transmission of Chinese texts to these regions, we should consider this issue further.

First is the question of whether the different geographical environments between the Western Regions and Central China constituted significant obstacles to the transmission of Chinese texts to these areas. Zhang Guangda 張廣達 has pointed out the long stretches of desert as well as vast areas of salty plains and yardang between Central China and the Western Regions in his study on the subject. An example is the eastern part of Lop Nor, at the eastern end of the Western Regions, which is on the main corridor through which people from Central China had to pass in order to reach the Western Regions. Over long periods of time, wind erosion transformed the land into a rugged landscape filled with yardang in a houndstooth configuration, called in ancient Chinese texts "white dragon piles" (*bailongdui* 白龍堆). In addition to the high mountains, desert plateaux, and shifting sands, these landforms of salty plain and yardang combine with wind erosion and layers of clay to form yet another obstacle that ancient people had to overcome when they travelled across these areas. However, there is a chain of widely spaced oases that stretch along the edges of the desert. The snow melting on the high mountains turns into rivers that provide moisture and irrigation, enabling these green islands of life to emerge out of the barren, desolate world of flowing sands. These oases linked together to form routes and people travelled from one oasis to the next across the Western Regions. In this way, the harsh, extreme geographical environment did not prevent exchanges between Central China and the Western Regions.[61]

61 Zhang Guangda, "Gudai Ouya de neilu jiaotong: Jianlun shanmai, shamo, lüzhou dui dong-xi wenhua jiaoliu de yingxiang" 古代歐亞的內陸交通 – 兼論山脈、沙漠、綠洲對東西文化交流的影響 (Overland Communication Across Ancient Eurasia: The Impact of Mountains, Deserts and Oases on East-West Cultural Exchange), originally published in Zhongguo shixuehui 中國史學會, ed., *Dishiliu jie guoji lishi kexue dahui Zhongguo xuezhe lunwenji* 第十六屆國際歷史科學大會中國學者論文集 (Papers by Chinese Scholars from the Sixteenth Session of the International Historical Sciences

Next is the question of whether the communication was sufficiently smooth and unobstructed. Because of the geographical obstacles mentioned above, communications on the routes from Central China to the Western Regions was definitely not as efficient as it would have been on a flat plain. However, after the Anxi Protectorate was moved to Kucha in the 3rd year of Xianqing (658), the Tang established postal stations in the Western Regions. The documents excavated in these regions contain a substantial amount of information about the postal stations. There are even tax records, which document the presence of postal stations throughout the Four Garrisons of Anxi during the Tang period. The postal system had a range of functions that promoted travel and communication, such as arranging for food and lodging and supplying horses and other means of transportation, which provided support for the movement of Tang military and political personnel, official documents and commodities. Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望 has studied the route from Chang'an through the Hexi corridor, crossing to Xizhou and Yanqi to Kucha. He says that this route "became a great thoroughfare for people going from Chang'an westward to the Western Regions and Central Asia. There were postal stations all along the way … allowing documents to be transmitted urgently by horse within about one month".[62] In fact, a series of postal stations and beacon stations also linked military garrisons such as Kucha and Shule or Kucha and Khotan together. The establishment of the Tang postal station system not only provided a safe, unobstructed route for Silk Road merchants who carried out trade and commerce,[63] but also significantly expedited the transmission of Tang official documents and facilitated the frequent and rapid movement of people. For this reason, the Kaiyuan and Tianbao reign periods must have been the times when East-West communications were at their height.

Meeting) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 253–270; reprinted in Zhang Guangda, *Xiyu shidi congkao chubian* 西域史地叢考初編 (Historical Places in the Western Regions, First Series) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), pp. 373–391.

62 See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Tangdai jiaotong tu kao* 唐代交通圖考 (Maps of the Communications Routes of the Tang Period), Vol. 2 (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Shiyusuo, 1985), p. 488.

63 See Cheng Xilin 程喜霖, "Cong Tangdai guosuo wenshu suojian tong 'Xiyu' de zhongdao" 從唐代過所文書所見通"西域"的中道 (The Middle Route through the "Western Regions" as seen from Tang Dynasty Passports), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 1, 1988, pp. 58–67; Cheng Xilin, "Tangdai guosuo yu Hu-Han shangren maoyi" 唐代過所與胡漢商人貿易 (Tang Passports and the Trade between Chinese and Hu Merchants), *Xiyu yanjiu*, No. 1, 1995, pp. 97–103; Cheng Xilin, "Tangdai gongyan guosuo yu jiaotong maoyi" 唐代公驗過所與交通貿易 (Tang Official Passports, and Communications and Trade), in Cheng Xilin, *Tangdai guosuo yanjiu* 唐代過所研究 (Passports of the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 219–265.

The next question is whether language obstacles were a problem. We know that the most popular languages in the Western Regions during the Tang belonged primarily to the Indo-European family. Linguists have called the language spoken in Kucha Tokharian B. It is the easternmost branch of the Western Indo-European languages. Khotanese is a branch of the Indo-Iranian language family, belonging to the Eastern Iranian branch. Under Buddhist influence, both languages were written with the Indian *brāhmī* script. Whether spoken or written, these languages are very different from Chinese language and writing. Therefore, the spread of Chinese texts in the Western Regions certainly would have been hindered by linguistic obstacles. We have already examined the surviving nine groups of bilingual Chinese-Khotanese manuscripts dated from between the 10th year of Kaiyuan (722) and the 14th year of Zhenyuan (798). Most of these were first written in Chinese and only then in Khotanese; Chinese was the main text and some of the Khotanese consists of verbatim translations of the Chinese text, while others abbreviate it, omitting some of the information, such as the dates.[64] The existence of these official and private bilingual documents shows that people in the region had already begun to develop an ability to translate from Chinese into Khotanese. However, in the Western Regions during the Tang we do not see, as we do during the period of Tibetan rule over Dunhuang, translations of Chinese classics like the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents),[65] the *Chunqiu houyu* 春秋後語 (Later Comments on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*),[66] or some Buddhist texts, especially the texts of the Chan School, of which large quantities were translated into Tibetan.[67] We also do not see people during the Tang

64 Rong Xinjiang, "Hanyu-Yutianyu shuangyu wenshu de lishixue kaocha" 漢語, 于闐語雙語文書的歷史學考察 (Historical Study of the Chinese and Khotanese Bilingual Documents), in Xinjiang Tulufanxue yanjiuyuan 新疆吐魯番學研究院, ed., *Yuyan beihou de lishi: Xiyu gudian yuyanxue gaofeng luntan lunwenji* 語言背後的歷史 – 西域古典語言學高峰論壇論文集 (History Behind the Language: Papers of the Forum on the Ancient Languages of the Western Regions) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), pp. 20–31.

65 W. South Coblin, "A Study of the Old Tibetan *Shangshu* Paraphrase", Part 1, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 2, 1991, pp. 303–322; Part 2, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 111, No. 3, 1991, pp. 523–539.

66 Yoshiro Imaeda, "L'identification de l'original chinois du Pelliot tibétain 1291, traduction tibétaine du *Zhanguo ce*", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 34, No. 1/3, 1980, pp. 53–69. At present, most scholars agree with Ma Mingda's 馬明達 conclusion that this book is not the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategems of the Warring States) but the *Chunqiu houyu* 春秋後語 (Later Comments on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*).

67 Much research has been done on the translation of Chan texts into Tibetan; see Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa. Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1952; reprint 1987); Chinese translation: *Tubo seng zheng ji* 吐蕃僧諍記 (Expostulatory

translating many Buddhist sutras, Chan texts or biographies of monks into Old Uighur, as was the case during the time of the Gaochang Uighur kingdom in the 9th and 10th centuries.[68]

Further, we should consider the influence of the course of history in Tang China and the Western Regions. We find evidence in texts and manuscripts that in the Kaiyuan and Tianbao periods the Tang had already expanded the area under its direct rule from the line along Xizhou, Yizhou, Shichengzhen, and Boxianzhen to the region of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, and that the western border of the Tang had already moved further west to the Pamir mountains.[69] However, the eruption of the An Lushan rebellion halted the expansion of Tang control in the Four Garrisons of Anxi. The Tibetans took advantage of the power vacuum left when the main forces of the Tang army under the Hexi and Anxi military commissioners went east to support the Tang emperor, and moving westward from the region of modern-day Qinghai 青海, they began taking control of Tang territories. Finally, by the beginning of the 9th century, they occupied the entire Hexi region, and shared the border with the Uighur Qaghanate in the centre of the Taklamakan desert. Thus these two states took possession of the oasis kingdoms in the northern and southern parts of the Tarim basin, which had previously belonged to the Four Garrisons of Anxi. Contact between the Tang and the Western Regions broke off completely, and Chinese texts were no longer transmitted across. Even those manuscripts that had already been transmitted gradually disintegrated into fragments which, following the Turkicisation and Islamicisation of the region, became covered by the desert.

Records of Tibetan monks), trans. by Geng Sheng 耿昇 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1984); Zhang Guangda, "Tangdai Chanzong de chuanru Tubo ji qi youguan Dunhuang wenshu" 唐代禪宗的傳入吐蕃及其有關的敦煌文書 (The Transmission of Chan Buddhism to Tibet in the Tang Period and Relevant Dunhuang Manuscripts), *Xuelin manlu* 學林漫錄 (Random Writings from the Forest of Learning), No. 3, 1981, pp. 36–58; Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, "Dunhuang guzangwen fojiao wenxian, Tabosi wenshu, he *Chanding muju* yanjiu: Dui xinjin yanjiu chengguo de pingshu" 敦煌古藏文佛教文獻、塔波寺文書和《禪定目炬》研究：對新近研究成果的評述 (Tibetan Buddhist Texts from Dunhuang, Manuscripts from the Tabo Monastery and the *Chanding mu ju*: Overview of Recent Research), in Fan Jinshi, Rong Xinjiang and Lin Shitian, eds., *Dunhuang wenxian kaogu, yishu zonghe yanjiu*, pp. 339–353.

68 There are many studies on this topic; see Johan Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature* (Silk Road Studies 1) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).

69 Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang ben *Tianbao shi dao lu* ji qi jiazhi", p. 125; Rong Xinjiang and Wen Xin, "'Xiyu' gainian de bianhua yu Tangchao 'bianjing' de xiyi: Jian tan Anxi duhufu zai Tang zhengzhi xitong zhong de diwei", pp. 113–119.

From the above analysis we can see that the Hu population of the Western Regions definitely did not refuse or reject Chinese texts from Central China. It was just that the period of Tang occupation was in general relatively brief. Before being able to have a more significant impact, the spread of the texts was cut off by the An Lushan rebellion and its political aftermath.

Finally, we should still think about this question from the perspective of the Tang dynasty itself. The *rujia* 儒家 (Confucian) tradition promoted the ideal of "being content with one's native land and not wanting to leave it" (*antu zhongqian* 安土重遷), popular taboos also prevented travelling, and the literati looked down on peoples living in the periphery. For these reasons, unlike believers of Western religions, who had motivation and plans to spread their own religion, the Chinese cultural tradition had no "missionaries". According to historical records, Tang Taizong asked the eminent monk Xuanzang to translate the *Laozi Daode jing* 老子道德經 (The Way and Its Power, by Laozi) into Sanskrit, but we have not seen the result of this endeavour. We can see from the situation in the Western Regions that apart from the efforts of Chinese monks to spread Chinese Buddhist texts and ideology to the Western Regions, the cultural elite of Central China were not present in the Western Regions. This was probably due to a basic belief that the "barbarians" would not be capable of adopting the rituals and the classics.

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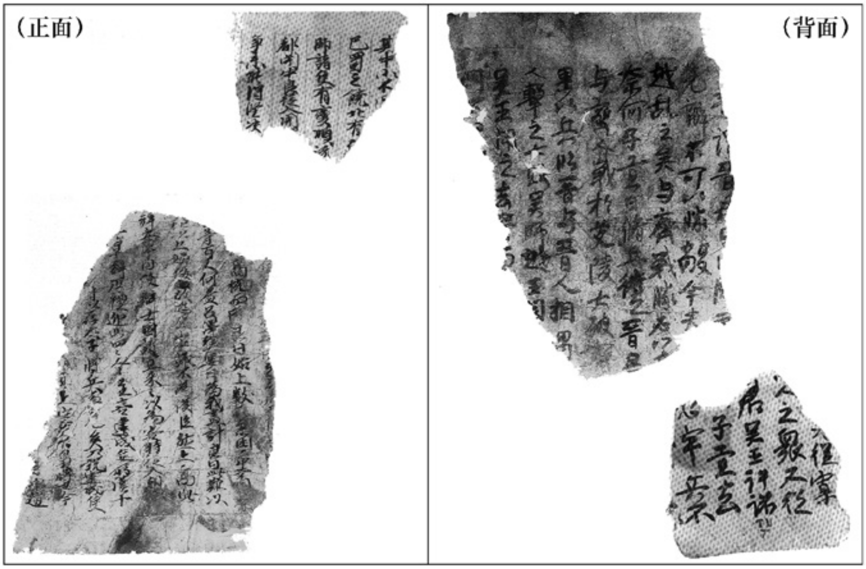

FIGURE 17.1 The "Biography of Zhang Liang" from the *Hanshu* (recto) and the "Biographies of Confucius's Disciples" from the *Shiji* (verso)

FIGURE 17.2
Fragment of the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 excavated in Khotan

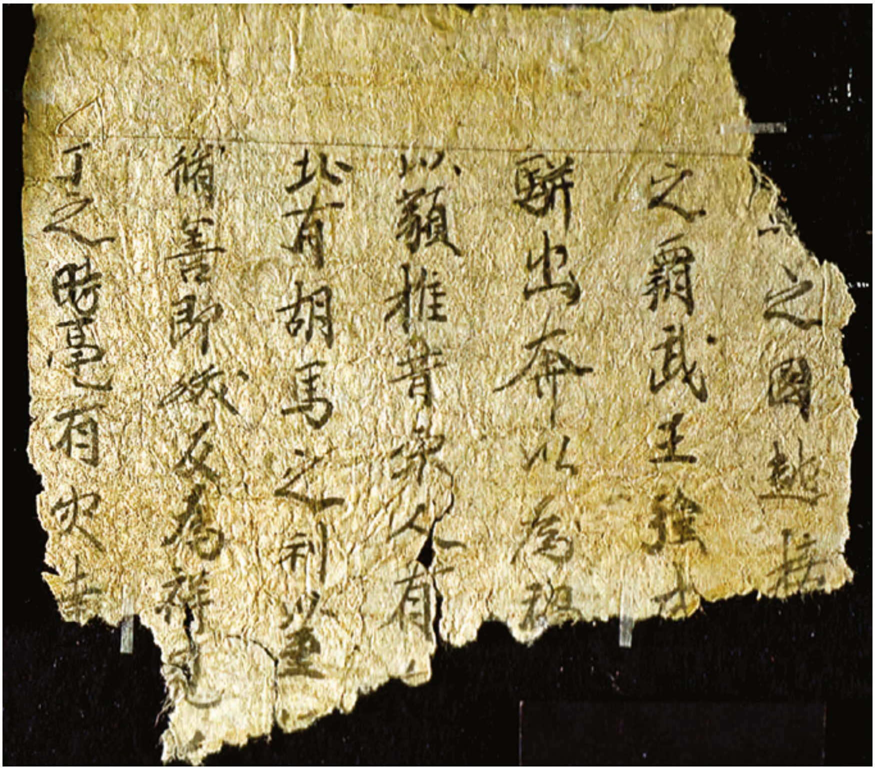

FIGURE 17.3 Fragment of Section 48 of the *Liuzi* 劉子 excavated in Khotan

PART 4

Contributions to China of Foreign Material Culture

CHAPTER 18

Sogdian Merchants and Sogdian Culture on the Silk Road

Translated by Flavia Xi Fang 方希

1 The Sogdians and Their Settlements along the Silk Road

In Chinese historical records, the Sogdians are called different names, such as *Zhaowu jiuxing* 昭武九姓 (Nine Zhaowu Lineages), *Jiuxing hu* 九姓胡 (Nine Hu Lineages) and *zahu* 雜胡 (miscellaneous *Hu*). They were an ancient Central Asian Iranian people who spoke an Indo-European language from the Eastern Iranian language group, which is now known as Sogdian. The script they used, now called the Sogdian script, was a derivative of the Aramaic script. Their homeland was located in the Zarafshan River valley, between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya, a land referred to as Sogdiana in Western classical literature. The region corresponds roughly to present-day Uzbekistan, also including parts of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. In the small and large oases of Sogdiana, city-states of varying sizes gradually took shape. The largest of them was Samarkand, referred to in Chinese sources as the state of Kang 康國, which is often regarded as the most emblematic of all the Sogdian city-states. Another relatively large state was Bukhara, known in China as the state of An 安國. Others included the states of Eastern Cao 東曹國 (Sutrushana or Ushrusana), Cao 曹國 (Kaputana), Western Cao 西曹國 (Ishitikhan), Mi 米國 (Maymurgh), He 何國 (Kushanika), Shi 史國 (Kashana) and Shi 石國 (Chach). These states were sometimes united and at other times divided, now and then forming alliances among themselves. They became known in Chinese historical accounts as the *Zhaowu jiuxing*, even though at times more than nine states were in existence.[1]

The Sogdians were particularly well known for their commercial skills in medieval times. They were known to contemporary Chinese people as those who would "travel to any distances in pursuit of profit". From the 3rd to the 10th

1 Cf. Zhang Guangda 張廣達, *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Annotated Edition of the Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) for ancient and modern place-names of the Sogdian cities. For the history of the Sogdians, see relevant chapters in János Harmatta et al., eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vols. 1–3 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1992–1996).

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centuries, a large number of Sogdian merchants travelled along the Silk Road to China, building a series of settlements and communities around the towns and cities. In their wake, other Central Asian peoples including Tokharians, Ārśi and Turks also came to settle in these communities. In the past, drawing on Chinese epigraphic and textual sources, as well as manuscripts in the Chinese and Iranian languages excavated at different sites, I have sought to map the distribution of Sogdian settlements in China. Most of them were located along the Hexi corridor between the Tarim basin and the Tang capitals Chang'an 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽. Some were scattered further east across northern China, for example in Shanxi, Hebei, or even in the Yingzhou 營州 area of north-eastern China. Based on the locations of these settlements, it was possible to trace the routes along which the Sogdians migrated eastward. It was clear that they travelled either along the northern route of the Western Regions, starting from Jushide 據史德 (east of present-day Barchuq, Xinjiang) and continuing on through Kucha 龜茲 (Kuche 庫車), Yanqi (Karashahr), Gaochang 高昌 (Turfan 吐魯番), and Yizhou 伊州 (Hami 哈密), or along the southern route via Khotan (Hetian 和田), Qiemo 且末 (Charchan), and Shichengzhen 石城鎮 (Shanshan 鄯善) and into the Hexi corridor. From there, some travelled through Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, Zhangye 張掖 and Wuwei 武威; some continued south-east via Yuanzhou 原州 (Guyuan 固原), eventually reaching Chang'an and Luoyang, while others travelled north-east to Lingzhou 靈州 (south-west of Lingwu 靈武), Bingzhou 幷州 (Taiyuan 太原), Yunzhou 雲州 (east of Datong 大同) as far as Youzhou 幽州 (Beijing 北京) and Yingzhou (Chaoyang 朝陽). Still others travelled to Yingzhou from Luoyang via Weizhou 衛州 (Jixian 汲縣), Xiangzhou 相州 (Anyang 安陽), Weizhou 魏州 (north of Daming 大名), Xingzhou 邢州 (Xingtai 邢臺), Dingzhou 定州 (Dingxian 定縣) and Youzhou.[2]

2 *Sabao*: Leaders of Sogdian Caravans and Heads of Sogdian Communities

The leaders of the Sogdian communities in China were called *sabao* 薩保. *Sabao* is the Chinese rendering of the Sogdian word *s'rtp'w*, which literally means "caravan leader". In China, this term was used broadly to indicate

2 Rong Xinjiang, "Beichao, Sui, Tang Suteren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落 (Study of the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 6, 1999, pp. 27–85; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 37–110.

leaders of Sogdian communities, which developed from merchant caravans. As most of the Sogdian immigrants to China practised the traditional Sogdian religion of Zoroastrianism (*Xianjiao* 祆教 or *Baihuojiao* 拜火教), Zoroastrian temples were usually established in these communities, where the *sabao* became both the top political authority and the main religious leader.[3]

The merchant caravans (Fig. 18.1) from which later Sogdian communities evolved not only had to face challenges from the natural environment as they travelled along the overland Silk Road in medieval times, but also had to defend themselves from bandit attacks; therefore they frequently travelled and camped together in groups of several hundred people. The scene of five hundred merchants ambushed by bandits described in a Buddhist sutra may not provide an entirely accurate figure for the number of travellers, but it does convey their tendency to move together in groups of hundreds.

The Sogdian ancient letters found in Dunhuang confirm that the Sogdian merchants who moved to the Hexi corridor in the early 4th century were led by *sabao*s. When they settled down, their caravans became communities, and they usually built Zoroastrian temples in these communities. These temples were administered by Zoroastrian priests under the leadership of the *sabao*.[4] In Central China, the *sabao* was an official position to which people were appointed by the central or local government, probably since the first half of the 6th century in the Northern Wei 北魏 period (386–535).

By appointing community leaders as government officials, and leaving the title *sabao* in their original language, the Northern Wei regime began to impose its control over the Sogdian settlements. At the same time, by continuing to appoint these Sogdian leaders, the administration maintained the autonomy of these settlements. Thus the *sabao* stayed as heads of their communities, while also becoming central or local government officials. Having been admitted into the Chinese bureaucratic system, the *sabao* became a class of official with unofficial status, reserved for Central Asian community leaders. In order to manage Sogdian administrative and religious affairs efficiently,

3 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, "Sogudo-go zatsuroku, II" ソグド語雑録(II) (Sogdian Miscellany II), *Oriento* オリエント (Bulletin of the Japanese Society for Near Eastern Studies), Vol. 31, No. 2, 1989, pp. 168–171; Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Lun Gaochang Hutian yu Dunhuang Xiansi" 論高昌胡天與敦煌祆寺 (On the Gaochang Hutian and Dunhuang Zoroastrian Temples), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (Studies in World Religions), No. 1, 1993, pp. 2–5; Rong Xinjiang, "Sabao yu Sabo: Beichao, Sui, Tang Huren juluo shouling wenti de zhenglun yu bianxi" 薩保與薩薄：北朝隋唐胡人聚落首領問題的爭論與辨析 (*Sabao* and *Sabo*: The Sogdian Leaders in the Northern Dynasties, Sui, and Tang Periods), in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwen ji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Papers on Iranian Studies in China), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), pp. 128–143.

4 Rong Xinjiang, "Xianjiao chuchuan Zhongguo niandai kao" 祆教初傳中國年代考 (The Date of the Introduction of Zoroastrianism into China), *Guoxue yanjiu*, No. 3, 1995, p. 341.

sabao offices were established, employing individuals in such positions as Zoroastrian superintendent 祆正, Zoroastrian invoker 祆祝, chief administrator 長史, garrison commander 果毅, commandant 率, and scribe 史. According to historical and epigraphic sources, as early as the Northern Wei dynasty, there were metropolitan *sabao* in Luoyang, as well as at the prefectural level. We see references to the *sabao* of Yongzhou 雍州, Liangzhou and Ganzhou 甘州. Later, the Western Wei 西魏 (535–556), Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581), Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550) and Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577) regimes all followed this system. In the Northern Qi, there were capital *sabao* and prefectural *sabao*; likewise, the Northern Zhou established the office of capital *sabao*. Tomb inscriptions from this period also mention prefectural level *sabao* in Liangzhou, Jiuquan, Tongzhou 同州, Bingzhou, Daizhou 代州, and Jiezhou 介州. Owners of the newly discovered Sogdian tombs, Wirkak (Shi Jun 史君) and An Jia 安伽 were both *sabao*: Wirkak was the *sabao* of Liangzhou, and An Jia was the *sabao* of Tongzhou. There was also a *sabao* who concurrently held the office in different prefectures. Yu Hong 虞弘, for instance, was such a concurrent *sabao*. The Sui rulers set up positions like the Yongzhou (i.e. capital) *sabao* and the various prefectural *sabao*, but when the Tang was established, the Sogdian communities were integrated into local administrations. The Sogdian colonies in Tang prefectures and counties were changed into *xiangli* 鄉里 (villages). For example, the Sogdian colony in Xizhou 西州 became Anleli 安樂里 of Chonghuaxiang 崇化鄉, and the Sogdian colony in Dunhuang became Conghuaxiang 從化鄉. Sogdian colonies also disappeared in Chang'an and Luoyang, but they probably survived longer in border regions like the six Hu prefectures and Yingzhou. The system of *sabao* offices survived into the Tang period, as they are mentioned in the *Tongdian* 通典 (*juan* 40) and other Tang historical records. In fact, the central government's control over Sogdian communities went through a long process of development from the Northern Dynasties to the Sui and Tang periods.

Where the power of the central or local government could not reach, the role of the *sabao* survived but without official titles. When these community leaders were mentioned in the historical sources, they were usually just called "leaders" or "great leaders". For instance, the section on the garrison of Shicheng 石城 in the Dunhuang manuscript entitled "Geographical Treatise on Shazhou and Yizhou" 沙州伊州地志 reads: "In the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (627–649), the great leader from Samarkand, Kang Yandian 康豔典, came east and resided in this city; the Hu people followed him and formed a settlement, which is also called the city of Dianhe 典合".[5] The section on Yizhou in the

5 Ikeda On 池田温, "Sashū zukyō ryakkō" 沙州図経略考 (A Brief Study of the *Shazhou tujing*), in Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō hensan iinkai 榎博士還暦記念東

same manuscript records: "Towards the end of the Sui, [the town] was again occupied by the Sogdians. In the 4th year of the Zhenguan reign period (630), the chieftain Shi Wannian 石萬年 commanded seven cities to surrender".[6] Another title, *chengzhu* 城主 (city commander), was also used for someone who occupied a particular town. The inscription on the stone statue of a foreign prince in the Qianling tombs of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu of the Tang dynasty, for example, says "He Fudiyan 何伏帝延, city commander of Boxian 播仙 (Charchan)".[7]

3 The Commercial Activities of the Sogdian Merchants

The earliest extant records of the activities of Sogdian merchants in China are found in the Sogdian ancient letters discovered by M. Aurel Stein beneath the Great Wall beacon tower north-west of Dunhuang. The letters were written by a group of Sogdian merchants residing in Wuwei and Dunhuang to their families in Samarkand or Loulan 樓蘭. For unknown reasons, the letters were lost in Dunhuang by the envoy who carried them. Thanks to the scholars who worked on deciphering them, we now know that these letters, written early in the 4th century, primarily report the commercial activities of the Sogdian merchants dispatched from their base settlement in Wuwei (Liangzhou) to Luoyang, Yecheng 鄴城, Jincheng 金城 (Lanzhou 蘭州) and Dunhuang. These letters contain accounts of the situation following the latest disruptions in Central China, which also affected the Sogdian merchants living in China. They also reveal the Sogdians' specialisation in long-distance trade, and provide information about the types of goods they traded, including spices, textiles and many other items.[8]

洋史論叢編纂委員会, ed., *Enoki hakushi kanreki kinen Tōyōshi ronsō* 榎博士還暦記念東洋史論叢 (Studies in Asian History, Dedicated to Dr. Kazuo Enoki on His Sixtieth Birthday) (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1975), pp. 91–93.

6 Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 et al., eds., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄 (Texts on Social and Economic History among the Dunhuang Manuscripts) (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1986), pp. 40–41.

7 Chen Guocan 陳國燦, "Tang Qianling shirenxiang ji qi xianming de yanjiu" 唐乾陵石人像及其銜名的研究 (A Study of Tang Qianling Stone Figures and their Titles), *Wenwu jikan* 文物集刊 (Cultural Relics Journal), No. 2, 1980, pp. 189–203.

8 Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Ancient Letter II", in Maria Gabriela Schmidt and Walter Bisang, eds., *Philologica et Linguistica: Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2001), pp. 267–280; Frantz Grenet, Nicholas Sims-Williams and Étienne de la Vaissière, "The Sogdian Ancient Letter V", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, Vol. 12, 1998, pp. 91–104.

After conducting such operations for extended periods of time, the Sogdians formed their own trading network between Samarkand and Chang'an, which extended as far as the border regions of north-east China. They settled down and built colonies at the hubs of their east-west trading network to serve as transfer stations. A Turfan document from the Gaochang period recording scale fees (*chengjiaqian* 稱價錢) (Fig. 18.2) indicates that the Sogdians essentially dominated the trade in precious metals and spices in the Gaochang region.[9] Travelling from the west, they transported staple goods to Gaochang, where local Sogdian merchants bought the goods and then distributed them or transported them in bulk to the Hexi region or Central China for sale. On the basis of the Sogdian stone inscriptions discovered on the Pakistan side of the China-Pakistan Friendship Highway on the upper reaches of the Indus River, Nicholas Sims-Williams has pointed out that the Sogdians not only traded between Sogdiana and China, but also between China and India.[10] The Sogdian-language contract for the purchase of a Turkic slave girl discovered at the Astana Graves near Turfan (Fig. 18.3)[11] suggests that they also conducted trade between China and the northern nomadic peoples. As Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 has highlighted, the Sogdians were in fact the main players in the Silk Road trade during the medieval period.[12] It is probably due to the Sogdian monopoly on the overland Silk Road trade from the Northern Dynasties to the Sui and Tang periods that evidence of the activities of Persian merchants is

9 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1981–1992), Vol. 1, pp. 450–453; Vol. 3, pp. 318–325. Cf. Zhu Lei 朱雷, "Qushi Gaochang wangguo de 'chengjiaqian'" 麴氏高昌王國的"稱價錢" ("Scale Fees" in Gaochang under the Rule of the Qu Clan), *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui, Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources for the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang) No. 4, 1982, pp. 17–24.

10 Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Merchants in China and India", in Alfredo Cadonna and Lionello Lanciotti, eds., *Cina e Iran da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. 45–67.

11 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫 and *Shinkyō Uiguru jichiku hakubutsukan* 新疆ウィグル自治区博物館, "Kiku-shi Kōshōkoku jidai Sogudo bun onnadorei baibai monjo" 麴氏高昌国時代ソグド文女奴隷売買文書 (Sogdian Contract from Gaochang for the Purchase of a Slave Girl during the Rule of the Qu Clan), *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 (Research on the Languages of Inner Asia), No. 4, 1988, pp. 1–50 and Pl. 1; Yutaka Yoshida, "Translation of the Contract for the Purchase of a Slave Girl Found at Turfan and Dated 639", appended to Valerie Hansen's review article, "New Work on the Sogdians, the Most Important Traders on the Silk Road, A.D. 500–1000", *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 89, Fasc. 1/3, 2003, pp. 149–161, esp. pp. 159–161.

12 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu Sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 150–226.

rarely found in the historical records of that period. In fact, the Persian merchants on the Silk Road, described in the modern dance-drama *Along the Silk Road* 絲路花雨 were active mostly in the south-eastern coastal areas during the Tang period, rather than Dunhuang or Turfan. Accordingly the large number of Persian silver coins and the small number of Byzantine gold coins discovered along the northern Silk Road should be considered proof of the Sogdians' trade, rather than evidence of Persian or Byzantine activities.[13]

4 New Archaeological Discoveries Concerning the Sogdians

Due to the considerable number of Chinese and Sogdian manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan, we have been able to learn more about the Sogdians who lived in these two places than in any other region. Yet these documents mainly concern the Sogdians in townships or villages, in other words, those who were in communities that had been integrated into the local Tang administrative systems. Tomb inscriptions and other archaeological data from Wuwei and Guyuan, for example, reflect that their burial practices had already conformed to Chinese funerary customs, and their tomb inscriptions also followed the Chinese style. Little is known about the Sogdian communities beyond the control of the central or local governments (as in the kingdom of Gaochang) between the 5th and 10th centuries.

The most important Central Asian or Sogdian tombs discovered in China to date are the Tomb of Yu Hong 虞弘 (found in Taiyuan, Shanxi, in July 1999) and the Tomb of An Jia (found in Xi'an, Shaanxi, in May 2000). According to the epitaph of the former, Yu Hong was originally from the state of Yu 魚, a place not mentioned in any contemporary source. However, it seems to have been a state in Central Asia, since the epitaph reads that Yu Hong and his ancestors had been officials in the Rouran 柔然 Qaghanate. Yu Hong was formerly an envoy to Persia, the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾, and other places; later he migrated to Central China, where he was appointed concurrent administrator of the local Sogdian colonies in three prefectures. He was the central administration's appointee, stationed in Taiyuan, to control the local Central Asian colonies. He died in the 12th year of the Kaihuang era (592) of the Sui dynasty.[14] An

13 Rong Xinjiang, "Bosi yu Zhongguo: Liang zhong wenhua zai Tangchao de jiaorong" 波斯與中國：兩種文化在唐朝的交融 (Persia and China: The Merging of Two Cultures in the Tang Dynasty), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 (China Scholarship), No. 4, 2002, pp. 61–64.

14 Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 and Taiyuan shi Jinyuan qu wenwu lüyouju 太原市晉源區文物旅游局, "Taiyuan Suidai Yuhong mu qingli jianbao" 太原

Jia, as revealed by his surname, was clearly a Sogdian from Bukhara. He was the *sabao* of Tongzhou (Dali 大荔, Shaanxi), appointed by the central government of the Northern Zhou dynasty. An Jia died in the 1st year of the Daxiang 大象 reign period (579).[15] Not only are these two tombs the earliest extant unambiguously dated Central Asian tombs in China, but the images on the two sarcophagi also have distinctly Sogdian artistic features whose religious implications have excited a great deal of interest among scholars. The discovery of these two tombs has led to a new understanding of similar – previously excavated – sarcophagi that are now dispersed in various countries, including one excavated in the early 20th century whose contents are now kept in Paris, Cologne, Boston and Washington, D.C.[16] One sarcophagus was uncovered in Yidu 益都, Shandong, in 1971,[17] one in Tianshui 天水, Gansu, in 1982,[18] and one has recently been acquired by the Miho Museum.[19] The images on these sarcophagi are culturally consistent, and most of them date from the late Northern Dynasties to the early Tang. The geographical locations of the tombs range from Gansu to Shaanxi, Shanxi, Henan and Shandong, roughly consistent with the Sogdian migration routes of the same period, known on the basis of textual sources.

隋代虞弘墓清理簡報 (Brief Report on the Sui Dynasty Tomb of Yu Hong in Jinyuan, Taiyuan), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 1, 2001, pp. 27–52.

15 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, "Xi'an faxian de Bei Zhou An Jia mu" 西安發現的北周安伽墓 (The Northern Zhou Period An Jia Tomb Discovered in Xi'an), *Wenwu*, No. 1, 2001, pp. 4–26.

16 Gustina Scaglia, "Central Asians on a Northern Ch'i Gate Shrine", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1958, pp. 9–28; Boris I. Marshak, "Le programme iconographique des peintures de la 'Salle des ambassadeurs' à Afrasiab (Samarkand)", *Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. 49, 1994, pp. 1–20; Jiang Boqin, "Anyang Bei Qi shiguanchuang huaxiangshi de tuxiang kaocha yu ru Hua Suteren de Xianjiao meishu" 安陽北齊石棺床畫像石的圖像考察與入華粟特人的祆教美術 (A Study of Stone Relief Images on the Anyang Northern Qi Tombs and the Zoroastrian Art of Sogdians in China), *Yishushi yanjiu* 藝術史研究 (Studies in Art History), No. 1, 1999, pp. 151–186.

17 Xia Mingcai 夏名采, "Yidu Bei Qi shishi mu xianke huaxiang" 益都北齊石室墓線刻畫像 (Reliefs of the Northern Qi Stone Mausoleum in Yidu), *Wenwu*, No. 10, 1985, pp. 49–54; Xia Mingcai, "Qingzhou Fu jia Bei Qi xianke huaxiang shi buyi" 青州傅家北齊線刻畫像補遺 (Addendum to the Northern Qi Reliefs of the Fu Family from Qingzhou), *Wenwu*, No. 5, 2001, pp. 92–93.

18 Tianshui shi bowuguan 天水市博物館, "Tianshui shi faxian Sui Tang pingfeng shiguanchuang mu" 天水市發現隋唐屏風石棺床墓 (A Sui and Tang Tomb with a Screened Sarcophagus Discovered in Tianshui), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), No. 1, 1992, pp. 46–54.

19 Annette L. Juliano and Judith A. Lerner, "Cultural Crossroads: Central Asian and Chinese Entertainers on the Miho Funerary Couch", *Orientations*, Oct. 1997, pp. 72–78; Juliano and Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries", *Orientations*, Oct. 2001, pp. 54–61.

The images on these sarcophagi are remarkably similar to each other. Many display obvious Sogdian artistic features, and some show particularly strong Zoroastrian influences. The owners of these tombs were either community leaders or inspectors of Sogdian colonies. This type of sarcophagus was probably the primary mode of burial for Sogdian and other Central Asian community leaders. The sarcophagi reflect the daily lives of Sogdian communities during the period when the *sabao* was in office.[20] Of course, even though these works of art originate as depictions of daily life, they do not necessarily accurately depict the reality of daily life. These works also often go beyond life, as artists may represent life either through its shared, common aspects or by depicting some of its rare and exceptional qualities. Among all these sarcophagi, An Jia's tomb contains the most vivid images, but even these contain some standard elements and stock features.

5 The Daily Life and Religious Culture of Sogdian Communities

By reading the tomb images together with historical sources, tomb inscriptions, and manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan, we can visualise many details about the daily life and religious practices of Sogdian communities in China.

As noted above, the leaders of the Sogdian communities in China were referred to as *sabao* in textual records. Such an example was An Jia, who also had the title of *sabao*. Apart from establishing *sabao* offices and granting the official title of *sabao* to Central Asian community leaders, the central government also began to send officials to supervise the *sabao* offices in the later years of the Northern Dynasties in order to strengthen its control over these communities. This position was often occupied by Central Asian immigrants such as Yu Hong. The figure of the *sabao* can be found in every panel of An Jia's tomb, and he is usually the protagonist of every scene. In the central panel, the *sabao* is drinking and dining with his wife in the house. The image on the upper right shows him receiving a Turkic chieftain, and the one on the lower right seems to depict a meeting of Sogdians and Turks forming an alliance. There are images of *sabao* receiving Sogdian, Turkic and Chinese guests; and images of Turkic, Persian and Indian kings engaged in hunting. These images realistically depict aspects of the *sabao*'s life in his community, entertaining foreign guests from all four corners of the world. The images on An Jia's tomb show the way he held banquets, participated in hunts, entertained guests, visited others

20 Xinjiang Rong, "The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia's Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a *Sabao*", *Orientations*, Feb. 2003, pp. 32–35 and figs. 1–7.

and engaged in other daily activities, vividly depicting the *sabao*'s status in the Sogdian community.

Almost all the figures in these tomb images – from the foreign kings who were the *sabao*'s hunters or guests, to the ordinary people – are depicted with distinct Central Asian features. They are characterized by deep-set eyes, high noses, curly or short hair and all wearing Central Asian attire. Such images suggest an absence of Chinese individuals in these communities. If we take a closer look at the differences among the Central Asian figures, we can see that while the Sogdian merchants constituted the majority of the population in these communities, other Central Asian immigrants from the Western Regions lived there as well. Ever since the beginning of the last century when, on the basis of the Dunhuang manuscripts, Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) described the groups of Sogdian immigrants in the Lop Nor area as "Sogdian colonies",[21] this term has been understood as settlements made up exclusively of Sogdians. Now we have discovered that from the end of the Northern Dynasties to the beginning of the Tang period, in the Sogdian communities in Taiyuan, there was a great *sabao* named Di Suomohe 翟娑摩訶, who may have come from the nomadic Gaoju 高車 Qaghanate, and a chief administrator of the *sabao* office named Long Run 龍潤, who was originally from Yanqi in the northern Tarim basin. Thus we should say that these so-called "Sogdian colonies" were actually communities of Central Asian immigrants, the majority of whom were Sogdians. Hence, even though the aspects of daily life in these Central Asian settlements that we see depicted most often include those influenced by the northern nomadic peoples (e.g. hunting), even more common are the songs and dances popular among the Sogdians, and the viniculture and wine making, which were also their areas of expertise. There are hardly any examples among the images of people engaged in agricultural activities, which suggests that agriculture may not yet have developed in Sogdian settlements.

In the central section of these tomb images, there is usually a banqueting scene depicting the tomb owner and his wife as the main protagonists. While the male owner is always depicted with obvious Central Asian characteristics, the female owner in the An Jia tomb shows no distinct ethnic features. From the Sogdian epitaphs and other textual sources, we can see that early Sogdian immigrants in China usually married within their communities, since they lived in their own autonomous settlements and had little interaction with Chinese people. However, Sogdian women usually wore Chinese-style

21 Paul Pelliot, "Le *Cha-tcheou tou-tou-fou t'ou-king* et la colonie sogdienne de la région du Lob Nor", *Journal Asiatique*, 11e série, Tome 7, 1916, pp. 111–123.

dress, demonstrating their fondness for Chinese culture, and later, as shown by Sogdian tomb inscriptions, Sogdian men increasingly married Chinese women. Yet scenes typical of Chinese daily life are still not found in these early Sogdian tombs.

According to Zoroastrian funerary traditions, the body of a deceased person should be left to be devoured by dogs. Then the bones should be collected and placed in an ossuary for burial. Though some ossuaries of this type have been excavated in Turfan,[22] none has been discovered in Central China. Apparently, the Sogdians in China gradually adopted the Chinese funerary custom of burying the dead in the earth inside a coffin. Most of the previously excavated Sogdian tombs were earth burials, no different from Chinese-style burials. The tomb of An Jia and that of Yu Hong are, however, somewhat different. There is no wooden coffin inside their tombs. In the tomb of An Jia, there was only a stone couch with a panelled screen around it; and in Yu Hong's tomb there was an outer sarcophagus but no inner coffin. These surfaces for placing the body are generally called Sogdian funerary couches; they are different from the traditional stone coffins used by people in Central China. This is especially noticeable in the case of An Jia, whose remains had been cremated and placed outside the entrance to the tomb; we are uncertain about the conditions in Yu Hong's tomb, since it had been robbed sometime in the Tang period. An Jia's burial shows a clear Zoroastrian influence, but in both cases they are neither entirely in the Chinese style nor in the indigenous Sogdian funerary tradition. Rather, they are the result of a combination of influences from the earthen cave tomb structure of Central China, Chinese-style stone coffins, and Sogdian ossuaries with images carved in relief. As for the Sogdian funerary rite, Stone Panel F of the Sogdian couch in the Miho Museum depicts the complete ritual. In the upper section of the panel, a Zoroastrian priest wearing a mask (*padam*) stands before a sacred fire altar. Behind him are four male figures holding knives and gashing their faces. Above and below are people and horses taking part in the funerary procession. In the centre there is a small dog looking at the deceased, supposedly performing the ritual of *Sagdid*.[23] This image resembles another one depicted on a panel of the mortuary couch discovered in Yidu, Shandong. The Yidu image has a stone or wooden sarcophagus being carried

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22 Kageyama Etsuko 影山悦子, "Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo no ossuari (Zoroasutā kyōto no nōkotsuki)" 東トルキスタン出土のオッスアリ（ゾロアスター教徒の納骨器）(The Ossuaries [Zoroastrian Bone-Receptacles] Unearthed in Eastern Turkestan), *Oriento* (Bulletin of the Japanese Society for Near Eastern Studies), Vol. 40, No. 1, 1997, pp. 73–89.

23 Judith Lerner, "Central Asians in Sixth-Century China: A Zoroastrian Funerary Rite", *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. 30, 1995, pp. 179–190.

by four horses. A man is leading the horses, followed by a small dog. At the top are distant mountains with a house in their midst; it appears to be a structure over a tomb. This scene, depicted on the Yidu sarcophagus, can be considered a continuation of the procession scene shown on the Miho couch.

Records of Sogdian settlements in Dunhuang, Turfan, and other places reveal that Zoroastrian temples were usually built in these communities as cult centres. The Sogdians practiced a regional variant of Zoroastrianism, which was the traditional Persian religion. This point was corroborated by the 4th-century Sogdian ancient letters discovered by Stein beneath the Great Wall beacon towers near Dunhuang. The tomb images we have seen here further confirm that Zoroastrianism was practised in Sogdian communities. The lintel above the doorway to An Jia's tomb depicts a fire altar supported by three camels, with half-bird, half-human priests on both sides. Below is the figure of a typical Sogdian donor, whereas above are apsaras holding harps and lutes. The camel represents the god of victory, which suggests that the fire altar depicted here is a high-ranking one (Fig. 18.4). A similar image with a fire altar and priest-birds on its two sides is also seen on the couch at the bottom of Yu Hong's sarcophagus. These images, as well as those of the goddess Nana and the Zoroastrian burial rites that are depicted on the couch at the Miho Museum, all indicate that Zoroastrianism was the primary faith of the Sogdian settlements. In their religious lives, and even in some aspects of their daily lives, they followed Zoroastrian rituals.

The Sogdians for the most part followed the main routes of the Silk Road. They gradually travelled eastward, seeking to establish their settlements in the narrow gaps between the nomadic steppe qaghanates and the Chinese state. In the ever-changing political environment along the Silk Road between the 3rd and 10th centuries, the Sogdian settlements were inevitably exposed to a variety of cultural influences. Their daily lives were predominantly Sogdian in style, but also showed influence from the Iranian culture of Persia, the culture of the northern steppe, and that of other Central Asian peoples. While spiritually they remained devoted to the Zoroastrian religion, in the sphere of material culture they were increasingly influenced by China.

Daily life in Sogdian settlements reflected their nature as a Silk Road people. These settlements brought people of many different cultural backgrounds together, and played a role in transmitting these cultures further east to China. The Sogdians were not only those who carried out the bulk of the trade among the various states along the Silk Road in medieval times, but also facilitated interaction among people of different cultures.

(This article is based on my notes from lectures given at the Chinese Civilisation Centre at the City University of Hong Kong in July 2002. An earlier version of this essay was published in Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱, ed., *Xiyu: Zhongwai wenming jiaoliu de zhongzhuan zhan* 西域: 中外文明交流的中轉站 [The Western Regions: A Relay Station for Exchanges between Chinese and Foreign Civilizations] [Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press, 2009], pp. 75–89.)

FIGURE 18.1 A Sogdian caravan as depicted on the tomb of An Jia

FIGURE 18.2 Turfan document detailing scale fees (detail)

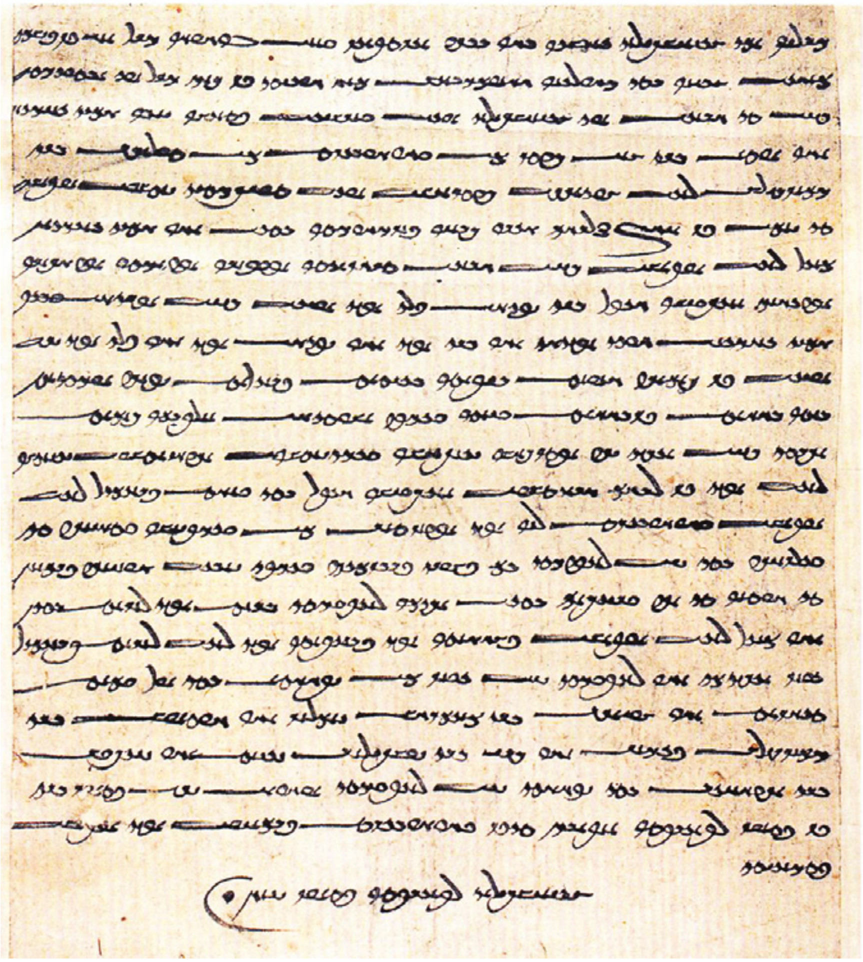

FIGURE 18.3 A Sogdian contract for the purchase of a slave girl discovered in Turfan

FIGURE 18.4 Zorastrian images on the lintel of An Jia's tomb

CHAPTER 19

Currency on the Silk Road and the Sogdian Merchants

Translated by Sally K. Church

In recent years, I have followed with interest the eastward migration of Sogdian merchants from Central Asia to China, and the many aspects of its influence. One of these is the close relationship between the currency that flowed along the Silk Road and the Sogdian merchants who engaged in interregional trade. Many scholars have investigated this subject in the past, but there are still some issues that await deeper exploration, such as the relationship between the Sogdian merchants and the Sasanian silver coins that came into China along the Silk Road. This paper discusses three questions. Some of the ideas have already been raised by others, but I hope that by taking a broader perspective I can strengthen our understanding of the important role played by the Sogdian merchants, and emphasise the close relationship between these merchants and the Sasanian silver coins that flowed into medieval China.

1 Why Were the Sasanian Silver Coins Not Brought into China by Persian Merchants?

Since the beginning of the 20th century, increasing amounts of silver coins minted in the Sasanian Empire (224–651) in Persia have been discovered within China's borders along the Silk Road. There have been archaeological finds among the mountains of Wuqia 烏恰 county in Xinjiang 新疆; in the city of Gaochang 高昌 in the Turfan 吐魯番 depression; in hoard(s) in Xining 西寧, Qinghai 青海; in Hu 胡 graves in the southern suburbs of Guyuan 固原; in the base of a pagoda in Dingxian 定縣, Hebei 河北; and other places. These discoveries provide evidence for the words in the "Shihuo zhi" 食貨志 (Treatise on Food and Products) of the *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui): "In the various commanderies of Hexi 河西, people use gold and silver coins from the Western Regions and officials are unable to restrict this". Scholars mostly agree that the gold coins were Byzantine coins from the Eastern Roman Empire, while the silver coins were Sasanian. From the materials that have already been found in present-day archaeological excavations, we still cannot ascertain that gold

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coins from the Eastern Roman Empire circulated as currency, but Sasanian silver coins were definitely in circulation. This point is further documented in the large quantities of both official and private documents excavated in Turfan dating from the time of the Gaochang kingdom to the Tang Xizhou 西州 period.

Since the 1950s, a large number of Sasanian silver coins have been discovered along the Silk Road. Scholars of course have immediately connected these finds with the ancient contact that existed between Persia and China.[1] However, by the 1970s, when the official and private documents excavated in Turfan were gradually deciphered, people discovered that the users of Sasanian silver coins on the Silk Road were actually not Persians but Sogdians. This conclusion is well-known today, but why were the Persians not the ones who brought in the Sasanian silver coins?

In the past, I have carefully studied the relevant records in Chinese traditional documents, excavated texts and stone inscriptions, and have discovered that in the Northern Dynasties period, and the Sui and the Tang dynasties, the Persians who came to China for the most part carried out diplomatic and political missions. They were not merchants by any strict definition. Conversely, from the beginning of the 4th century to the first half of the 8th, the Sogdian people, who originated from the Amu Darya and Syr Darya river basins, established an efficient commercial transport and trade network on the overland Silk Road from Central Asia to North China. For this reason, the Sasanian merchants had difficulty gaining a foothold in this network and competing for commercial benefit in the trade between China and Central Asia.[2] From the large quantity of documents that have survived in Turfan, dating from the period of the Qu 麴 family's rule over the Gaochang kingdom (501–640) to

1 Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Zongshu Zhongguo chutu de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 綜述中國出土的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (A Survey of Sasanian Silver Coins Found in China), originally included in *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 1, 1974. Here I follow the version of the article published in the final volume of *Xia Nai wenji* 夏鼐文集 (Collected Works of Xia Nai) (Beijing: Sheke wenxian chubanshe, 2000), pp. 51–70; Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進, "Tōhō ni okeru Sāsān shiki ginka no sai kentō" 東方におけるサーサーン式銀貨の再検討 (Further Investigation of Sasanian Silver in East Asia), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), Vol. 54, 1982, pp. 149–151; Eugeny V. Zeimal, "Eastern (Chinese) Turkestan on the Silk Road: First Millennium A.D. Numismatic Evidence" *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 2, 1991/1992, pp. 166–167; Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 30–31.

2 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Bosi yu Zhongguo: Liang zhong wenhua zai Tangchao de jiaorong" 波斯與中國：兩種文化在唐朝的交融 (Persia and China: The Merging of Two Cultures in the Tang Dynasty), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 (China Scholarship), No. 4, 2002, pp. 61–64.

the Tang dynasty, we can obtain a clear picture of the Sogdian merchants' involvement in the commercial activities of the Gaochang region. However, there is no trace of Persian merchants there.[3] The contemporary dance-drama "Silu hua yu" 絲路花雨 (Along the Silk Road, 1979) uses Persian merchants to represent the merchants on the Silk Road. Actually, this drama is a product of the time before the Turfan documents were studied. In the past, our understanding of the activities of Persian and Sogdian merchants was not very clear, but now, because of the many archaeological discoveries that have been made, especially the research that has been done on the Dunhuang 敦煌 and Turfan documents and stone inscriptions, we now have a much fuller understanding of the Sogdian merchants' control of the Silk Road from the Northern Dynasties period to the Sui and Tang dynasties. At the same time we also realise that while the Persians lost out on the overland Silk Route, they were compensated in part by their gains on the seas. In the Chinese historical sources, informal writings and works of fiction, we often see that the Persian merchants and the shops they opened were in the south-eastern coastal regions for the most part. Thus we can confirm with relative certainty that the Sasanian coins discovered along the overland Silk Route were mostly brought there not by Persians, from whose empire they originated, but by a commercial people from Central Asia – the Sogdians.

2 The Establishment of the Sogdian Merchants' Trading Network and the Unification of the Currency Used on the Silk Road

The Sogdians who came east to trade usually came in caravans. Under the direction of caravan leaders, they travelled in groups numbering from several dozen to several hundred people, equipped with weapons and armed guards for self-defence. They settled down in places that were convenient for trade and lodging along the Silk Road, establishing their own colonies. Some of them stayed in these locations, while others continued eastward to establish new commercial centres and settlements. As time passed, these settlements grew from a few to many, from weak to strong, numbering from several dozen to hundreds of people. In the agricultural areas of Central China they were called settlements, and in the nomadic grasslands they formed their own tribes.

3 See Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 198–202; Rong Xinjiang, "Gaochang wangguo yu Zhong-Xi jiaotong" 高昌王國與中西交通 (The Gaochang Kingdom and Communications between China and the West), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), No. 2, 2000, pp. 73–83.

Because the Sogdian caravans also absorbed many other Central Asian peoples while on the move, such as Tokharians, people from the oasis kingdoms around the Taklamakan desert and Turks, Sogdian caravans and settlements included many non-Sogdian ethnic groups from western and northern areas. Therefore, we sometimes refer to Sogdian settlements as 'Hu settlements', which may capture more precisely the ethnic composition of these communities.

Such Hu settlements existed in the Tarim basin, Hexi corridor, northern part of Central China and Mongolian plateau from the Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439) to the Northern Dynasties (386–581) periods, and spread widely throughout these regions. In recent years, I have been collecting Sogdian ancient letters, Chinese and Sogdian documents discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan, Chinese funerary inscriptions excavated from all over Central China, and other such historical materials, and these documents have enabled me to produce a relatively clear map of the routes taken by Sogdian merchants as they travelled eastward on the Silk Road (Map 19.1). This route began in the Sogdian homeland and passed through Daluosi 怛邏斯 (Talas), Suiye 碎葉 (Suyab) and Gongyue 弓月 to Beiting 北庭; or it followed the northern route through the Western Regions 西域 to Jushide 據史德 (present-day eastern Barchuq 巴楚 in Xinjiang), Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲), Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr), Gaochang (Turfan) and Yizhou 伊州 (present-day Hami 哈密); or from Bolu 勃律 (Baletistan-Gilgit) and Kepantuo 渴盤陀 along the southern route through the Western Regions to Khotan (Yutian 于闐, present-day Hetian 和田), Qiemo 且末 (Charchan), Shicheng garrison 石城鎮 (Shanshan 鄯善), into the Hexi corridor through Dunhuang, Jiuquan 酒泉, Zhangye 張掖, Wuwei 武威, then south-east through Tianshui 天水, Yuanzhou 原州 (Guyuan), reaching Chang'an 長安 (present-day Xi'an 西安), Tongzhou 同州 and Luoyang 洛陽; or north-east to Lingzhou 靈州 (south-west of Lingwu 靈武), Xiazhou 夏州 (Tongwancheng 統萬城), Bingzhou 并州 (Taiyuan 太原), Yunzhou 雲州 (east of Datong 大同), to Youzhou 幽州 (Beijing) and Yingzhou 營州 (Chaoyang 朝陽); or from Luoyang through Weizhou 衛州 (Xixian 汲縣), Xiangzhou 相州 (Anyang 安陽), Weizhou 魏州 (north of Daming 大名), Xingzhou 邢州 (Xingtai 邢臺), Dingzhou 定州 (Dingxian), Youzhou (Beijing) and then possibly to Yingzhou. They could also go through Xiping 西平 (Shanzhou 鄯州, present-day Xining 西寧) and south along the Tibetan route; another route went south from Bingzhou onto the (north-south) Jiezhou 介州 route. Traces of the Sogdians have been left behind in each of these important towns and cities, some of which became settlements.[4] Therefore, through such a long

4 Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu Sute yimin juluo kao" 西域粟特移民聚落考 (A Study of Sogdian Migrant Settlements in the Western Regions), in Ma Dazheng 馬大正 et al., eds., *Xiyu*

period of commercial activity from their native land to China's Silk Road, the Sogdians gradually formed their own trading network, and from the Northern Dynasties period to the Sui and Tang, i.e. from the 4th to the 8th centuries, trade along the overland Silk Road was almost completely monopolised by the Sogdian merchants.

I have plotted the locations of all the Sogdian merchant colonies mentioned above on the map shown here.[5] As more source materials become available, the names of the cities and towns where they stopped will continue to be added. If we compare this map with the map of the locations where Sasanian silver coins have been excavated,[6] we can see at a glance that they are basically consistent. Whether one examines them from the perspective of time or place, we can say that the Sogdian merchants were the main carriers of Sasanian coins to the east.

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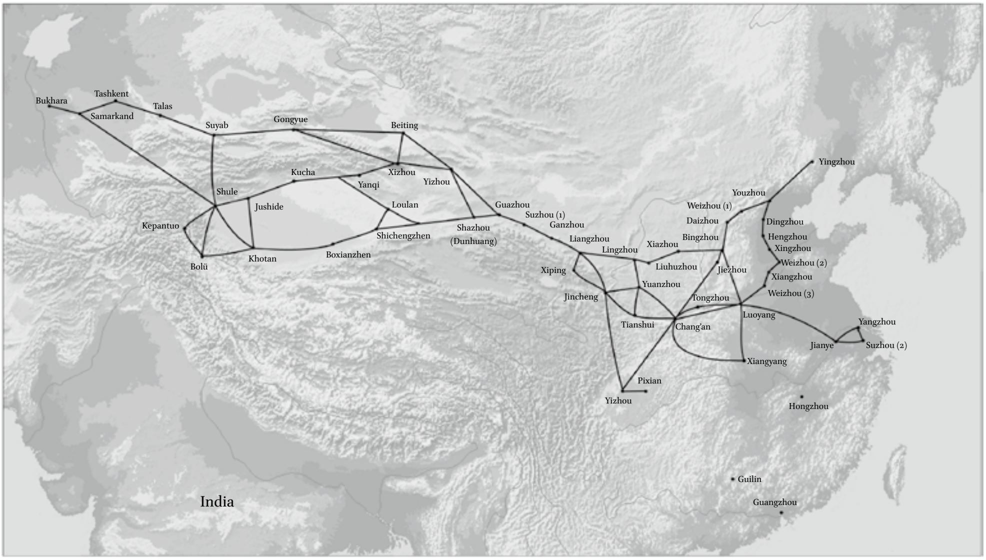
kaocha yu yanjiu 西域考察與研究 (The Western Regions: Fieldwork and Research) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 157–172; Rong Xinjiang, "Beichao, Sui, Tang Suteren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落 (Study of the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 6, 1999, pp. 27–85; these two articles are included in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 19–36 and 37–110; Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu Sute yimin juluo bukao" 西域粟特移民聚落補考 (A Supplementary Study of Sogdian Migrant Settlements in the Western Regions), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 2, 2005, pp. 1–11; Rong Xinjiang, "Beichao Sui-Tang Suteren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo bukao" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落補考 (Further Study on the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), *Ouya yanjiu* 歐亞研究 (Research on Eurasia), No. 6, 2007, pp. 165–178. There are English translations of these four articles: Xinjiang Rong, "Sogdians Around the Ancient Tarim Basin", in Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta and Gianroberto Scarcia, eds., *Ērān ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'ič Maršak on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Venezia: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 2006), pp. 513–524; Xinjiang Rong, "The Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang", trans. by Bruce Doar, *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, Vol. IV, No. 1: *Zoroastrianism in China*, December 2000, pp. 117–163; Xinjiang Rong, "Further Remarks on Sogdians in the Western Regions", trans. by Wen Xin, in Werner Sundermann, Almut Hintze and François de Blois, eds., *Exegisti Monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (lranica 17) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), pp. 399–416; Rong Xinjiang, "Further Remarks on the Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang", Yu Taishan and Li Jinxiu, eds., *Eurasia Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2011, pp. 120–141.

5 Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, p. 39. For the most recent map, see the above-cited work, "Further Remarks on the Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang", p. 121.

6 *Xia Nai wenji*, final volume, p. 54, Plates 5–17.



MAP 19.1 The Silk Road as travelled by the Sogdians during their eastward migrations
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Before the 4th century, there were many types of currency on the Silk Road. [From Central China] there were the Han dynasty Wu Zhu 五銖 coins, and the woven products used as currency from the Han to the Jin periods (ca. 206 BCE–420 CE); from the Western Regions there were such currencies as the bilingual Sino-Kharoshthi and Sino-Kushan coins, and the *Gaochang jili* 高昌吉利 coins. There were also copper coins issued by the Kushans (30–350), and so forth, all of which were in circulation to different degrees.[7] After the beginning of the 4th century, when the Sogdian trading network was gradually being established, Sasanian silver coins replaced the other currencies and became the most important medium of exchange on the Silk Road. From the large amount of materials excavated in Turfan, Dunhuang and other places, we know that Sasanian silver coins were not only used in interregional trade during this period but also penetrated into many aspects of socio-economic life in such local kingdoms as Gaochang under the Qu family, where they were

7 See the relevant sections of the works listed below: Dong Qingxuan 董慶煊, Jiang Qixiang 蔣其祥 et al., eds., *Xinjiang qianbi* 新疆錢幣 (Xinjiang Currency) (Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1991); Helen Wang, *Money on the Silk Road: The Evidence from Eastern Central Asia to c. AD 800* (London: The British Museum Press, 2004); Wang Yongsheng 王永生, *Xinjiang lishi huobi* 新疆歷史貨幣 (Historical Currency of Xinjiang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007).

used in tax collection, business transactions, salary payments and the like.[8] When the royal family of the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) sent Yuan Rong 元榮 (fl. 488–525) to rule over Dunhuang, he used silver coins to make generous charitable donations.[9] According to *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang), when Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) was in the important garrison town of Liangzhou 涼州 (Wuwei) in the Hexi region, he gave public lectures on the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 (Nirvana sutra), the *She dasheng lun* 攝大乘論 (Compendium of the Great Vehicle), and the *Bore jing* 般若經 (Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom). "On the last day of the lectures, generous donations were received in gold coins, silver coins, slaves and animals. The dharma master accepted half of the donations, and the rest were distributed to the monasteries".[10] By the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th, following the destruction of the Sasanian Empire, the Sogdians' homeland

8 See Zheng Xuemeng 鄭學檬, "Shiliuguo zhi Qushi wangchao shiqi Gaochang shiyong yinqian de qingkuang yanjiu" 十六國至麴氏王朝時期高昌使用銀錢的情況研究 (Studies on the Use of Silver Coins in Gaochang under the Rule of the Qu Family during the Sixteen Kingdoms Period), in Yang Jiping 楊際平, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan chutu jingji wenshu yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番出土經濟文書研究 (Studies on Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts Related to Economic History) (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1986), pp. 293–318; Song Jie 宋傑, "Tulufan wenshu suo fanying de Gaochang wujia yu huobi wenti" 吐魯番文書所反映的高昌物價與貨幣問題 (Prices and Currency in Gaochang as Reflected in the Turfan Manuscripts), *Beijing shifan xueyuan xuebao* 北京師範學院學報 (Journal of Beijing Normal College), No. 2, 1990, pp. 67–76; Guo Yuan 郭媛, "Shilun Sui-Tang zhi ji Tulufan diqu de yinqian" 試論隋唐之際吐魯番地區的銀錢 (On the Silver Coins Used in the Turfan Region during the Sui and Tang Periods), *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (Chinese History Studies), No. 4, 1990, pp. 19–33; Lin Youhua 林友華, "Cong si shiji dao qi shiji zhong Gaochang huobi xingtai chutan" 從四世紀到七世紀中高昌貨幣形態初探 (Preliminary Exploration of the Currency in Gaochang between the 4th and 7th Centuries), in Zhongguo Dunhuang Tulufan xuehui 中國敦煌吐魯番學會, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufanxue yanjiu lunwenji* 敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集 (Research Papers in Dunhuang and Turfan Studies) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 1990), pp. 872–900; Lu Xiangqian 盧向前, "Gaochang Xizhou sibai nian huobi guanxi yanbian shulüe" 高昌西州四百年貨幣關係演變述略 (A Brief Account of the 400-year Evolution of Currencies in Xizhou Gaochang), in Lu Xiangqian, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu lungao* 敦煌吐魯番文書論稿 (Working Papers on the Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 217–266; Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 29–36.

9 Ikeda On 池田温, "Tonkō no ryūtsū keizai" 敦煌の流通經濟 (Dunhuang's Circulating Economy), *Kōza Tonkō* 講座敦煌 (Lectures on Dunhuang), No. 3, "Tonkō no shakai" 敦煌の社会 (Dunhuang's Society) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1980), p. 310.

10 Sun Yutang 孫毓棠 and Xie Fang 謝方, ed. and annot., *Da Ci'ensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (Biography of the Tripitaka, the Dharma Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 10–11.

was gradually occupied by the Arabs, and the Tang also took control over the Western Regions. The trading network that had formerly been controlled by the Sogdians became increasingly difficult to maintain, and Sasanian silver coins gradually disappeared from the historical stage. Tang copper coins and textiles began to circulate in the eastern part of the Silk Road, while imitation Arab-Sasanian silver coins and Arabian gold coins came into use in the western part.[11]

Thus we can say that the Sogdian trade network and the circulation of Sasanian silver coins coincided for the most part in time and place.

3 The Function of Sasanian Silver Coins as a Circulating Currency

Archaeological discoveries ultimately occur by chance. Up to now, only about 2,000 Sasanian silver coins have been discovered. Compared to the high volume there would have been when interregional trade flourished on the Silk Road, these would be like a drop in the ocean, hardly amounting to anything. Thus when we discuss the function of Sasanian silver coins as currency, some scholars see them as non-monetary, spiritual pieces, similar to the Byzantine gold coins placed in the mouths of the deceased prior to burial; or as collectors' items like the coins found in the Hejiacun 何家村 hoard. In fact, there is material evidence that Sasanian silver coins were a circulating currency at the time.

In 1959, in the mountains of Wuqia county in the Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture in Xinjiang, a total of 947 Persian silver coins (Fig. 19.1) and 16 gold bars were found. The most likely explanation for this find is that some Sogdian merchants encountered bandits and buried these valuables in a hurry.[12] Wuqia

11 Jonathan Karam Skaff, "The Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Turfan: Their Relationship to International Trade and the Local Economy", *Asia Major*, Vol. 11, 1998, pp. 67–116; Si Jiafu 斯加夫 [Jonathan Karam Skaff], "Tulufan faxian de Sashan yinbi he Alabo Sashan yinbi: Tamen yu guoji maoyi he difang jingji de guanxi" 吐魯番發現的薩珊銀幣和阿拉伯薩珊銀幣 – 它們與國際貿易和地方經濟的關係 (Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins Discovered in Turfan: Their Relationship to International Trade and Local Economy), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 4, 1999, pp. 419–463.

12 Li Yuchun 李遇春, "Xinjiang Wuqiaxian faxian jintiao he dapi Bosi yinbi" 新疆烏恰縣發現金條和大批波斯銀幣 (The Discovery of Gold Rods and a Hoard of Persian Silver Coins in Wuqia County, Xinjiang), *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), No. 9, 1959, pp. 482–483. For a detailed report on this find see Nara Shirukurōdogaku kenkyū sentā 奈良シルクロード学研究センター, ed., "Shinkyō shutsudo no Sāsān-shiki ginpei: Shinkyō Uiguru jichiku Hakubutsukan zō no Sāsān-shiki ginpei" 新疆出土のサーサーン式銀幣 – 新疆ウイグル自治區博物館藏のサーサーン式銀幣 (Sasanian Style Silver

is situated on the route between China and the Ferghana basin, which must have been one of the routes travelled by the Sogdian merchants in the medieval period. Although we lack conclusive evidence that these silver coins and gold bars belonged to Sogdian merchants, they were discovered on the route between Sogdiana and China, and they date from the period when Sogdian merchants had a monopoly on the Silk Road trade. Thus it is not unreasonable to connect these discoveries with the Sogdian merchants.[13] The main significance of this find is that it was a unique discovery of a single deposit of over 900 Sasanian silver coins; moreover, the fact that they were discovered together with the 16 gold bars can only mean that these coins should be considered circulating currency, and that the gold bars must have been a concentrated form of the wealth obtained by the Sogdians.

In fact, similar hoards have been found elsewhere as well. Three hoards were discovered in the old city of Gaochang. In around 1950, 20 coins were found. They were placed together when unearthed, suggesting that they were originally from the same hoard.[14] In 1955, 10 coins were found in a small square jet box.[15] And in 1989, over 100 coins were found in a single container. Unfortunately the latter have already been dispersed among the locals.[16]

Coins Excavated in Xinjiang: Sasanian Style Silver Coins in the Collection of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Museum), *Shirukurōdogaku kenkyū* シルクロード学研究 (Silk Road Studies), No. 19 (Nara: Shirukurōdogaku kenkyū sentā, 2003).

13 Sun Li 孫莉, "Sashan yinbi zai Zhongguo de fenbu ji gongneng" 薩珊銀幣在中國的分布及功能 (The Distribution and Function of Sasanian Silver Coins in China) in *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 1, 2004, p. 39, expresses this point of view. On 3–4 April 2007, the University of Shiga Prefecture 滋賀縣立大學 in Japan held a "Joint Sino-Japanese Conference on Sogdian Culture" 中日共同粟特文化研討會, at which Professor Sugaya Fuminori 菅谷文則, who presided over the sorting of the finds from the Wuqia excavation of silver coins, gave a paper called "Congling dao yu Sute ren" 蔥嶺道與粟特人 (The Route through the Pamirs and the Sogdians), meticulously arguing in favour of the relationship between this discovery and the Sogdians on the basis of his field investigation of the excavation site and the communications routes in the surrounding areas.

14 Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Xinjiang Tulufan zuijin chutu de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 新疆吐魯番最近出土的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (The Most Recent Excavations of Sasanian Silver Coins in Xinjiang and Turfan), originally published in *Kaogu* 考古 (Archaeology), No. 4, 1966; here I have consulted it in *Xia Nai wenji*, final volume, pp. 39–40.

15 Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Zhongguo zuijin faxian de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 中國最近發現的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (The Most Recent Finds of Persian Sasanian Silver Coins in China), originally published in *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 2, 1957; here consulted in *Xia Nai wenji*, final volume, pp. 19–24.

16 Song Zhiyong 宋志永, "Bosi yinbi zai Xinjiang de you yici zhongda faxian: Zhuiji 89 nian Tulufan shi tu de yipi Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 波斯銀幣在新疆的又一次重大發現 – 綴記 89 年吐魯番出土的一批波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (Another Major Discovery of Persian

Seventy-six coins were found in a hoard on Chenghuang miao 城隍廟 street in Xining, Qinghai.[17] All of these coins were struck in the 4th–5th centuries. In 1997, a hoard of Sasanian coins was discovered in a square wooden box in Simagou 司馬溝 village, Yichuan 伊川 district, Luoyang, Henan 河南. Most of the coins had already been lost, but among the materials collected were 315 coins from the reign of Peroz (459–484).[18] Forty-nine Peroz coins were found in 1988 in a cave near the Great Wall in the town of Xinping 新平, in Tianzhen 天鎮 district of Datong, Shanxi 山西.[19] The excavated hoards of coins are different from the single or very small quantities of silver coins found in tombs and pagoda foundations in that they must have been buried in haste for safekeeping, but for some reason were never retrieved. In fact, the function of these Sasanian silver coins was that they circulated in China; this was their main value.[20]

From the example of Wuqia, I also realised that while a caravan of Sogdian merchants was travelling long distances and carrying out its commercial activities, it needed to transport things that were small and lightweight but high

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Silver Coins in Xinjiang: Further Notes on the Hoard of Sasanian Silver Coins Unearthed in Turfan in 1989), *Xinjiang qianbi* 新疆錢幣 (Xinjiang Coins) No. 2, 1996, pp. 36–39; Song Zhiyong 宋志永, "Tulufan faxian yipi zaoqi Bosi yinbi" 吐魯番發現一批早期波斯銀幣 (The Discovery of a Hoard of Early Persian Silver Coins in the Turfan Region), in *Zhongguo qianbi* 中國錢幣 (Chinese Coins), No. 4, 1996, p. 74.

17 Xia Nai 夏鼐, "Qinghai Xining chutu de Bosi Sashan chao yinbi" 青海西寧出土的波斯薩珊朝銀幣 (Silver Coins from Sasanid Persia Found in Xining, Qinghai), *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 (Journal of Archaeology), No. 1, 1958, pp. 40–50, reprinted in Xia Nai, *Xia Nai wenji*, Vol. 5.

18 Yu Qian 于倩 and Huo Hongwei 霍宏偉, "Luoyang chutu Bosi yinbi tansuo" 洛陽出土波斯銀幣探索 (Investigation into the Persian Silver Coins Unearthed in Luoyang), *Zhongguo qianbi* (Chinese Coins), No. 1, 1995; Fan Zhen'an 范振安 and Huo Hongwei 霍宏偉, *Luoyang quan zhi* 洛陽泉志 (A Numismatic Chronicle of the History of Luoyang) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 156–162.

19 Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, "Bei Wei Pingcheng Bosi yinbi yu sichou zhi lu jige wenti" 北魏平城波斯銀幣與絲綢之路幾個問題 (Several Questions Concerning the Persian Silver Coins in Pingcheng in the Northern Wei and the Silk Road), "'Sichou zhi lu guguo qianbi ji silu wenhua guoji xueshu yantao hui' lunwen" "絲綢之路古國錢幣暨絲路文化國際學術研討會"論文 (Papers from "The International Academic Conference on The Currency of the Ancient Silk Road Kingdoms and the Cultures of the Silk Road"), held at the Shanghai Museum, 4–7 December 2006). See Wang Yintian 王銀田, "Beichao shiqi sichou zhi lu shuru de Xifang qiwu" 北朝時期絲綢之路輸入的西方器物 (Western Objects Imported along the Silk Road in the Northern Dynasties Period), in Zhang Qingjie, Li Shuji 李書吉 and Li Gang 李鋼, eds., *4–6 shiji de Bei Zhongguo yu Ouya dalu* 4–6 世紀的北中國與歐亞大陸 (Northern China and the Eurasian Continent in the 4th to 6th Centuries) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006), p. 79.

20 Here I am emphasising the function of Sasanian silver coins as a circulating currency. For a complete exposition of the various functions of Sasanian silver coins, see Sun Li, "Sashan yinbi zai Zhongguo de fenbu yu gongneng", pp. 43–50.

in value. Gold bars and silver coins were probably the main currencies used to buy silk and other products. When they reached a Silk Road market, merchants could exchange these monies for the local currency or silk, according to the local exchange rate, or use these coins directly as currency for purchasing what they needed. Based on the recently discovered illustrations excavated in the tombs of the Sogdian leaders Shi Jun 史君 (494–579), An Jia 安伽 (d. 579) and others like them, I have explored the ethnic composition, means of transport and operating methods of Sogdian caravans.[21] Among them is an illustration of a caravan showing a Sogdian merchant carrying a bulging pack on his back, which seems very heavy. Even though the caravan is at rest, the merchant standing in the middle is still shouldering his heavy pack, refusing to put it down. We cannot help wondering what the Sogdians wanted to express with these illustrations. I suggest that this heavy bag was full of the Sasanian silver coins they had worked so hard to earn while travelling back and forth along the Silk Road.

From the 3rd to 8th centuries, Sogdian merchants ventured east to trade along the Silk Road gradually forming their own trading networks and taking control of commercial activities. The silver coins they brought with them, which were manufactured in the Sasanian Empire, superseded the local currencies of the oasis kingdoms and the copper coins of Central China that had spread westward, and these silver coins became the most common currency used on the Silk Road. As a unified Silk Road currency, it undoubtedly fostered East-West trade and contact. It also brought enormous advantages to the Sogdian merchants in their commercial activities, and accelerated their promotion of trade and cultural exchange along the overland trade routes.

(The first draft of this paper was submitted for the "International Academic Conference on Ancient Currency on the Silk Road and Silk Road Cultures" 絲綢之路古國錢幣暨絲路文化國際學術研討會 organised by the Shanghai Museum 上海博物館 on 4–7 December 2006. The final draft was completed on 29 June 2007, and was included in the conference proceedings edited by the Shanghai Museum, entitled *Sichou zhi lu guguo qianbi ji silu wenhua guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwenji* 絲綢之路古國錢幣暨絲路文化國際學術研討會論文集 [Collected Papers from the International Academic Conference on Ancient Currency on the Silk Road and Silk Road Cultures] [Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2011], pp. 1–7.)

21 Rong Xinjiang, "Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo suojian de Sute shangdui" 北周史君墓石椁所見之粟特商隊 (Sogdian Caravans Seen on the Sarcophagus of Shi Jun of the Northern Zhou), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 3, 2005, pp. 47–56.

FIGURE 19.1 The Persian silver coins discovered in Wuqia county, Xinjiang

CHAPTER 20

The Life of a Sogdian Leader on the Silk Road – A Rough Summary of the Images on Shi Jun's Sarcophagus

Translated by Tong Yangyang 同楊陽

In 2003, archaeologists discovered a large tomb with a sloped entryway dating from the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581). The tomb is located in the eastern suburbs of Chang'an 長安, the Northern Zhou capital, east of present-day Jingshang 井上 village in the Weiyang 未央 district of Xi'an 西安. The occupant of the tomb was Shi Jun 史君, the Sogdian *sabao* 薩保 of Liangzhou 涼州 in this period. Inside the tomb was a sarcophagus, richly decorated with carved images, as well as valuable artefacts with distinctly Western characteristics, including gold rings, gold coins and gold earrings. A rectangular stone slate mounted above the lintel of the sarcophagus was inscribed in both Chinese and Sogdian. From this inscription we learn that Shi Jun was born in Kish in Sogdiana. After he came to China, he became the head (*sabao*) of the Liangzhou settlement. He died in the 1st year of the Daxiang 大象 reign period (579), and was buried the following year.[1]

The tomb of Shi Jun in the eastern suburbs of Chang'an did not exist in isolation. Nearby, archaeologists found the tomb of Li Dan 李誕 (d. 564) of Jibin 罽賓, posthumous governor of Ganzhou 甘州, who had been buried in the 4th year of the Baoding 保定 reign period (564) of the Northern Zhou;[2] the tomb of Kang Ye 康業 (511–571), the *da tianzhu* 大天主 (great heavenly ruler) of Samarkand, who had been buried in the 6th year of the Tianhe 天和

1 Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保護考古所, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu fajue jianbao" 西安北周涼州薩保史君墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report of the Excavation at Xi'an of the Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun, *Sabao* of Liangzhou), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 3, 2005, pp. 4–33; Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogu yanjiuyuan 西安市文物保護考古研究院, *Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu* 北周史君墓 (The Northern Zhou Tomb of Shi Jun) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014). In this article, the Chinese text of Shi Jun's Epitaph also follows this edition, except for a few minor editorial changes made by the author.

2 Cheng Linquan 程林泉, Zhang Xiangzi 張翔宇 and Zhang Xiaoli 張小麗, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Li Dan mu chutan" 西安北周李誕墓初探 (A Preliminary Exploration of the Northern Zhou Tomb of Li Dan in Xi'an), *Yishu shi yanjiu* 藝術史研究 (Art History Studies), No. 7, 2005, pp. 299–308.

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reign period (571);[3] and the tomb of An Jia 安伽, a Tongzhou 同州 *sabao* from Sogdian Bukhara, who was buried in the same year as Shi Jun.[4] It was not accidental that these Hu 胡 leaders were buried together in such a concentrated space. It was state policy in the late years of the Northern Zhou, adopted in order to win over Hu leaders to obtain their military support in defence of the dynasty.

These Hu leaders were from different locations and also came to China at different times. These differences are reflected in the stylistic variations of their funerary objects and images on their sarcophagi. Li Dan's was the earliest. He was buried in a Chinese-type stone coffin displaying images of Fuxi 伏羲, Nüwa 女媧 and the four numinous beasts 四靈, i.e. in a relatively conventional Chinese funerary style. Kang Ye's tomb contained a stone couch surrounded by a screen showing images of banquets and outings in a Chinese style. The carving technique was similar to that in conventional images on Chinese funerary screens representing scenes of filial piety. By 580, when Shi Jun and An Jia were buried, although they used such typical Northern Dynasties funerary items as sarcophagi and screens around a stone couch, the images were completely different from the tombs of Li Dan and Kang Ye: they nearly all depicted Hu people. A likely explanation is that in the earlier years the Hu leaders had not yet developed their own burial rites, thus they simply adopted Chinese rites and conventions, which they only recently had absorbed. They also did not have many of their own cultural images to express their Hu funerary concepts. Thus they may simply have accepted Chinese models. However, after a period of time, and because Shi Jun and An Jia were of the *sabao* status, their sarcophagi depicted scenes of the Hu way of life and burial customs using images from their own culture. Even though Shi Jun and An Jia were buried in the same year, the images on their sarcophagi were not the same. Shi Jun's depicted feasting, hunting, singing and dancing, travelling and the like, but the nomadic leader in the scene was the king of the Hephthalites. An Jia's chieftain, on the other hand, was a Turkic qaghan with unbound hair. This difference shows that the period of Shi Jun's historical memory was somewhat earlier than An Jia's. Shi Jun had last hailed from Liangzhou, slightly further west than An Jia's last place of service. Shi Jun had no title other than *sabao*; An Jia had the title of grand

3 Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo, "Xi'an Bei Zhou Kang Ye mu fajue jianbao" 西安北周康業墓發掘簡報 (Brief Report of the Excavation of the Northern Zhou Tomb of Kang Ye in Xi'an), *Wenwu*, No. 6, 2008.

4 Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, "Xi'an faxian de Bei Zhou An Jia mu" 西安發現的北周安伽墓 (The Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia in Xi'an), *Wenwu*, No. 1, 2001; also, Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Xi'an Bei Zhou An Jia mu* 西安北周安伽墓 (The Northern Zhou Tomb of An Jia in Xi'an) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003).

area commander 大都督 within the Northern Zhou bureaucratic system. The fact that Shi Jun's funerary inscription was written partly in Sogdian reveals stronger ties to his Hu culture. This difference is reflected on his sarcophagus, which had more Hu elements than An Jia's.

Ever since the discovery of Shi Jun's tomb, both Chinese and foreign scholars in the fields of Sogdian studies, archaeology, art history and the history of Sino-foreign relations have investigated the images on Shi Jun's sarcophagus from different perspectives, and their meaning has become much clearer. Yang Junkai 楊軍凱 made initial identifications of key images on the sarcophagus in 2004.[5] Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, while elucidating the Sogdian text of Shi Jun's funerary inscription, briefly explained how the western and northern walls of the sarcophagus depict the life of Shi Jun, his wife and their three sons in a clockwise fashion, and identified the nomadic leader in the yurt as the king of the Hephthalites.[6] My own article on Sogdian caravans portrayed on the sarcophagus brings together additional materials to discuss the composition of Sogdian merchant caravans.[7] Albert Dien argued that the panels of images from W2 to N5 depict the events of Shi Jun's entire life.[8] Frantz Grenet and Pénélope Riboud co-authored an article pointing out that the images on Shi Jun's sarcophagus depict the life of this Sogdian leader in the late Hephthalite empire (440s–560); the authors carefully investigated the time and place depicted in some of the images, showing that they illustrate both

5 Yang Junkai 楊軍凱, "Ru Hua Sute juluo shouling muzang de xin faxian – Bei Zhou Liangzhou sabao Shi Jun mu shiguo tuxiang chushi" 入華粟特聚落首領墓葬的新發現 – 北周涼州薩保史君墓石槨圖像初釋 (New Discoveries from the Tombs of Sogdian Immigrant Settlement Leaders – A Preliminary Interpretation of the Images on the Sarcophagus of Shi Jun, *Sabao* of Liangzhou in the Northern Zhou), in Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 and Zhang Zhiqing 張志清, *Cong Samaergan dao Chang'an: Suteren zai Zhongguo de wenhua yiji* 從撒馬爾干到長安:粟特人在中國的文化遺跡 (From Samarkand to Chang'an: Cultural Traces of Sogdians in China) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), pp. 17–26.

6 Jitian Feng [Yoshida Yutaka] 吉田豊, "Xi'an xin chu Shi Jun muzhi de Sutewen bufen kaoshi" 西安新出史君墓志的粟特文部分考釋 (Reading of the Sogdian Part of the Epitaph of Shi Jun Newly Excavated in Xi'an), in Rong Xinjiang et al., eds., *Suteren zai Zhongguo: Lishi, kaogu, yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中國：歷史、考古、語言的新探索 (Sogdians in China: New Research on History, Archaeology and Language) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 32. All subsequent quotations from the Sogdian text of Shi Jun's epitaph are based on this article.

7 Rong Xinjiang, "Bei Zhou Shi Jun mu shiguo suojian de Sute shangdui" 北周史君墓石椁所見之粟特商隊 (Sogdian Caravans Seen on the Sarcophagus of Shi Jun of the Northern Zhou), *Wenwu*, No. 3, 2005, pp. 47–56.

8 Albert E. Dien, "Observations Concerning the Tomb of Master Shi", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, 17, 2003 (2007), pp. 105–115.

Sogdian and Hephthalite culture.[9] Dien disagreed with some of their interpretations, and discussed it further in another article.[10] An article co-authored by Grenet, Riboud and Yang Junkai observed that the images on the southern and eastern sides of the sarcophagus constitute the most complete set we have from Zoroastrian tombs.[11] Although these scholars are not in total agreement, and some are very much at odds with each other, this is an inevitable process in academic research.

Nevertheless, these studies have given us great inspiration, especially their explanation of how the images depict Shi Jun's life and the process of his burial, which represent the basic themes of the images on the sarcophagus. They can shed light on other related images, which will help us resolve some of the issues. Because images like these from the tombs of Sogdian leaders are much rarer than traditional Chinese or Buddhist images, some of the scenes still cannot be explained, which is, yet again, a common phenomenon in academic research. Instead of trying to understand them by using traditional Chinese or Buddhist images, neither of which are related to the main theme on the sarcophagus, it is best to hold back and wait for future research.

The purpose of this paper is to synthesise the results of former research, and also to present some of my own views. It provides a sketch of the life of Shi Jun, the Liangzhou *sabao*, as illustrated in the images on his sarcophagus, in order to trace the path of this Sogdian merchant from his homeland in Sogdiana to China, from his birth, through his youth and his coming east to trade, to establishing a settlement, to being appointed as a *sabao*, and finally to enjoying a comfortable old age. His journey ends with his crossing of the Činwad bridge to heaven. These images of Shi Jun's life provide many realistic scenes of Sogdian merchants active on the Silk Road. They enable us to string together such trade and other activities along a single line. The Sogdians engaged in trade on this route in medieval times, establishing a comprehensive trading network along it, and Shi Jun's sarcophagus gives us an extremely vivid picture of the life of such Sogdian merchants on the Silk Road.

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9 Frantz Grenet and Pénélope Riboud, "A Reflection of the Hephthalite Empire: The Biographical Narrative in the Reliefs of the Tomb of the *Sabao* Wirkak (494–579)", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 17, 2003 (2007), pp. 133–143.

10 Albert E. Dien, "The Tomb of the Sogdian Master Shi: Insights into the Life of a *Sabao*", *The Silk Road*, VII, 2009, pp. 42–50. The opinions of the scholars presented below are derived primarily from the above three articles. In order to save space, they will not be cited individually.

11 Frantz Grenet, Pénélope Riboud and Yang Junkai, "Zoroastrian Scenes on a Newly Discovered Sogdian Tomb in Xi'an, Northern China", *Studia Iranica*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, 2004, pp. 273–284.

Starting from the west wall, the panels from right to left are numbered from W1 to E3. As we examine them in this order, we will unroll the complete scroll painting of Shi Jun's life and career.

1 Prediction and Birth

The Sogdian text of Shi Jun's epitaph states: "This stone tomb (i.e. dwelling-place of the gods) was built by Vreshmanvandak, Zhematvandak and Parotvandak in a suitable place for the sake of their parents' safety". Because the three sons built it for their parents, what is described and portrayed here must concern the lives of Shi Jun and his wife, who are buried there, and no one else.

Researchers usually begin with panel W2 on the western wall, the portrayal of his childhood, but the story actually begins on panel W1 (Fig. 20.1). Yet the images on W1 are currently the most difficult to explain. The upper register features a deity with a halo, slightly larger than the other figures, sitting on a lotus seat. He seems to be preaching. In front of him are a husband and wife who seem to be giving offerings to him. They are surrounded by three groups of devotees listening to him, each group dressed in a separate style of attire and composed of three people. In the lower register, there are seven animals and five people arranged on two sides, listening attentively. There is a pair of lions on the same side as the people. Facing them are a stag, an antelope, a sheep and a wild boar. The god is sitting cross-legged, with his hair tied in a small bun, and has a beard and mustache. His right shoulder is bare and his left is draped with silk. He looks like Śakyamuni or Laozi.

Étienne de la Vaissière, in his article "Mani en Chine au VIe siècle", argues that the deity in the upper part of the image is the God of Light – Mani. The three people below him, wearing tall hats, are Manichaean priests, presiding at a repentance ceremony for Shi Jun and his wife in front of all the animals he had hunted in the past. De la Vaissière connects this picture with concupiscence in the image of the Činwad bridge on the eastern wall, arguing that this is a reference to the Manichaean concept of the dregs of the body, the dark part, falling into the ground.[12] This view is supported by Yoshida, who compares it to the Manichaean "Rokudōzu" 六道圖 (Painting of the Six Realms) held in the collection of the Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 in Nara, Japan. He suggests that the people opposite the animals are Shi Jun, his wife and their three sons. Also, because Manichaeism was popular in the region of Bactria under the

12 Étienne de la Vaissière, "Mani en Chine au VIe siècle", *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 293, No. 1, 2005, pp. 357–378.

rule of the Hephthalites in the 6th century, and because Shi Jun had contact with the leader of the Hephthalites, Yoshida speculates that Shi Jun must have converted to Manichaeism while trading in Bactria.[13] However, these views are difficult to substantiate. We do not seem to have sufficient evidence to support the view that Manichaean images had already come into China in the Northern Zhou period.

In my view, instead of a Manichaean repentance scene, it would be better to see this scene as the deity's prediction of Shi Jun's birth. At the end of the 6th century, the concept of Laozi's conversion of the Hu must have existed in the Chang'an region. This picture thus is more likely to be Laozi preaching, foretelling the birth of a new king of the Hu, whereas the couple in front of the deity are Shi Jun's parents. The devotees of the three religions and the secular figures, as well as the animals surrounding them, must be waiting for the birth of this great man.

According to the epitaph, Shi Jun was originally from Kish in Sogdiana. The Chinese transcription of his name has been obliterated, but his Sogdian name is given as Wirkak. He was 86 years old when he died in 579, therefore he must have been born in 494. The epitaph says, "His grandfather Rashtvantak was the *sabao* of his homeland. His father Wanuk had a rare talent and followed the laws and regulations judiciously. He was an outstanding person without parallel who accomplished great things". Although it is not stated here explicitly that Shi Jun's father was a *sabao*, in ordinary circumstances the post of *sabao* was hereditary. When it says he "followed the laws and regulations judiciously" and "accomplished great things", it means that his father followed the regulations set by his grandfather and made great accomplishments. Here it says that his grandfather had a position in his homeland, but it does not say that his father went to China.[14] Thus this must all have taken place in Kish, and Shi Jun was also born in Kish. Panel W2 (Fig. 20.2) shows Shi Jun's parents

13 Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, Ninpō no Manikyō-ga: Iwayuru 'rokudōzu' no kaishaku wo megutte 寧波のマニ教画：いわゆる「六道図」の解釈をめぐって (A Manichaean Painting from Ningbo: On the Religious Affiliation of the so-called *Rokudōzu*), *Yamato bunka* 大和文華, No. 119, 2009, pp. 3–15, esp. pp. 10–12.

14 Iwami Kiyohiro 石見清裕, in his article "Seian shutsudo Hokushū 'Shi kun boshi' kanbun bubun yakuchū, kōsa" 西安出土北周「史君墓誌」漢文部分訳注、考察 (The Chinese Section of the Northern Zhou "Epitaph of Shi Jun" Excavated in Xi'an: A Translation and Study) argues that here the term "native country" (*benguo* 本國) cannot refer to the Northern Wei. His article is included in Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫, ed., *Sogudo kara Uiguru e – Shiruku rōdo tōbu no minzoku to bunka no kōryū* ソグドからウイグルへ – シルクロード東部の民族と文化の交流 (From Sogdiana to the Uyghurs: Contacts of Ethnic Groups and Cultures on the Eastern Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 2011), pp. 67–92.

sitting in a pavilion. His father is wearing a winged crown and holding a child, who must be Shi Jun. There are two servants waiting beside them. The pavilion is in the Sogdian style, with a sun and moon on the top. At the bottom of the steps to the pavilion lies a Zoroastrian-style guard dog. The upper register of the panel represents Shi Jun's birth. The lower register depicts preparing a horse for Shi Jun. It shows a horse without a rider, with a caretaker at its front, and further back, a man holding an elegant parasol. The horse is waiting for Shi Jun to ride it when he grows up. In front of them is an image signifying mountains, rocks and flowing water. The flowing water is connected to the next panel, forecasting that Shi Jun will set off on a long journey.

2 Hunting and Embarking on His Commercial Career

Panel W3 depicts Shi Jun out hunting and trading after he has grown up (Fig. 20.3). In the upper register, which portrays hunting, the central figure is the young Shi Jun dressed as a prince. He is wearing a winged crown, galloping on horseback and shooting with his bow and arrow. In front of him are five animals, one of which has been shot with an arrow and has fallen to the ground. The others, including a stag, an antelope, a wild boar and a rabbit are fleeing for their lives. Following behind Shi Jun is a Hephthalite or Turk, with unbound hair, holding up a hunting falcon. In front of the entourage is a guard dog looking back at its master.

The lower register of the panel portrays a merchant caravan in motion, with horses, donkeys and camels carrying goods. Someone who looks like the leader is riding in the middle of the caravan, holding a telescope and looking into the distance. In his environs are three men, two at the front escorting the caravan, and the other in the rear holding a whip to drive the animals forward. There is also a guard dog running at the head of the caravan. Some scholars interpret these men as the three sons of Shi Jun. However, there is a relief in the Miho Museum (Shiga prefecture, Japan) showing a caravan on a Sogdian stone screen, depicting a Hu horseman in front of the camels and another one on the right. On the left are three Hephthalite or Turkic horsemen with unbound hair, riding alongside for protection.[15] Therefore, these three men are not

15 See Rong Xinjiang, "Miho meishuguan Sute shiguan pingfeng de tuxiang ji qi zuhe" Miho 美術館粟特石棺屏風的圖像及其組合 (Images and Composition on the Sogdian Sarcophagus Screen in the Miho Museum), *Meishushi yanjiu* 藝術史研究 (Art History Studies), Vol. 4, 2002 (2003), pp. 213–214, Fig. 8a.

necessarily Shi Jun's sons. We do not know the years when his sons were born, but this panel seems to show him in his youth, travelling with a caravan. The leader of the caravan is not necessarily Shi Jun either.

The upper and lower registers of panel W3 are related to each other sequentially in time. However, in practice, hunting and trading were usually simultaneous activities. This is because hunting not only solved the problem of food provision for the caravan, but also supplied furs and hides from the hunted animals, which could be used as gifts for nomadic leaders or products to sell. These images of hunting and caravans may echo the words in Shi Jun's epitaph: "As a youth he elicited a [...] rock and bore an outstanding reputation, as a man he held the mountains in his grasp [...] will" 少挺〔口〕石，又擅英聲。而君秉靈山嶽，〔口口口〕志. Thus it portrays a scene in Shi Jun's maturation process.

Turning to panel N1 (Fig. 20.4), in the centre of the upper register, is a tent. Inside, sitting cross-legged, is a king wearing a jewelled sun and moon crown. His robe has a turned-out collar and narrow sleeves. He is holding a large cup in his hand and wearing tall boots on his feet. In front of the tent is an oval carpet on which an elder with a felt hat is kneeling. He has a long beard, and is wearing a narrow-sleeved robe with a turned-out collar, and a knife at his waist. In his right hand is a tall cup; he seems to be toasting the king. On the two sides of the tent are three attendants. Some scholars think that the bearded elder may be Shi Jun's father or grandfather, with Shi Jun on his left, and this may be correct. The scene may represent Shi Jun accompanying an elder caravan leader (possibly his father or grandfather) to pay respects to the Hephthalite leader of a northern nomadic qaghanate.

The lower register of the panel depicts a caravan at rest. In the centre are two men having a chat, one with a money bag over his shoulder. Another is leading a horse with a burden on its back, and yet another is taking care of the two camels sitting on the ground. Behind the camels are two donkeys laden with goods. The scene makes one imagine a Sogdian caravan arriving at a Hu settlement near a Silk Road city. It also corresponds to the record in Shi Jun's epitaph that says, "In the beginning of the Datong 大統 reign period (535), the villagers recommended him to be head of the supervision division of the office of the *sabao* 薩保[府] 判事曹". This shows that Shi Jun was not a leader *sabao* at that time, but a lower official in the *sabao* administration of a settlement.

Generally speaking, panels W3 to N1 depict Shi Jun's youth, including his hunting trips, travels with caravans, and visits to nomadic leaders to ensure their protection for the Sogdian merchants on the Silk Road. When the caravan Shi Jun accompanied arrived at a settlement, he stayed there and served in the local *sabao* administration.

3 Shi Jun's Marriage and Appointment as the *Sabao* of Liangzhou

The next panel, N2, is comparatively wide, which suggests that the scene is an important one (Fig. 20.5). Some scholars argue that this is the scene when Shi Jun was appointed *sabao* of Liangzhou in 565. However, it should be noted that this is the first time he appears with his wife. Thus it seems more appropriate to see it as the wedding of Shi Jun and his bride from the Kang 康 family. The Sogdian text of Shi Jun's epitaph puts particular emphasis on his marriage. It says, "His wife was born in Senpen and her name was Wiyusi. Wirkak and Wiyusi were joined together in Senpen on the 7th day (a rabbit day) of the 6th month of the year of the pig". From Shi Jun's age, we can calculate that he married this woman from Samarkand in 519, when he was 26 years old. Shi Jun is depicted in the centre of the panel, sitting in a Sogdian-style pavilion, lifting a large cup, and drinking together with his wife. There are musicians on both sides of them. In front of the courtyard there is also a dancer and two musicians. Behind Shi Jun's wife there are three women and one man standing holding gifts and the like, perhaps part of her dowry. This Sogdian-style scene shows that the wedding was held in a Sogdian settlement. It must have been in the settlement at Senpen, as mentioned in the epitaph. (Senpen may be Xiping 西平, which is Shanzhou 鄯州, present-day Xining 西寧.)

The next panel, N3, depicts the husband and wife on a journey (Fig. 20.6). The figure in the centre of the upper register astride a horse is Shi Jun, with someone behind holding a parasol over him. Accompanying him are three men on horseback; they have been interpreted by some as his three sons. In the centre of the lower register is Shi Jun's wife, Lady Kang, on a horse, with a parasol being held over her head. Behind her are three women, one of whom is her personal maid; the other two are female relatives. There is also a warrior on horseback at the very front, playing the role of an advance guard. This image may represent Shi Jun's move from one settlement to another, perhaps from Xiping to Liangzhou. Some scholars interpret it as his move from Liangzhou to Chang'an, or even his appointment as *sabao* of Liangzhou. However, it is difficult to be sure.

The upper register of panel N4 depicts five men eating and drinking in the courtyard. The lower register is the scene of a banquet enjoyed by their wives (Fig. 20.7). Some scholars argue that this feasting took place after his retirement in Chang'an; others say that they are celebrating the Sogdian New Year. From the perspective of Shi Jun's biography, this happy scene seems to be one of congratulating Shi Jun on being appointed by the emperor of the Northern Zhou as the leader – *sabao* – of the Hu community in Liangzhou (Guzang 姑臧). The figure with a beard at the top of the relief must be Shi Jun at a more

mature age. The Chinese text of the epitaph says, "In the 5th year of …, by imperial edict he was conferred the title *sabao* of Liangzhou". The Sogdian text of the epitaph says, "Thus, there was a man of a family from Kish [domiciled?] in [a city called] Kachan. He [obtained?] a [title?] *sabao* of Liangzhou from the Emperor [and was] a grandee in the Sogdian land". Scholars speculate that he was appointed in the 5th year of the Baoding 保定 reign period (565) of the Northern Zhou Emperor Wu 武 (r. 561–578). Shi Jun was then already 72 years old. Comparing this scene to the Anyang Sogdian stone screen, we can say that it portrays the celebration of the Sogdian New Year, which may have been chosen as the occasion to congratulate Shi Jun on his appointment to the important position of *sabao*.

4 Shi Jun's Death

According to the Chinese text of Shi Jun's epitaph, "He originally lived in the Western Regions 西域, […] moved to Chang'an". Because of the gaps in the text, we do not know the date of his move to Chang'an. After describing his marriage, the Sogdian text of the epitaph says: "Later, on the 7th day of the 5th month of the year of the pig (16th June 579), he passed away in Khumtan (Chang'an)". This shows that Shi Jun and his wife moved to Chang'an not long before he died. Combining what it says in the epitaph's title and in the inscription itself, Shi Jun's final title was "*sabao* of Liangzhou", which shows that his move to Chang'an was at least after 565 when he was appointed *sabao*. This move was not a major event in Shi Jun's life, therefore it is probably not directly represented in the relief.

Death is the most important episode in a person's life, therefore panel N5 (Fig. 20.8) must represent Shi Jun's death. The upper register shows an old man in a mountain retreat, and the epitaph states that Shi Jun died at the age of 86. The lower register depicts three angels rescuing Shi Jun and his wife from a turbulent river, while the epitaph emphasises that they died on the same day, one month apart. This is why they were rescued together by the angels. The Chinese text of Shi Jun's epitaph says, "The way of heaven is vast and boundless, its deep fragrance lasts forever. On the 7th day of the [5th] month of the 1st year of the Daxiang reign period, Shi Jun passed away at home at the age of 86. His wife Lady Kang passed away on the [7th day of the 6th month of the same year]. They were buried together for eternity(?) at the county line in the *jiyou* hour on the [23rd] *dinghai* day of the 1st month of the 2nd year, a *gengzi* year". The Sogdian text of the epitaph says, "Then, here in Khumtan (Chang'an), he himself died in the year of the pig, in the 5th month, on the 7th day

(16th June 579). And again his wife died in the 6th month, on the 7th day, on the day of the rabbit, in this given year, in this month, on this day (15th July 579)". It is logical that this important episode recorded in the epitaph would be expressed on the very last stone carved image that describes Shi Jun's life.

5 His Funeral Rites and Passage to Heaven

Turning to the eastern wall, this bas relief depicts the funeral ceremony for Shi Jun and his wife and their ascent to heaven. Grenet, Riboud and Yang, in their article on the Zoroastrian reliefs in this tomb [cited above], have already given a detailed explanation of this, and we do not have much to add. I shall summarise their description below with reference to the individual images.

Panels E1 and E2 (Fig. 20.9) depict in the lower registers the Činwad bridge, which the souls of the dead must cross according to Zoroastrian belief. At the start of the bridge are two priests performing the ritual of sending off the souls of the dead.[16] Beside the bridge is a sacred fire to guide the souls through the darkness. At this end, behind the rockery, are two guard dogs protecting the bridge. A similar scene is visible on the Sogdian stone screen in the Miho Museum, with only one priest and a group of people sending off the deceased.[17] Shi Jun and his wife are leading a caravan of camels and animals, representing their family possessions, across the bridge. The couple has already passed a sharp-toothed monster under the bridge, indicating that they are about to enter heaven. In the upper register of E1 is Wešparkar (the God of Wind), who resembles the Buddhist Maheśvara, and is therefore often mistakenly identified as a Buddhist image. Below him is the goddess Dēn (Daēnā) with two attendants behind her. She receives Shi Jun and his wife, who are kneeling in front of her. She is here in place of the supreme god Ahura Mazda, who examines human deeds, allowing good souls to cross the bridge and enter the "middle realm" (heaven).[18] Panel E2 depicts an angel leading two winged

16 Concerning the Zoroastrian priests, see Frantz Grenet, "Where Are the Sogdian Magi?", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, 21, 2007 (2012), pp. 159–177.

17 See Judith A. Lerner, "Central Asians in Sixth Century China: A Zoroastrian Funerary Rite", *Iranica Antiqua*, Vol. 30, 1995, pp. 179–190.

18 See Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Tangdai Xianjiao tuxiang zai kao: Dunhuang Hanwen xiejuan Boxihe bianhao P.4518 zhi fujian 24 biaoxian de xingxiang shifou Xianjiao shenzhi Daena he Daewa?" 唐代祆教圖像再考 – 敦煌漢文寫卷伯希和編號 P.4518 之附件 24 表現的形象是否祆教神祇妲厄娜 (Daêna) 和妲厄娲 (Daêva)? (A Further Study of Tang Zoroastrian Images: Do the Images in Dunhuang Chinese Manuscript P.4518 (24) Depict the Zoroastrian Goddesses Daēna or Daēva?), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 3, 1997, pp. 6–7.

heavenly horses to welcome Shi Jun and his wife. The figure falling from Heaven has not been fully explained. The idea in Manichaean doctrine, mentioned above, of "the dregs of the body, the dark part, falling into the ground", may derive from Zoroastrianism. Panel E3 (Fig. 20.10) is the last relief in the series, in which the upper and lower registers constitute a single image. On the top is Shi Jun and his wife riding on winged heavenly horses on their way to heaven, surrounded by musicians and heavenly deities, accompanying them on their journey. Below them are winged animals, symbols of Shi Jun's possessions, who also accompany him and his wife to heaven. This depiction of the journey of the dead to heaven on the eastern wall is entirely consistent with Zoroastrian texts.

The south wall is the front of the sarcophagus, called in the epitaph the "Stone Hall" 石堂 (Fig. 20.11). In the centre of this wall are double stone doors, through which the bodies of Shi Jun and his wife entered the tomb. The rectangular stone slate mounted above the lintel was where the epitaph was carved in Sogdian and Chinese, recording Shi Jun's birth, life history and the time of his death. Carved symmetrically on both sides of the doors are images of guardian gods with four arms, each standing on the hands of a small imp. Next to each of them is a window. Above the windows are images of musicians, while below them are half-human, half-bird priests guarding the fire altar. According to Zoroastrian doctrine, such priests with human faces and bird bodies are symbols of the god Srōš, who helps the soul of the deceased over the Činwad bridge on the morning of the "fourth day" after death. The entire southern wall represents the scene of a typical Zoroastrian funeral.

This sarcophagus shows that Shi Jun's three sons did not use the Zoroastrian custom of a sky burial for their parents, but buried them in a stone sarcophagus in a traditional Chinese ramped tomb. This was probably because the Northern Zhou emperor gave them a plot of valuable land east of Chang'an to bury their parents. However, they made full use of the walls of the stone sarcophagus, creating these bas reliefs to tell the story of their father's life and death, while also following Zoroastrian funeral rituals.

In recent years, much research has been done on the Silk Road, and also on the Sogdians. The archaeological discoveries and excavated documents, as well as the transmitted literature, enable us to describe how they came from their Sogdian homeland to China, what route they followed, where their communities were distributed and how they established their trade networks. From the large quantity of stone reliefs that have been published, it is possible to see how these Sogdian caravan leaders entered China and took up official posts, becoming local village leaders, military officers, and employees of the court, as well as translators, commercial agents and the like. Coming from Sogdiana to

China, one Sogdian merchant became a settlement leader and finally settled in China, becoming a Chinese subject, all in this pivotal period from the end of the Northern Zhou to the early Tang. The life described on Shi Jun's stone sarcophagus is a typical example of a Sogdian caravan leader who came to China on the Silk Road.

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[In the English translation, the Sogdian version of the epitaph follows Yutaka Yoshida, "The Sogdian Version of the New Xi'an Inscription", in Étienne de la Vaissière and Éric Trombert, eds., *Les sogdiens en Chine* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2005), 57–72.]

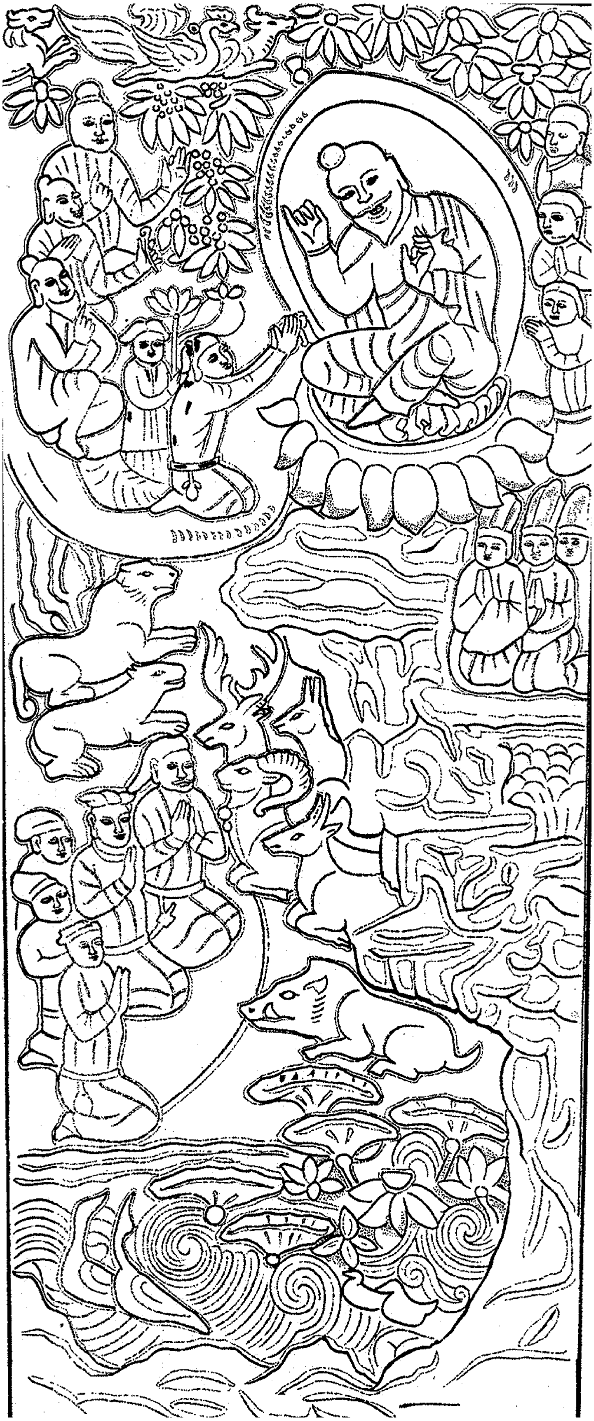

FIGURE 20.1
W1 on the western wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

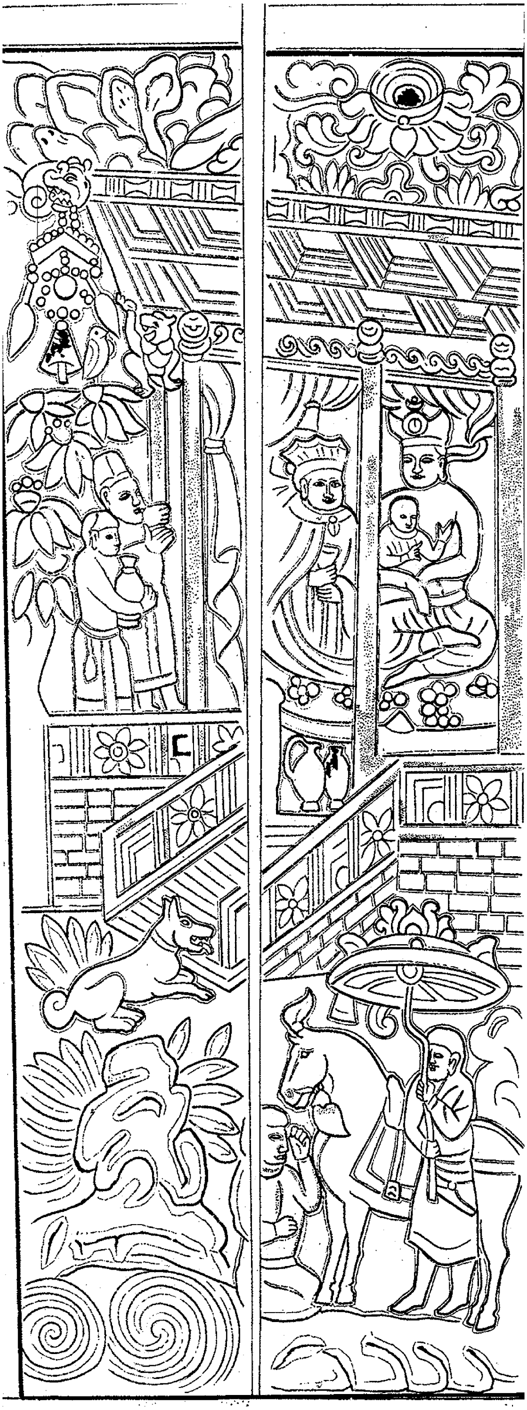

FIGURE 20.2
W2 on the western wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

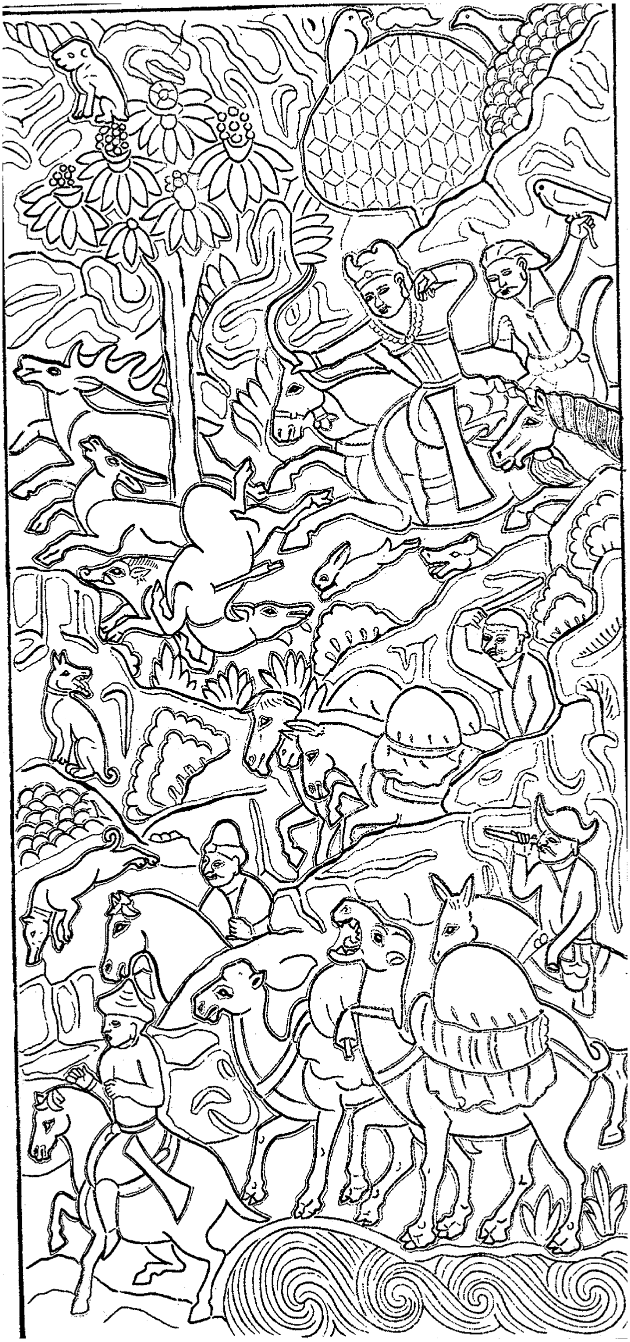

FIGURE 20.3
W3 on the western wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

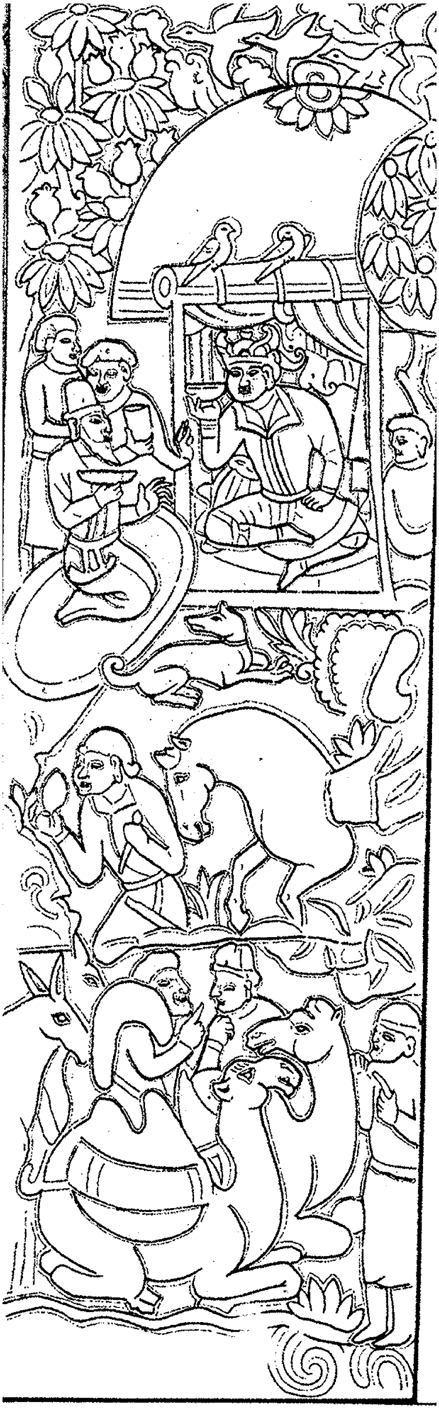

FIGURE 20.4
N1 on the northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

FIGURE 20.5 N2 on the northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

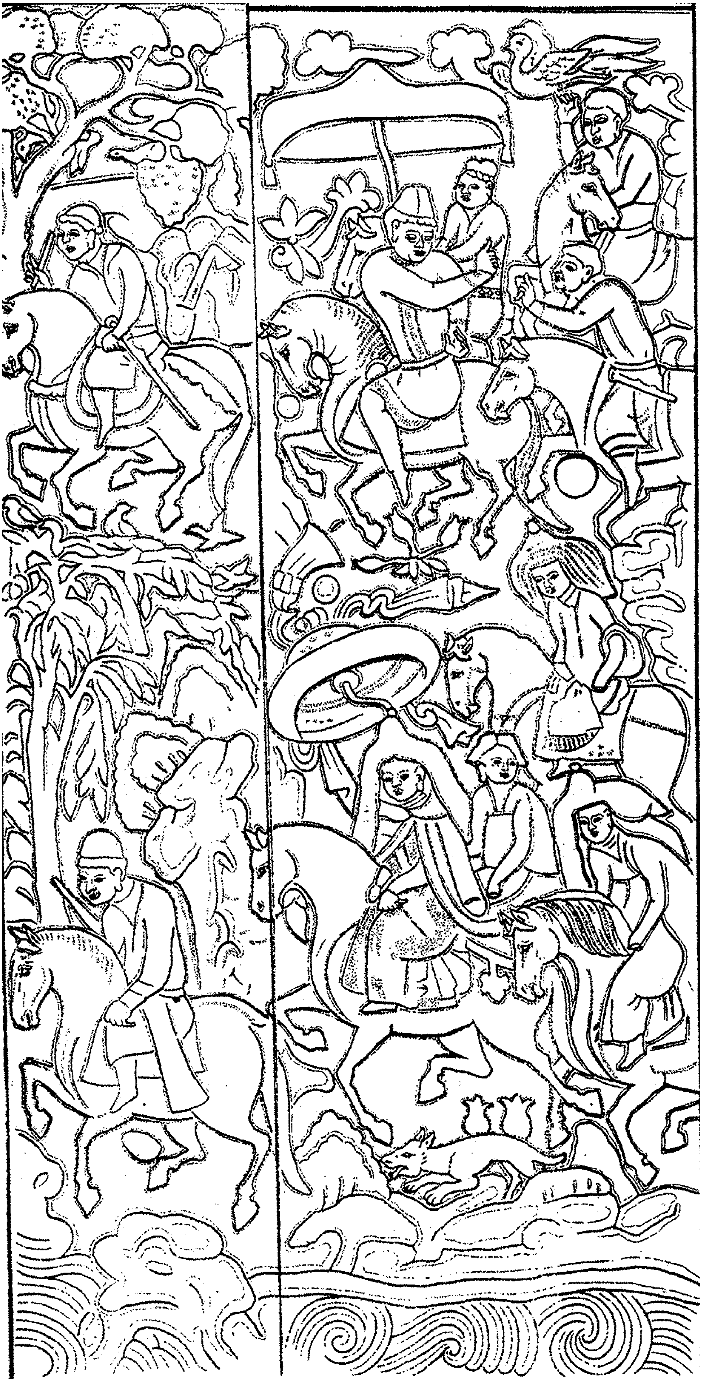

FIGURE 20.6 N3 on the northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

FIGURE 20.7 N4 on the northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

FIGURE 20.8
N5 on the northern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

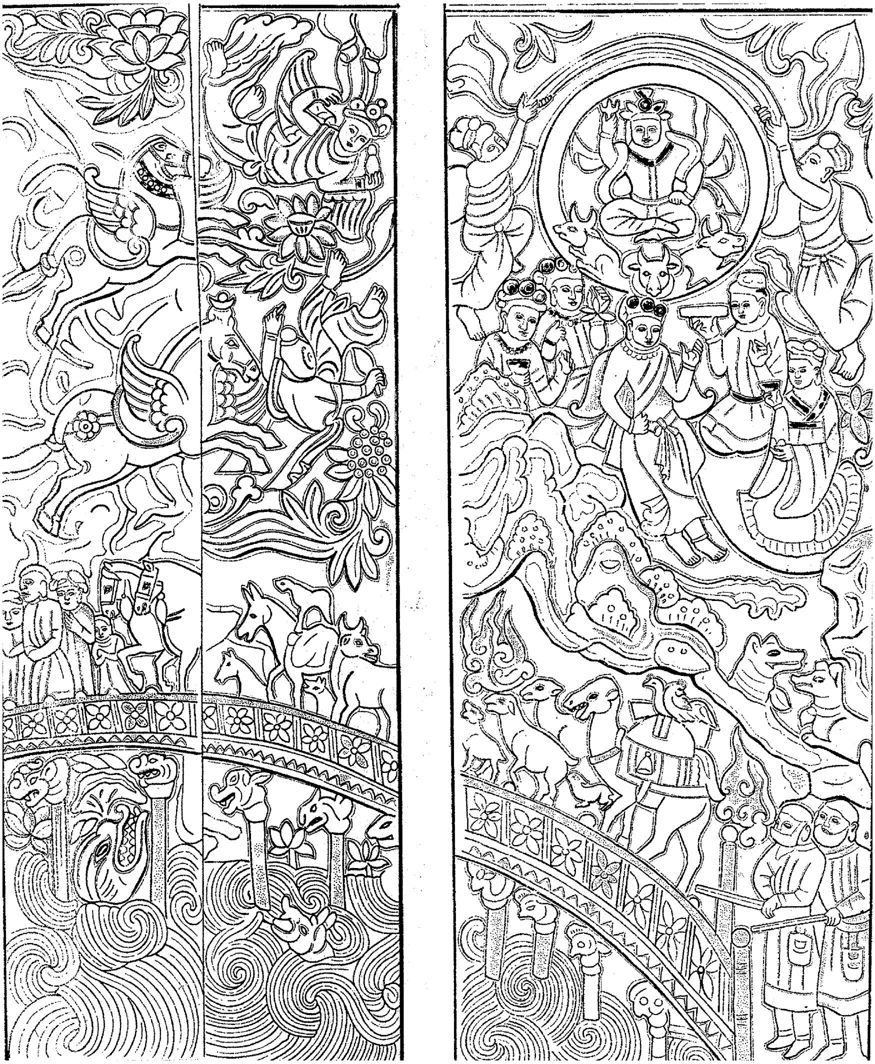

FIGURE 20.9 E1–E2 on the eastern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

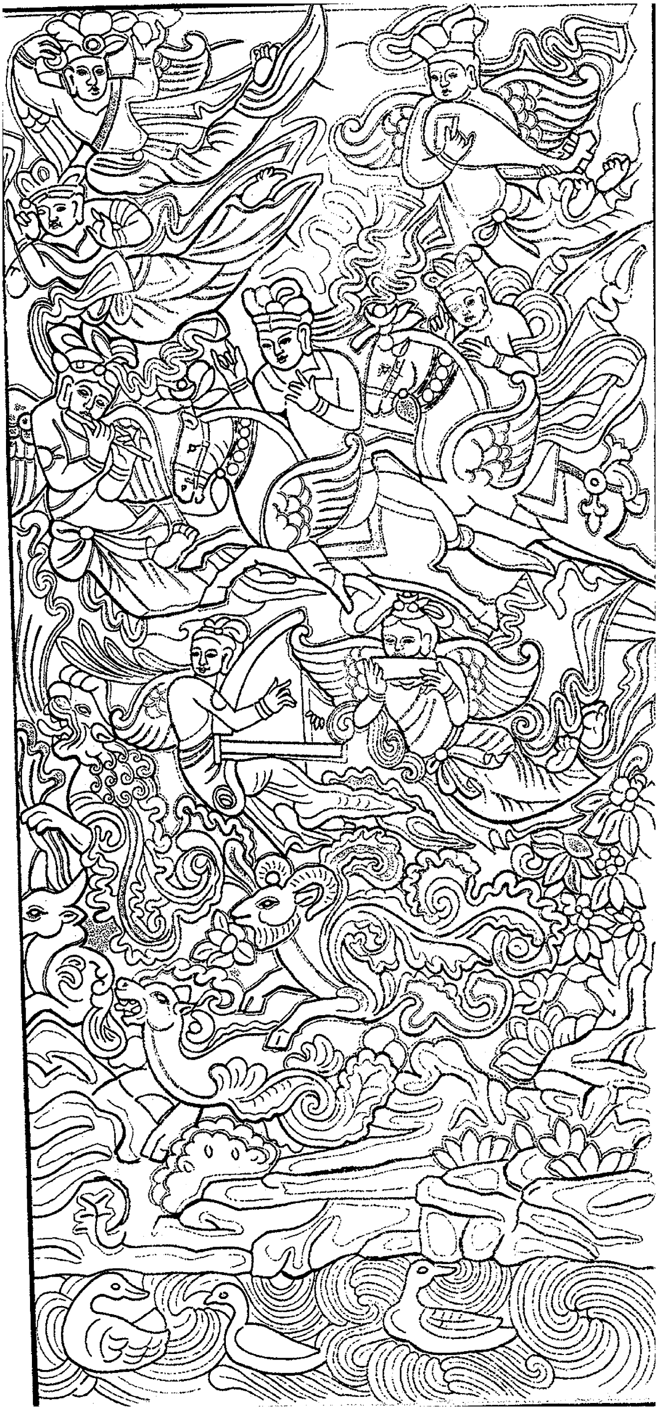

FIGURE 20.10
E3 on the eastern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

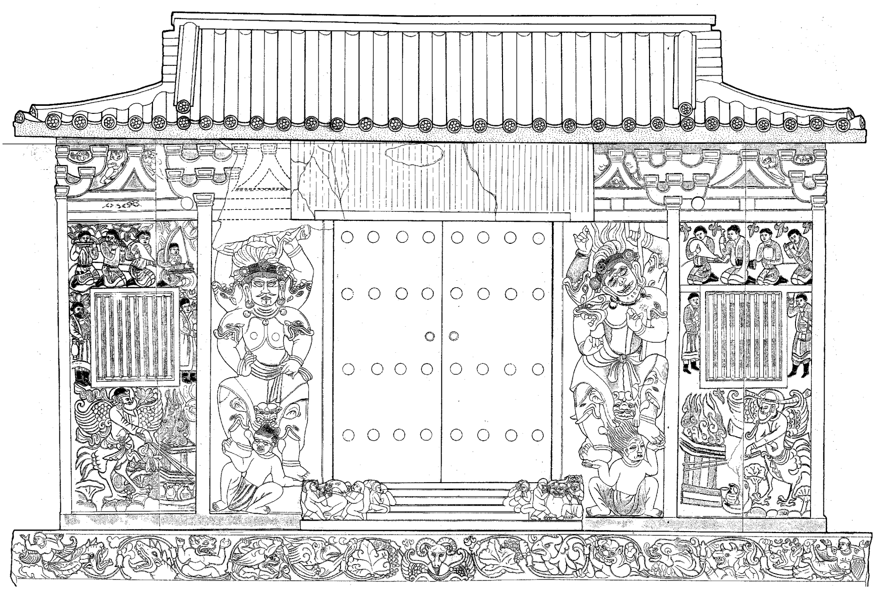

FIGURE 20.11 The southern wall of Shi Jun's sarcophagus

CHAPTER 21

Khotanese Felt and Sogdian Silver: Foreign Gifts to Buddhist Monasteries in 9th and 10th Century Dunhuang

Translated by Sarah Fraser

1 Introduction*

Medieval China's Buddhist monasteries, regardless of size, were frequently the cultural centers of a given region. Large monasteries in the Tang capital Chang'an 長安, such as the Hongfu Monastery 弘福寺 during the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (626–649), the Ci'en Monastery 慈恩寺 during the reign of Gaozong 高宗 (649–683), the Taiyuan Monastery 太原寺 during the reign of Empress Wu 武后 (690–705), and the Da Xingshan Monastery 大興善寺 during the reign of Xuanzong 玄宗 (712–756) were all cultural centers in the capital. The same holds true in the Dunhuang 敦煌 region, where the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 was a cultural center within the city of Shazhou 沙州 and the Sanjie Monastery 三界寺 in front of the Mogao Caves 莫高窟 was a cultural center for the area outside of the city. Monasteries such as these housed visiting literati and erudite monks versed in Buddhist doctrine; they also kept Buddhist, Confucian and Daoist scriptures as well as literary writings. Since official government schools remained weak in scope and influence, Buddhist monasteries shouldered the burden of providing basic Confucian instruction.[1]

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1 On this point, see Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Tangren xiye Shanlin zhiyuan zhi fengshang" 唐人習業山林寺院之風尚 (The Custom of Providing Literary Instruction at Monasteries in the Tang), in *Yan Gengwang shixue lunwen xuanji* 嚴耕望史學論文選集 (Selected Historical Essays by Yan Gengwang) (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye, 1991), pp. 271–316; and

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They also, to varying degrees, preserved material wealth in the form of gold and silver utensils, silk banners, paintings, murals, images, textiles, and dyes. In short, in medieval times the Buddhist monastery was both a nursery for spiritual cultivation and a repository of material culture.

The wealth preserved in medieval Buddhist monasteries is an important source for understanding the material culture of the period. Because of the protection offered by Buddhist law and the devotion of Buddhist adherents, the store of objects preserved by Buddhist monasteries from the period far surpasses that kept in other types of buildings or institutions, such as palaces and houses of the nobility. In addition, because Buddhist monks considered artefacts such as scriptures and icons devotional objects, they did not discard them lightly, and applied special techniques to the burial and preservation of such objects when damaged. Further, influenced by the notion of the "decline of the dharma", some monasteries intentionally buried undamaged scriptures and images. After a century of archaeological excavations, we now have a sizeable collection of artefacts unearthed from medieval monasteries. The most spectacular of these is the find at the base of the stupa at the Famen Monastery 法門寺, outside of the Tang capital. Not only do they include treasures manufactured by the imperial family; there is also an "inventory list", which allows us greater precision in identifying other material finds.[2]

The hundreds of caves created in medieval times and preserved at Dunhuang contain large numbers of images and murals. Even more fortunate was the discovery in 1900 of the monastic library attached to Cave Number 16, containing tens of thousands of Buddhist manuscripts and other documents, as well as close to a thousand paintings on paper and silk, banners, manuscript wrappers and other art objects. Taken together, materials at Dunhuang provide a rare combination of artefacts and texts relevant for the study of the material culture of medieval monasteries and, by extension, of Chinese material culture in the medieval period more generally.

Eric Zürcher, "Buddhism and Education in T'ang Times", in William Theodore de Bary and John W. Chaffee, eds., *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 19–56.

2 See Shaanxi sheng Famensi kaogudui 陝西省法門寺考古隊, "Fufeng Famensi Tangdai digong fajue jianbao" 扶風法門寺唐代地宮發掘簡報 (Brief Report on the Excavation of the Tang Underground Chamber at Famensi, Fufeng), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 10, 1988, pp. 1–26; and Kegasawa Yasunori 氣賀澤保規, "Hōmonji shutsudo no Tōdai bunka to sono haikei" 法門寺出土の唐代文物 とその背景 (Tang Dynasty Artefacts Excavated at Famensi and their Background), in Tonami Mamoru 礪波護, ed., Chūgoku chūsei no bunka 中國中世の文物 (The Material Culture of Medieval China) (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1993), pp. 594–615.

Below, based on documents from Dunhuang during the period of Tibetan rule (786–848) and during the period of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit, 851–1036), I discuss paintings on silk and images in murals as well as gifts made to the Buddhist monasteries of Dunhuang in medieval times, with a focus on objects that came from abroad. Attention to these gifts sheds light on Khotanese, Sogdian and Uighur influence on Buddhist culture in Dunhuang, and illustrates in greater detail the rich cultural diversity of Dunhuang, the treasure-house of the Silk Road. At the same time, through records of these imports collected at medieval monasteries, I examine attitudes of monks and devotees towards these often rare and exotic donations in an attempt to explore their value and meaning for those who exchanged and employed them.

2 Records of Donations of Foreign Objects at Dunhuang

Buddhism flourished at Dunhuang already in the 7th and 8th centuries, the period of Chinese rule spanning the first centuries of the Tang dynasty. During the subsequent period of Tibetan rule (786–848), the rulers of Dunhuang gave even greater support to Buddhism, expanding the size and number of Buddhist monasteries as the size of the Buddhist clergy there rapidly grew as well. In the Return to Allegiance period, the new government continued the religious policies of the previous Tibetan administration, giving great support to Buddhist practices and institutions. At its peak, there were seventeen Buddhist monasteries in the region, along with three Buddhist cave sites.[3] The size of these monasteries and cave complexes varied, but all contained at least some donative objects.

Two types of document provide evidence for gifts kept at Dunhuang monasteries: "donation inventories" (*shirushu* 施入疏) and "asset records" (*shiwuli* 什物歷). Most such documents come from the Return to Allegiance period. These documents fill in gaps in the archaeological record, demonstrating the large quantities of gifts kept at monasteries and providing as well a rare window on the material culture of everyday life not found in either secular sources or documents in the Buddhist canon. These "inventories" and "records" have attracted considerable scholarly attention. They have been mined for

3 On the development of Buddhism from the Tibetan reign to the Guiyijun period, see Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu: Tang, Song shidai Dunhuang lishi kaosuo* 歸義軍史研究: 唐宋時代敦煌歷史考索 (The History of the Guiyijun: Dunhuang during the Tang and Song Periods) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), pp. 266–79.

information on the local economy, the production of handicrafts, the exchange market, exports, the foreign goods market, and the activities of Sogdians.[4] They have been used to discuss the relationship between individual monks and joint monastic property as well as the problem of the "religious income" of monks and nuns at Dunhuang.[5]

Up until now, research has not, however, focused on the foreign gifts listed in the documents. Attention to the foreign origins or style of many of the gifts

4 See Éric Trombert, *Le crédit à Dunhuang: Vie matérielle et société en Chine médiévale* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises de Collège de France, 1995); and Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, "Tang, Wudai Dunhuang shougongye yanjiu" 唐五代敦煌手工業研究 (Handicrafts in Dunhuang during the Tang and Five Dynasties Periods); "Wan Tang, Wudai Dunhuang maoyi shichang de wujia" 晚唐五代敦煌貿易市場的物價 (Commodity Prices in Dunhuang Markets during the Late Tang and Five Dynasties Periods); "Tubo tongzhi xia de Dunhuang Suteren" 吐蕃統治下的敦煌粟特人 (Sogdians in Dunhuang under Tibetan Rule); "Tang, Wudai Dunhuang de Suteren yu Guiyijun zhengquan" 唐五代敦煌的粟特人與歸義軍政權 (Sogdians in Tang and Five Dynasties Dunhuang and the Guiyijun Regime); and "Tang, Wudai Dunhuang de Suteren yu Fojiao" 唐五代敦煌的粟特人與佛教 (Sogdians in Tang and Five Dynasties Dunhuang and Buddhism) all in Zheng Binglin, ed., *Dunhuang Guiyijun shi zhuanti yanjiu* 敦煌歸義軍史專題研究 (The History of Dunhuang under Guiyijun Rule) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997), pp. 239–307, 374–390, 400–465; Qi Chenjun 齊陳駿 and Feng Peihong 馮培紅, "Wan Tang, Wudai, Song chu Guiyijun duiwai shangye maoyi" 晚唐五代宋初歸義軍對外商業貿易 (Foreign Trade in the Guiyijun during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song Periods), in Zheng Binglin, *Dunhuang Guiyijun shi zhuanti yanjiu*, pp. 333–358; Zheng Binglin, "'Kang Xiuhua xiejing shirushu' yu 'Xuan Heshang huomai hufen li' yanjiu" 康秀華寫經施入疏與炫和尚貨賣胡粉歷研究 (The List of Donations in the Scripture Copied by Kang Xiuhua and the Inventory of Iranian Powder Sold by Master Xuan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 3, 1998, pp. 191–208; Feng Peihong, "Kesi yu Guiyijun de waijiao huodong" 客司與歸義軍的外交活動 (The *Kesi* Office and the Diplomatic Activities of the Guiyijun), *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Journal of Dunhuang Studies), No. 1, 1999, pp. 72–84; Zheng Binglin, "Wan Tang, Wudai Dunhuang maoyi shichang de wailai shangpin jikao" 晚唐五代敦煌貿易市場的外來商品輯考 (Foreign Products in the Markets of Late Tang and Five Dynasties Dunhuang), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Journal of Chinese Literature and History), Vol. 63, 2001, pp. 55–91.

5 Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Tang houqi Wudai Song chu Dunhuang sengni de shehui shenghuo* 唐後期五代宋初敦煌僧尼的社會生活 (The Social Life of Monks and Nuns in Dunhuang during the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song Periods) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 123–65, 240–69. In addition, Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 and Lu Hongji 陸宏基 have edited and published these documents: *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄 (Texts on Social and Economic History among the Dunhuang Manuscripts) (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990) Vol. 3, pp. 1–109. Individual documents have been studied in detail by Hou Ching-lang, "Trésors du monastère Long-hing à Touen-houang", in Michel Soymié, ed., *Nouvelles contributions aux études de Touen-houang* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), pp. 149–68; and by Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994).

held by Buddhist monasteries is particularly interesting, not only concerning cross-cultural commerce and material exchange, but also for what it tells us about more general attitudes towards the foreign as exotic, a topic explored more generally for the Tang in the pioneering work of Edward Schafer, but not specifically for Buddhism, itself viewed in China as a foreign import.[6]

For all of their variety, the documents discovered at Dunhuang do not refer specifically to foreign donations; it is necessary instead to find records of foreign gifts in different types of document. Since there is no clear genre devoted to documenting such objects, it is necessary to establish some principles for determining what types of references qualify for discussion under the heading "foreign donations".

When devotees at Dunhuang made donations to a monastery, their contributions were usually recorded. Such inventories (mentioned above) not only list the name and number of objects donated; they also contain the names of the donors. Some of the donors are the descendants of foreign settlers at Dunhuang. To a certain extent, then, their donations can be termed "foreign donations", in the sense that they are donations by foreigners. But the objects they donated contained both imported goods and objects manufactured in Dunhuang, as well as personal belongings. Since my focus here is on foreign gifts, I do not consider the donations of these descendants of foreign settlers when the gifts themselves are not distinctively foreign. Second of all, since asset records recorded the property of each monastery, they included foreign goods, as well as local goods and goods from Central China. Although we cannot determine from the records who made the donations, as long as they are imported goods and we can trace their place of origin, we can, for the purpose of this article, classify them as foreign gifts as well. By the same token, I exclude from my discussion objects from Dunhuang itself, from Central China, and even from Koguryŏ 高麗, since my focus is on relations between Dunhuang and areas further west.

The Dunhuang documents also contain large numbers of records of income and expenditure 入破歷, which state the names of donors and the objects they donated. When these records contain information on foreign donations, I include them in my discussion, regardless of who the donor was. In addition, letters and official documents at times also provide important clues on foreign goods in Dunhuang monasteries.

6 Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

In addition to items that are obviously imported from abroad, there are large numbers of textiles, metal ware and drugs for which we cannot determine the place of origin. I have not included these objects in my discussion.

Altogether, in twenty-two Dunhuang manuscripts, I have found documentation for seventy-eight foreign goods (see the appended tables). They can be roughly categorized as textiles, including felt, silk and brocade; utensils, including various sorts of cups and vases made of precious metals like silver, copper and brass; precious stones, including amber, jade and pearls; and incense and medicine. In most cases we can determine the name of the Dunhuang monastery that originally kept the article listed, and in a few cases we can determine the name of the donor. This bare inventory is a simple list of goods, intended to give a general impression of the type and number of foreign goods kept in Dunhuang monasteries. Despite the fact that the scope of my survey and the documentation itself is not complete, we can quickly gain a general sense of the impressive array of foreign goods kept in Dunhuang monasteries. Below I draw on this body of material to shed light on various aspects of the objects kept in Dunhuang monasteries in medieval times.

3 The Origins of Foreign Donations in Dunhuang Monasteries

The appended tables give a general idea of the places of manufacture of the goods, but the place of origin is not necessarily the direct source of the gifts made to Dunhuang monasteries. In the following sections, I discuss the routes by which some of these objects came to Dunhuang on the basis of various types of Dunhuang documentation.

3.1 *Tibet*

From the mid-9th to the mid-10th centuries, while the Tang, weakened by the An Lushan rebellion, was unable to maintain control over its western borders, the Tibetan empire assumed control of a large section of what had been Tang territory, including the Longyou 隴右 and Hexi 河西 areas, as well as the oasis kingdoms along the southern edge of the Tarim basin. Its power at that time extended into areas west of the Pamirs and rivaled that of the Arabs.[7]

The period during which the Tibetans controlled Dunhuang (786–848) was also the most important period in the expansion of the Tibetan empire.

7 See Wang Xiaofu 王小甫, *Tang Tubo Dashi zhengzhi guanxi shi* 唐吐蕃大食政治關係史 (History of the Political Relations among the Tang, Tibetans and Arabs) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992).

Dunhuang was supported by the Tibetans both as a sacred Buddhist center and as a crucial point linking the various parts of the Tibetan empire in all directions.[8] For this reason, many foreign goods were donated to Dunhuang monasteries by soldiers who had captured them in military campaigns. For example, a document composed by Dou Ji 竇驥, which describes a particular donation, also gives information about the donor in question, Zhang Khri sum rje 尚起律心兒. He

> … led six armies in a long campaign, opening up ten circuits 道. To the north he reached to the comets, sweeping away the troops of Langshan 狼山; in the west he soared above Venus, breaking the barbarian armies of the nine surnames. Among the Xianyun 獫狁 (namely, Xiongnu) banners, he drove the Xianwang 賢王 (namely, the Xiongnu prince) to flight; near the *shanyu* 單于 tent, he captured or shot the most valued among his opponents.

Even allowing for hyperbole, the claim that he led an attack westward against the Sogdians (the "barbarians of nine surnames"), and attacked the Uighurs to the north (the "Xianyun") conforms to the foreign military policy of the Tibetans at that time. For the merit derived in these campaigns, the document explains, he "received tribute from the four directions, as treasures poured in from the five regions". He then "covered the ground with gold, seeking out craftsmen with disks of white jade", and "subsequently chose to live in the city of the ancient commandery of Dunhuang where he built the Shengguang Monastery 聖光寺".[9] The piece expresses in literary language how Zhang Khri sum rje established the Shengguang Monastery by winning military merit abroad and then employing the subsequent foreign tribute to construct and ornament a monastery. This is a classic example of a Tibetan military official of the highest rank donating goods brought in from abroad to a monastery at Dunhuang.

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8 See Zhang Guangda 張廣達, "Tubo feiniaoshi yu Tubo yichuan zhidu" 吐蕃飛鳥使與吐蕃驛傳制度 (The Tibetan "Winged Envoys" and the Tibetan Postal Relay System), in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Research Papers on the Dunhuang and Turfan Texts) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), pp. 167–78.

9 P.2765 = P.tib.1070 (for standard ms. abbreviations, see the article by Éric Trombert in this issue of *Asia Major*). See Chen Tsu-lung 陳祚龍, *Dunhuang wenwu suibi* 敦煌文物隨筆 (Random Notes on Dunhuang Artefacts) (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979), p. 267. I have made some adaptations according to the original documents.

A similar "record of merit" from Dunhuang relates how a high official, *blon* Dongbozang 論董勃藏,[10] dispatched to Dunhuang by the Tibetan court, repaired a dilapidated monastery in Shazhou. It describes Buddha images "… shown with the finest gold, irradiating lapis lazuli … delicate and refined".[11] Although the document is not complete and does not directly refer to foreign donations, judging by its descriptions of the Buddha images, *blon* Dongbozang also devoted considerable wealth to Buddhist projects.

The record of a donation dated 27 January 828, lists the articles given by *rtse-rje blon* Mangre 節兒論莽熱,[12] along with the motivation for donating them: "one …, two *zhang* and nine *chi* tall, one *dou* of grapes, five *liang* of antidote for poison. These items were given to the clergy for the 'turning of the scriptures'. The five *liang* of antidote are to be used in the ceremony of the lighting of the lamps on the first day of the first month presided over by Instructor Song".[13] The *rtse-rje* was the highest military official in the Tibetan administration at Dunhuang, and his donations to the monastery included foreign foods and medicines.

Judging by the foreign objects donated to Dunhuang monasteries during the period of Tibetan rule as detailed in the tables, some "foreign brocade" (*fanjin* 番錦) may have come from Tibet, but of course it may also have been brought via Tibetans from Persia or Sogdiana. Recently, textiles excavated in Dulan 都蘭, in Qinghai province,[14] include many Persian and Sogdian imports. These goods may have passed through Dunhuang on their way to Qinghai. Hence, the

10 I am unable to reconstruct the Tibetan for this name.

11 For the quotation, see Li Zhengyu 李正宇 "Tubo Lundongbozang xiu qielan gongde ji liang canjuan de faxian, zhuihe ji kaozheng" 吐蕃論董勃藏修伽藍功德記兩殘卷的發現綴合及考證 (The Joining of Two Fragments of the Merit Inscription of Building a Monastery by the Tibetan Lundongbozang), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, Vol. 2, 1997, pp. 250–252. Дх.1462-I-P.3829, "Da Fan (Bo?) gu Shazhou xingren buluo jian fangyu bingmashi ji xingying liuhou jianjun shi Lundongbozang chongxiu qielan gongde ji" 大蕃古沙州行人部落兼防御兵馬使及行營留後監軍使論董勃藏重修伽藍功德記.

12 Again, I am unable to reconstruct the Tibetan.

13 P.2583 "Tubo shennian biqiuni xiude deng shishe shu" 吐蕃申年 (828) 比丘尼修德等施捨疏, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, Vol. 3, p. 66.

14 Xu Xinguo 許新國 and Zhao Feng 趙豐, "Dulan chutu sizhipin chutan" 都蘭出土絲織品初探 (Preliminary Examination of the Silk Textiles from Dulan), *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 (Bulletin of the Chinese Museum of History), Vols. 15–16, 1991, pp. 63–81; Xu Xinguo, "Dulan Tubo mu chutu han shouniao zhijin yanjiu" 都蘭吐蕃墓出土含綬鳥織錦研究 (Silk Textile with Turkey Motif from the Tibetan Tomb at Dulan), *Zhongguo zangxue* 中國藏學 (Tibetan Studies in China), No. 1, 1996, pp. 3–26; Xu Xinguo, "Qinghai Dulan Tubo mu chutu taiyangshen tu'an zhijin kao" 青海都蘭吐蕃墓出土太陽神圖案織錦考 (Silk Textile with the Sun Deity Motif from the Tibetan Tomb at Dulan, Qinghai), *Zhongguo zangxue*, No. 3, 1997, pp. 67–82.

"foreign" and "Iranian" brocade (*hujin* 胡錦) in Dunhuang monasteries may be similar to the textiles found in Qinghai. Further, there are also textiles manufactured in Molu 末祿 in eastern Dashi (Arabia), silver cups with gold inlaid flowers in a Byzantine style, gold and silver utensils from Sogdiana or Persia, embroidered felt from Khotan, as well as precious stones, incense and medicine from the West.

3.2 *Khotan*

Embroidered felt appears in Dunhuang monastic inventories during the period of Tibetan rule, and continued to be received at monasteries during the rule of the Return to Allegiance Circuit. From the beginning of the 10th century, Khotan maintained steady relations with Dunhuang. The Khotanese royal family intermarried over several generations with the Cao family, who were local commissioners of the Return to Allegiance Circuit. Khotanese kings, princes, princesses, emissaries and monks all came to Dunhuang, either staying there or passing through. As many of the people of both regions were Buddhist devotees, the donations Khotanese made to Dunhuang Buddhist monasteries were not limited to felts.

Among the Khotanese documents from Dunhuang originally in the collection of Baron von Staël-Holstein is a record of the year 925 that recounts the arrival at Shazhou of a group of high-level Khotanese officials, who paid reverence to the monasteries there and had stupas constructed and oil donated for the monastery lamps.[15]

Another example is a recently published document in the Russian collection of Dunhuang manuscripts;[16] it describes how a young Khotanese woman in Dunhuang, Youding 祐定, attempted to construct a cave temple at the Mogao Caves, but, running short of funds, composed a letter to a Khotanese princess asking for "a skirt of Iranian brocade". She further asked a grand minister and a princess to send "five to ten bolts of silk" as well as "yarn and pigments to make embroidered images for the Sanjie Monastery". In addition, she also asked for "thirty to fifty bolts of thin Kancheng 坎城 silk sent to the east for use around the caves; also [for] twenty to thirty catties of red copper".[17] Examples

15 Harold W. Bailey, "The Staël-Holstein Miscellany", *Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1951, pp. 44–45. The year is identified according to Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The Date of the Staël-Holstein Roll", *Asia Major*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1954, pp. 90–97.

16 Дх.2148(2)+Дх.6069(1). For the whole text, see Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Shi shiji Yutianguo de Tianshou nianhao ji qi xiangguan wenti" 十世紀于闐國的天壽年號及其相關問題 (The Tianshou Reign Title of 10th Century Khotan and Related Questions), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Journal of Eurasian Studies), Vol. 1, 1999, pp. 183–184.

17 Дх.2148(2)+Дх.6069(1).

such as these reflect the enthusiasm of Khotanese donors for the Buddhist Mogao Caves, the route taken by some of the objects brought to Dunhuang from abroad, and the wealth and variety of these gifts.

The Mogao Caves also preserve a six-sided wooden stupa donated by a Khotanese king, including a now-lost small silver stupa inside.[18] The wooden stupa is preserved in the Gansu Provincial Museum, where I saw it in August of 2000. Khotan made many contributions to the Buddhist monasteries of Dunhuang, particularly in the construction of cave temples at the Mogao Caves, a subject I discuss at greater length elsewhere.[19]

3.3 *Sogdiana*

Sogdians originally lived in the city-state located in Central Asia between the two rivers, the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. However, because of their emphasis on merchant activity, Sogdians first came to China during the Wei-Jin period and continued to do so through the Sui and Tang periods. Dunhuang, located at a key point along the Silk Route, was a necessary stopping point for Sogdians travelling further east. For this reason, Dunhuang supported a Sogdian community from early on.[20] When Dunhuang came under Tibetan rule, the Sogdian community dispersed. As their homeland had long since been occupied by Arab forces, many Sogdians, with nowhere else to go, continued to live in Dunhuang and to engage in commercial activities, many of them in positions of great wealth.[21] Sogdians originally practiced Zoroastrianism, erecting Zoroastrian temples in their communities, but under the strong Buddhist influence of Dunhuang, Sogdian immigrants began to convert to Buddhism in

18 See Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* 于闐史叢考 (Studies on the History of Khotan) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993), pp. 63, 69 (n. 9). For the wooden stupa, see Li Jian, ed., *The Glory of the Silk Road: Art from Ancient China* (Dayton, Ohio: The Dayton Art Institute, 2003), p. 132, no. 58.

19 Rong Xinjiang, "Lüe tan Yutian dui Dunhuang shiku de gongxian" 略談于闐對敦煌石窟的貢獻 (A Brief Discussion of the Khotanese Contribution to the Dunhuang Caves), *Dunhuang yanjiuyuan* 敦煌研究院, ed., *2000 nian Dunhuangxue guoji yantaohui wenji* 2000 年敦煌學國際研討會文集 (Papers from the International Conference of Dunhuang Studies in the Year 2000) (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2003), pp. 67–82.

20 Ikeda On 池田温, "Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudojin shūraku" 8 世紀中葉における敦煌のスグド人聚落 (Sogdian Settlements in Dunhuang in the Mid-8th Century), *Yurashia bunka kenkyū* ユーラシア文化研究 (Studies in Eurasian Culture), Vol. 1, 1965, pp. 49–92.

21 Zheng Binglin and Wang Shangda 王尚達, "Tubo tongzhi xia de Dunhuang Suteren" 吐蕃統治下的敦煌粟特人 (Sogdians in Dunhuang under Tibetan Rule), *Zhongguo zangxue*, No. 4, 1996, pp. 43–53.

great numbers during the period of Tibetan rule, quickly becoming powerful patrons of Buddhism in the region.[22]

For example, a document recording the donation of a copy of a scripture from one Kang Xiuhua 康秀華 notes:[23]

> One written copy of the *Great Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, donated together with three swirled silver plates, weighing thirty-five *liang*, one hundred *shuo* of grain, fifty *shuo* of millet and four *jin* of powder. As for the previously mentioned donations given with the scripture, Master Xuan 炫和上 was respectfully requested to oversee their resale for the purpose of supporting the copying of scriptures. He is to supply paper, ink and brush himself. Respectfully submitted by disciple Kang Xiuhua on the 8th day of the 4th month.[24]

Kang Xiuhua must have been a descendant of a Sogdian merchant. The three "silver platters" he donated to the monastery may well have been Sogdian silver of the sort that has been found in large quantities within China.[25] The reference here to "powder" refers to "Iranian powder" (*hufen* 胡粉), a type of cosmetic imported from the West that was also used as pigment for murals and was for this reason sought after by both monks and laypeople at Dunhuang. At the end of the document, it records income received when Master Xuan resold four *jin* of powder. The forty-nine *liang* of powder were exchanged for 206 *shi* 5 *dou* of grain, used by the monastery to support the copying of scriptures and other activities.[26]

During the Return to Allegiance period, Sogdians in Dunhuang continued to exert considerable power. An Jingmin 安景旻, who fought along with Zhang Yichao 張議潮 to overthrow the Tibetan government, seems to have been a Sogdian representative. The Cao family, which governed from the early years of the 10th century during the Return to Allegiance period, may well have been

22 Ikeda On, "Hasseiki chūyō ni okeru Tonkō no Sogudojin shūraku"; Zheng Binglin, "Tang, Wudai Dunhuang de Suteren yu Fojiao", *Dunhuang yanjiu*, No. 2, 1997, pp. 151–168.

23 P.2912, "Mou nian si yue ba ri Kang Xiuhua xiejing shirushu" 某年四月八日康秀華寫經施入疏.

24 Tang and Lu, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, Vol. 3, p. 58.

25 Qi Dongfang 齊東方, *Tangdai jinyinqi yanjiu* 唐代金銀器研究 (Study of Gold and Silver Vessels in the Tang Period) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999).

26 Silver and Iranian powder are discussed in Éric Trombert's article, "Cooking, Dyeing, and Worship: The Uses of Safflower in Medieval China as Reflected in Dunhuang Documents", *Asia Major*, 3rd Series, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2004, pp. 59–72. Also, see Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 196; Zheng Binglin, "'Kang Xiuhua xiejing shirushu' yu 'Xuan Heshang huomai hufen li' yanjiu", pp. 192–99.

descendants of Sogdians.[27] Consequently, donations to Buddhist monasteries at Dunhuang by Sogdians at that time did not stop. And some of the donations of Sogdian or Western goods I list in the tables may have been donated by descendants of Sogdians who still retained a taste for Sogdian goods.

In addition, during the Return to Allegiance years, Dunhuang retained close relations with both Uighur royal families in the East and the West.[28] And Buddhist travel between India and China continued to pass along the Hexi corridor.[29] Both of these factors brought a wealth of foreign goods to Dunhuang monasteries.

4 The Value and Significance of Foreign Gifts Kept at Dunhuang Monasteries

For the people of Dunhuang, the foreign objects kept in Buddhist monasteries were rare, valuable artefacts. The imports mentioned in Dunhuang documents are for the most part typical of objects imported to China from the West. For this reason, we can place such objects in the context of foreign goods brought to China in the medieval period more generally, as studied by Berthold Laufer in his *Sino-Iranica*, Edward H. Schafer's *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* and Jiang Boqin's *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路.[30] Here I focus in particular on the function of some of these goods as Buddhist donations, touching only briefly on their meaning in other contexts.

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27 Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang Guiyijun Caoshi tongzhizhe wei Sute houyi shuo" 敦煌歸義軍曹氏統治者為粟特後裔説 (The Cao Ruling House of Guiyijun Dunhuang as Sogdian Descendants), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Studies), No. 1, 2001, pp. 65–72.

28 Xinjiang Rong, "The Relationship of Dunhuang with the Uighur Kingdom in Turfan in the Tenth Century", in Louis Bazin and Peter Zieme, eds., *De Dunhuang à Istanbul: Hommage à James Russell Hamilton* (Silk Road Studies v) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 275–298; "Ganzhou Huihu yu Caoshi Guiyijun" 甘州回鶻與曹氏歸義軍 (The Ganzhou Uighurs and the Cao Family Guiyijun), *Xibei minzu yanjiu* 西北民族研究 (Studies in Northwestern Ethnicities), No. 2, 1993, pp. 60–72.

29 Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang wenxian suojian wan Tang, Wudai chu Zhong-Yin wenhua jiaowang" 敦煌文獻所見晚唐五代宋初中印文化交往 (Sino-Indian Cultural Contact in the Late Tang, Five Dynasties and Early Song Periods as seen in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), in *Ji Xianlin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian lunwenji* 季羡林教授八十華誕紀念論文集 (Papers in Honour of Professor Ji Xianlin's 80th Birthday) (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 955–968.

30 Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1919). (I cite Schafer's and Jiang's works elsewhere in the notes.)

I first take up embroidered Khotanese felt. It was an essential textile for nomads and the people of Iran, used for hats, tents, seats, saddles and boots.[31] The Khotanese, themselves descendants of the Iranian-speaking Sakas, were skilled in felt production, as evidenced by the felt hats, clothing ornaments, socks and other garments found in 1983–1984 and 1992–1993, when Xinjiang archaeologists excavated tombs at Sampula. Although the tombs have been dated as ranging from the first century BCE to the 4th century CE, the workmanship of the goods, even at this early date, was extraordinary.[32] For the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods, Khotanese felt must have been even more exquisite. In addition, this type of felt, which protects against the cold and wind, was extremely useful for the monks and laypeople of Dunhuang.

There is also the example of the Ãnanda skirt with a foreign brocade hem. Jiang Boqin has pointed out that "foreign brocade" 番錦 was especially rare. Reference is made to the double-lion motif in pearl roundel-patterned brocade unearthed in Turfan 吐魯番. And a double-bird motif in pearl roundel-patterned Iranian-style brocade is worn by mGar sToṅg-btsan Yul-bzung (Lu Dongzan), as depicted in the composition "Man-Drawn Carriage 步輦圖". The "Ānanda skirt" was probably of foreign silk in a Sasanian style.[33] At the same time, Jiang argues that the "fur brocade" referred to in inventories for the Longxing Monastery was a type of Sogdian silk.[34] This theory has been challenged.[35] Nonetheless, textiles termed "foreign brocade" or "Iranian brocade" (*hujin*), regardless of whether they were made by Sogdian craftsmen from Persian silk or Sogdian silk, or whether they were imitations made by Chinese craftsmen or made for export, were viewed nonetheless as exotic goods. Although we have no examples of what is clearly an "Ānanda skirt with foreign brocade hem", we do have a sutra wrapper, found in the sutra cave at

31 Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, p. 200.

32 Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館 and Xinjiang wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 新疆文物考古研究所, *Zhongguo Xinjiang Shanpula: Gudai Yutian wenming de jieshi yu yanjiu* 中國新疆山普拉：古代于闐文明的揭示與研究 (Shanpula, Xinjiang: The Culture of Ancient Khotan) (Xinjiang: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 2001), p. 40, figs. 440–443.

33 Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 206–209.

34 Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 209–210.

35 Wu Min 武敏, "Tulufan gumu chutu de sizhipin xintan" 吐魯番古墓出土的絲織品新探 (New Investigations into the Silk Textiles Excavated in the Ancient Tombs of Turfan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, No. 4, 1999, pp. 299–322; Angela Sheng, "Innovations in Textile Techniques on China's Northwest Frontier, 500–700 AD", *Asia Major*, 3rd Series, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1998, pp. 117–160.

Dunhuang, that has a beaded hem embroidered with animal designs.[36] This gorgeous piece offers us a clue as to what other types of ornamented foreign silken goods must have looked like.

Here I must mention the 10-*liang* silver vase with gold inlay, silver plates with gold inlay, silver plates, an 8-*liang* half-white silver dish, a silver censer with silver lions, a silver *vajra-vara*, a 6-*liang* cup with gold inlay, a silver cup in Byzantine style and a 7-*liang* Byzantine-style silver cup with base. During the Tang, gold and silver vessels were for the most part derived from Persia and Sogdiana, or were in some cases Chinese attempts at reproduction. And so, such goods can be viewed generally as "Persian" and "Sogdian". Many gold and silver objects were unearthed from the base of the stupa at the Famen Monastery.[37] As in the case at the Famen Monastery, Buddhist monasteries at Dunhuang contained both daily objects and ritual implements made of gold and silver, though the objects found at Dunhuang cannot compare in quality with those found at the Famen Monastery, and are primarily made of silver. Of particular note is Jiang Boqin's assertion that two of these artefacts at Dunhuang, said to be in Fulin 拂臨 style, are silver cups from Byzantium (Fulin is generally taken as an ancient Chinese name for Byzantium).[38]

Quite a bit of brass has come to light, for example, a vase with a newly-made lotus base, a newly-made brass censer with gold inlay and lion base (both complete), brass fragrant beads and a brass cup. Brass 鍮石 was produced in Persia and India, in value ranked just behind gold and silver. It was used to manufacture Buddha images and daily articles, both of which are seen in the Buddhist monasteries at Dunhuang.[39] The phrase "newly-made" may indicate that these goods were made by local craftsmen at Dunhuang.

Other objects from the West included glass vases, probably from Persia and Rome; jade knife handles, probably from Khotan; *sese* 瑟瑟 (lapis lazuli) also

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36 M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), pp. 1049–1050, pls. 106, 111, 116; Roderick Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1985), Vol. 3, pl. 6, figs. 6–7; Roderick Whitfield and Anne Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route* (London: G. Braziller, 1990), p. 18, no. 91, Ch.xlviii.001.

37 Famensi Bowuguan 法門寺博物館, ed., *Famensi* 法門寺 (The Famen Monastery) (Xi'an: Shaanxi Lüyou chubanshe, 1994).

38 Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 16.

39 Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 67–68; Lin Meicun 林梅村, "Toushi ru Hua kao" 鍮石入華考 (The Introduction of Brass into China), in his *Gudao xifeng: Kaogu xin faxian suojian zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 古道西風：考古新發現所見中西文化交流 (Western Influences through Ancient Routes: Cultural Exchanges between China and the West as seen in Recent Archaeological Discoveries) (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2000), pp. 210–230. Zhou Weirong 周衛榮, "Toushi kaoshu" "鍮石"考述 (On "Brass"), *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature and History), 53, 2000, pp. 79–89.

from Khotan; agate beads that came from Tuhuoluo 吐火羅 (present-day Afghanistan) and Samarkand; amber produced in Byzantium and brought to China from Persia during the Tang; and coral that came for the most part from Persia and Ceylon.[40]

Rare, expensive goods seen in records from Buddhist monasteries at Dunhuang, including textiles, gold and silver objects, precious stones, incense, and medicine carried both practical and symbolic value. Gold and silver objects along with precious stones were usually used as ritual implements for the worship of Buddhist images. Silk and other types of textiles were used as garments for metal or clay Buddhist sculpture, or were used as the base for paintings. Incense and other types of dye materials, such as "Iranian powder", were also necessary for murals or for ornamenting Buddhist buildings, while medicines were necessary for monks who frequently practiced medicine.

For the people of Dunhuang, objects imported from abroad in the construction of Buddhist images were more attractive and appealing than ordinary copper or clay images. Such images were frequently credited with supernatural powers. Because of the rarity of the material from which they were made, Dunhuang inhabitants granted them a special function and significance. For this reason, Buddhist monasteries in the Western Regions and in the interior of China went to great lengths to obtain such objects, in part in order to attract devotees to their monasteries.

The Travels of Faxian 法顯傳 notes that in Khotan, "seven or eight *li* from the capital city there is a monastery called Wangxinsi 王新寺 (The King's New Monastery). It was built some eighty years ago and was under construction during the reigns of three kings before it was finished. It is twenty-five *zhang* in height, covered with ornate carvings, which are gilded with gold and silver, and completed with precious gems. Of whatever things of highest value and preciousness the kings in the six states east of the Pamirs are possessed, they contribute the greater portion [to this monastery], using but a small portion of them themselves".[41] When Song Yun 宋雲 went to the Western Regions during the Northern Wei, he stopped at a monastery in the eastern part of Khotan where he saw "tens of thousands" of colorful banners hanging from a stupa. "More than half of them were from the Northern Wei, and were marked with characters reading '19th year of the Taihe 太和 reign period (495)', '2nd year

40 Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*; Schafer, *Golden Peaches*.

41 Zhang Xun 章巽, *Faxian zhuan jiaozhu* 法顯傳校注 (Annotated Edition of the Travels of Faxian) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), p. 14. The English translation for the last sentence follows James Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), p. 20.

of the Jingming 景明 reign period (501)', and '2nd year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign period (513)'. On only one banner could I read a date from the Yaoqin 姚秦 [Hou Qin 後秦] period (384–417)".[42] In the Western Regions, these banners sent from the Chinese interior carried important symbolic meaning.

Just as in western China, Buddhist monasteries in Central China also collected foreign goods in part to attract adherents. The greatest concentration of relevant materials comes from the area in and around the capital at Chang'an during the Sui and Tang dynasties. For instance, at the Da Xingshan Monastery 大興善寺 in Jingshan ward 靖善坊 "the workmanship of the Mañjuśrī Hall was exquisite, their walls pasted with gold-leaf squares brought from the Western Regions as gifts by Amoghavajra" [705–774, a translator from Samarkand or Ceylon who lived in China]. There were also "jade statues from Khotan, one *chi* and seven *cun* tall, more than a *cun* in thickness, including one Buddha, four Bodhisattvas and a flying sylph".[43] In the Shenghua Hall 聖畫堂 of the Yunhua Monastery 雲華寺 in Datong ward 大同坊, there was a "standing brass statue from Khotan of great antiquity". Such foreign Buddha images were an important constituent part of the medieval monastery, serving as objects of worship and points of attraction for pilgrims from abroad.

The previously-mentioned wooden and silver stupas as well as the Staël-Holstein scroll reveal that at that time the worship of foreign-made Buddha images and stupas at Dunhuang was common. In the murals at the Mogao Caves we can still see "auspicious images of carved sandalwood from the city of Phema in Khotan", the "auspicious white image of the Maitreya Buddha from Southern India", and an "auspicious image of Śākyamuni with Sumeru pedestal and silver Bodhisattvas from Maghada".[44] We can also see traces of foreign donations in the silk paintings and textiles found in the sutra cave at Dunhuang.

42 Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注 (Annotated Edition of the Luoyang Qielan ji [Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang]) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 265–66.

43 Duan Chengshi 段成式, *Si ta ji* 寺塔記 (*Records of Temple Pagodas*), A, *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellaneous Morsels from the South Slope of You Mount) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 245–246.

44 See Alexander Coburn Soper, "Representations of Famous Images at Tunhuang", *Artibus Asiae*, 27, 1965, pp. 349–364; Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang 'Ruixiangji', ruixiangtu ji qi fanying de Yutian" 敦煌"瑞像記"、瑞像圖及其反映的于闐 (Khotan as Seen in the Auspicious Records and Images from Dunhuang), in Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* 于闐史叢考 (Studies on the History of Khotan) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 1993), pp. 212–279.

Buddhist monks and nuns depended in large measure on the support of other segments of society for their survival. The most fundamental donations to the Buddhist clergy were clothing, food, sleeping articles and medicines, termed in Buddhist texts as the "four donations" 四事供養. But from early on, the range of commonly donated objects came to include much more. The *Lotus Sutra*, for instance, lists ten types of donation, encouraging devotees to give "offerings of flowers, incense, necklaces, powdered incense, paste incense, incense for burning, silken canopies, streamers and banners, clothing and music".[45] Other scriptures provide other lists of potential donations, including large projects such as the construction of houses and courtyards, the opening up of caves, and the construction of stupas, but extending as well to donations literally as small as a single thread. Any object given to Buddha, dharma or sangha was rewarded with merit and blessings. For this reason, all social classes from emperors to commoners made donations to Buddhist monasteries. Of course, the material value of donations from the upper reaches of society were more substantial. In particular, on the death of such powerful figures as the emperor, or local rulers like the military commissioner or high officials in the Return to Allegiance government, when no other use was found for their possessions, including clothing and even former residences, they were turned over to Buddhist monasteries. In this way, medieval monasteries gradually became centers for the collection and storage of valuable articles, including foreign goods.

From the perspective of the sangha, the storage space within the monastery was limited; they could not accept all donations indiscriminately without a system for processing and recording objects received. At the same time, they could not refuse donations. For this reason, monasteries established a system of auction in which certain monastic possessions were sold off in order to acquire things necessary for the monastery, as illustrated by the example above of the record of Master Xuan reselling Iranian powder.

During the periods of Tibetan rule and of the Return to Allegiance Circuit, Buddhism reached the peak of its influence at Dunhuang, radiating from seventeen monasteries and three cave-temple complexes. Because of the steady stream of incoming officials, merchants, and monks, as well as the support for Buddhism by the Tibetan and Return to Allegiance Circuit, not only was there a wealth of gifts kept in Buddhist monasteries at Dunhuang, but many of these objects came from abroad. These objects are a reflection of the material

45 *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 161.

culture of Buddhism at Dunhuang and on the Silk Road. More specifically, the large body of extant foreign devotional objects demonstrates the care and attention given these rare and precious objects by the monastic community. Exotic foreign ornaments, images, utensils, and paintings held a greater fascination than ordinary local Buddhist statues and paintings. The worship of such objects furthered the reputation and image of Dunhuang Buddhism both within the region and beyond it.

TABLE 21.1(A) References in Dunhuang documents to four types of foreign objects donated to local monasteries – textiles

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Embroidered Khotanese felt	Unnamed	828	Khotan	Bhiksuni Xiude 修德	P.2583
Khotanese felt cushion	Baoen 報恩寺	940–	Khotan		P.4908
Embroidered Khotanese felt	Baoen	940–	Khotan	Niangzi 娘子	P.4908
Embroidered Khotanese felt	Baoen	940–	Khotan	Niangzi 娘子	S.4215
Khotanese padded strips	Baoen	967–	Khotan		P.3598
Xizhou cloth	Unnamed	Tibetan period?	Turfan		P.2706
Ānanda skirt with foreign-brocade hem 阿難裙番錦緣	Longxing 龍興寺	Tibetan period?	Persia/Sogdiana		P.3432
Chinese wax-dyed foreign tongue-shaped brocade sash	Longxing	873	Persia/ Sogdiana		P.2613
Large red parasol of foreign brocade	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613
Four-edged red parasol of foreign brocade	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613

TABLE 21.1(A) References in Dunhuang documents – textiles (*cont.*)

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Foreign cushion	Dasheng 大乘寺	958	Tibet?		S.1776
Small cushion of Iranian brocade for [statue of] a holy monk	Baoen	940–	Sogdiana?	Li Dutou 李都頭	P.4908
Cushion of Iranian brocade	Baoen	940–	Sogdiana?		S.4215
Silk painting of Guanshiyin on Molu silk	Longxing	Tibetan period	Molu 末祿		P.3432
Embroidered parasol of Molu silk	Longxing	Tibetan period	Molu 末祿		P.3432
Large red silk parasol with foreign brocade edge and green skirt	Unnamed	?	Persia/Sogdiana		S.6276

TABLE 21.1(B) References in Dunhuang documents to four types of foreign objects donated to local monasteries – utensils made of precious metals

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Gold: 8 *bo* 薄	Liantai 連臺寺	793	Western Regions		P.2567
Gold cash: 1	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
Silver rings: 4	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
Silver: 1 *liang*, 3 cash	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
10 *liang* of silver vases with gold ornament	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
8 *liang* of silver *hulu* sash	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567

TABLE 21.1(B) References in Dunhuang documents – utensils made of precious metals (*cont.*)

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
One silver fire iron	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
Silver: One and a half cash	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
Silver boot strap: 1 *liang*	Liantai	793	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2567
Three silver plates	?	Tibetan period	Persia/Sogdiana	Kang Xiuhua 康秀華	P.2912
Silver vase: 10 *liang*	Unnamed	828	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2583
Silver plate with gold ornament	Unnamed	828	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2583
Silver plate: 10 *liang*	Unnamed	828	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2583
Silver vase: 7 *liang*	Unnamed	828	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2583
White silver bowl: 8 and a half *liang*	Baoen	940–	Persia/Sogdiana		P.4908
White silver bowl: 8 and a half *liang*	Baoen	940–	Persia/Sogdiana		S.4215
Silver cups with gold ornament in Byzantine style: 6 *liang*	Longxing	Tibetan period	Persia/Sogdiana/ Fulin		P.3432
Silver censer with silver lions	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613
Byzantine Silver cup with base: 7 *liang*	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana/ Fulin		P.2613
Silver cup: 3 *liang*, 4 cash	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613
Silver cup: 4 *liang*, 5 [cash]	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613
Silver cup: 4 *liang*	Longxing	873	Persia/Sogdiana		P.2613
Pillow with silver inlay	Dasheng	958	Persia/Sogdiana		S.1776
Silver *vajra-vara*	Unnamed	Guiyijun period	Western Regions		S.6050
Brass vase	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
64 brass hairpins	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567

TABLE 21.1(B) References in Dunhuang documents – utensils made of precious metals (*cont.*)

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Brass sash	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
Newly-made brass lotus base	Baoen	940–	Western Regions		P.4004
Newly-made brass, gilded censer with lion base: complete	Baoen	940–	Western Regions		P.4004
Brass beads	Longxing	873	Western Regions		P.2613
Brass cup	Longxing	873	Western Regions		P.2613
Raw copper Kuchean jar	Longxing	873	Kucha		P.2613
Iranian-style lock	Unnamed	Tibetan period	Sogdiana		P.2706
Iranian-style pick	Longxing	873	Sogdiana		P.2613
Iranian-style lock and key	Longxing	873	Sogdiana		P.2613
Iranian-style lock and key	Yong'an 永安寺	Guiyijun period	Sogdiana		P.3161
Iranian-style lock core	Longxing	873	Sogdiana		P.2613

TABLE 21.1(C) References in Dunhuang documents to four types of foreign objects donated to local monasteries – precious stones

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Glazed vase	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
Glazed vase	Longxing	873	Western Regions		P.2613
Glazed vase	Unnamed	906?	Western Regions		S.5899
Glazed vase	Jingtu 净土寺	911	Western Regions		P.3638
Jade knife handle	Longxing	873	Khotan		P.2613
Lapis lazuli	Unnamed	Tibetan period	Khotan?		P.2706
5 pieces of Lapis lazuli	Liantai	793	Khotan?		P.2567
Lapis lazuli	Longxing	873	Khotan?		P.2613

TABLE 21.1(C) References in Dunhuang documents – precious stones (*cont.*)

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Lapis lazuli flower	Unnamed	Tibetan period	Khotan?	Aguo 阿郭	P.3047
84 agate beads	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
2 white agate beads	Longxing	873	Western Regions		P.2613
Two pieces of amber	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567
9 pieces of amber	Unnamed	Guiyijun period	Western Regions		S.6050
2 stems of coral	Unnamed	Tibetan period	Western Regions?		P.2706
21 strings of pearls	Liantai	793	Western Regions		P.2567

TABLE 21.1(D) References in Dunhuang documents to four types of foreign objects donated to local monasteries – incense and medicine

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
Iranian Powder	Unnamed	Tibetan period	Western Regions		P.2912
Half *liang* of Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space 道場	Tibetan period	Western Regions	Shier niang 十二娘	P.2837
3 *liang* of Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan period	Western Regions	Tibetan disciple Yaozhong 吐蕃弟子堯鐘	北大 162
24 *ke* of Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan period	Western Regions	Female disciple	北大 162
1 *liang* Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan period		Female disciple	北大 162
5 and a half *liang* Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan period	Western Regions		P.2706
One portion Iranian powder	Unnamed ritual space	9th–10th cc.	Western Regions		S.5897

TABLE 21.1(D) References in Dunhuang documents – incense and medicine (*cont.*)

Object	Monastery	Date	Provenance	Donor	Source
One myrobalan	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan period	Western Regions	Female disciple	北大 162
One myrobalan	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan/ Guiyijun period	Western Regions	Li Jizi 李吉子	P.2863
One myrobalan	Unnamed ritual space	Tibetan/ Guiyijun period	Western Regions	Xishi 希謚	P.3353

CHAPTER 22

The Exchange of Silk Textiles between Dunhuang and Khotan during the 10th Century

Translated by Sally K. Church

Although cultural exchange between the East and West was not as lively in the 9th and 10th centuries as in the High Tang period, material and non-material cultural exchange among the small kingdoms and local political powers along the Silk Route continued unabated. Among these activities, the frequent economic and cultural exchanges between the kingdom of Khotan 于闐 and the Shazhou Guiyijun 沙州歸義軍 polity of Dunhuang 敦煌 during the 10th century show that despite the existence of so many separate political entities at this time, contact on the Silk Road in the areas of trade, technology, religion and culture were uninterrupted. This paper examines manuscripts excavated at Dunhuang and Khotan, as well as the silk artefacts found there, as a means of investigating the circulation of silk goods between these two locations.

1 From Dunhuang to Khotan

The original meaning of the term "Silk Road" emphasises the silk and silk products that were exported from China to the West. As trade and cultural exchange increased along the Silk Road, the number and variety of products that travelled west and came east grew and diversified. Yet silk and silk products were consistently the most popular items traded among the various polities, geographical areas and social classes in the Western Regions.

We shall begin by examining the written records concerning the spread of silk goods in the traditional direction of transmission, from Dunhuang to Khotan.

1.1 Loujiling 樓機綾 (*Damask Woven on a Draw Loom*)

Manuscript P.2638 is a report presented by the administrators of donations for Shazhou's entire monastic community in the 6th month of the 3rd year of the Qingtai 清泰 reign period (936) of the Later Tang 後唐 dynasty (923–937). Line 42 contains the following record:

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Expenditures: One bolt of *loujiling* sent to the Empress of Khotan.[1]

The manuscript is an account of the income, expenditure and current inventory from the 1st day of the 6th month of 933 until the 1st day of the 6th month of 936, compiled by Yuanqing 願清, Fuji 福集 and Jinguangding 金光定, the three administrators of donations for the Shazhou monastic community. The document bears the imprint of the "Seal of the District Saṃgha Overseer of Hexi" 河西都僧統印. This was precisely the time when the Guiyijun military commissioner Cao Yuande 曹元德 ruled Dunhuang (r. 935–939). He was the son of Cao Yijin 曹議金 (r. 914–935). The Empress of Khotan mentioned in the document was Cao Yijin's daughter, thus Cao Yuande's sister. In 934 she was married to the King of Khotan, Li Shengtian 李聖天 (Viśa' Saṃbhava, r. 912–966).[2] The event recorded in this document is the gift of one bolt of *loujiling* to the Empress of Khotan for her use. The *loujiling* was produced by the Shazhou monastic community by order of the Guiyijun authorities, and sent to her. Here in the record of expenditures, the date is not expressed as precisely as it is in the record of income, therefore we can only say that the gift took place between 934, when Lady Cao was married off to Khotan, and the 1st day of the 6th month of 936.

Damask is a woven material with a diagonal pattern. It first appeared in the Wei and Jin periods (220–265 and 265–420, respectively), and became prevalent in the Tang. In addition to flowers woven in a diagonal pattern on a plain weave background, we also see the emergence of such patterns woven on a diagonal background. Among the artefacts excavated at Dunhuang and Turfan 吐魯番, the most common weave is a silk damask with a subtle floral

1 See Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū* 中國古代籍帳研究 (Ancient Chinese Household Registers) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1979), p. 649.

2 Regarding this Khotanese empress and the date of her marriage, see Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Guanyu Tangmo Songchu Yutianguo de guohao, nianhao ji qi wangjia shixi wenti" 關於唐末宋初于闐國的國號、年號及其王家世系問題 (On the Names of the Dynasty, Reign Titles and Royal Lineage of the Kingdom of Khotan in the Late Tang and Early Song Periods), in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenxian yanjiu lunji* 敦煌吐魯番文獻研究論集 (Research Papers on the Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982); here I follow Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*) 于闐史叢考（增訂本） (Studies on the History of Khotan [enlarged edition]), (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 33–34; Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Shi shiji Yutianguo de Tianshou nianhao ji qi xiangguan wenti" 十世紀于闐國的天壽年號及其相關問題 (The Tianshou Reign Title of 10th Century Khotan and Related Questions), originally published in *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), Vol. 1, 1999; here I follow Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*), pp. 300–302.

ornament (*anhualing* 暗花綾); the warp and weft threads are the same colour and the flowers are woven in a diagonal pattern on a diagonal background.[3] *Loujiling* is a damask woven on a draw loom (*louji* 樓機 or *hualouji* 花樓機). Its name is sometimes shortened to *louling* 樓綾, or *louji*. The *louji* is a draw loom requiring two people to operate it. They work together, with the weaver below responsible for working the shuttle and adjusting the weft to make the cloth, and the one above successively lifting the drawstrings to create the desired pattern.[4] This type of loom was already common in the interior of China during the Tang period, but almost all the records of draw looms in the Dunhuang manuscripts date from the 10th century Guiyijun period under the rule of the Cao 曹 family. Damask of this type was mainly used by local Dunhuang officials of all ranks, as well as monastic officials, to present as gifts to nobles and high-ranking officials, who used it to make clothing. It was also used by ordinary people in credit transactions in lieu of money, to pay fines and the like.[5] Because the *louji* was so large, the weaving process so complex, and the woven product so elegant and exquisite, this damask was extremely expensive. It was the highest quality silk produced in the Dunhuang region, not something that ordinary people could afford to use to make their own clothing.[6] It is therefore clear that Cao Yuande chose the best locally manufactured silk for his sister who resided away from home.

1.2 *Mohouluo Brocade* 摩睺羅錦, Xiaoling 小綾 (*Damask with a Narrower Loom Width*), *and* Loujiling

Understanding the relationship among the persons mentioned in manuscript P.2638 above helps to clarify the relationship among those in manuscript Дх.1380, which has only become available with the publication of all the Dunhuang manuscripts held in Russia. I shall begin by presenting the contents of this manuscript:

3 Feng Zhao and Le Wang, "Glossary of Textile Terminology (Based on the Documents from Dunhuang and Turfan)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2013, pp. 349–387, esp. pp. 354–355. (This work has been consulted for definitions of all silk products mentioned below, and will not be cited each time.)

4 Wang Jinyu 王進玉, *Dunhuangxue he kejishi* 敦煌學和科技史 (Dunhuang Studies and the History of Science and Technology) (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011), pp. 458–467.

5 Wang Jinyu, *Dunhuangxue he kejishi*, pp. 458–467.

6 Éric Trombert, *Le crédit à Dunhuang: Vie matérielle et société en Chine médiévale* (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises de Collège de France, 1995), pp. 112 and 119–120; Chinese translation: Tong Pi 童丕 [Éric Trombert], *Dunhuang de jiedai: Zhongguo zhonggu shidai de wuzhi shenghuo yu shehui* 敦煌的借貸：中國中古時代的物質生活與社會 (Credit in Dunhuang: Material Life and Society in Medieval China), trans. by Yu Xin 余欣 and Chen Jianhua 陳建華 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 103 and 108.

[…] protection, this is my hope. Earlier […] learning that the prime minister is in good health, I am responding to your letter.

Today accompanying the Great King's letter is one bolt of Mohouluo brocade, one bolt of *xiaoling* damask, [and from] my wife [i.e. your mother] *lou*[*jiling*] damask …

I shall stop here and not go into further detail. [from] Your father, the Great King.

… the 28th day of the 7th month

[Accompanying] the Great King's letter is one bolt of *loujiling* damask.
Also, [Accompanying] the wife's letter is one bolt of *loujiling* damask.[7]

This is the draft of a letter from *fu da wang* 父大王 (Father, the Great King) to an unspecified person. The third line is written in small characters inserted between the second and fourth lines, listing the gifts that accompanied the letter. Here, the word *xin* 信 means *xinwu* 信物 (accompanying gifts), which included a bolt of brocade and a bolt of *xiaoling* damask from the "Great King", as well as *loujiling* damask sent by his wife (*furen* 夫人), probably also one bolt. The last two lines record the gifts sent with the letter again, repeating the items inserted in small characters. The "Great King" and his wife each sent a bolt of *loujiling* damask. In Dunhuang manuscripts from the 10th century, the terms *da wang* and *furen* usually referred to the king of Dunhuang (the Guiyijun military commissioner who was called a king) and his spouse. Those military commissioners who were called kings were, in succession, Cao Yijin, Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 and Cao Yanlu 曹延祿. The term used for "prime minister" (*zaixiang* 宰相) in this context usually referred to the highest official in the surrounding kingdoms, such as Khotan and the Ganzhou Uighur kingdom, not to officials within the Guiyijun state. That the sender referred to himself as "Father, Great King" suggests that the recipient of this letter was probably Cao Yijin's daughter, who married Li Shengtian, the king of Khotan. This is the same person as the "Empress of Khotan" mentioned in manuscript P.2638. The *zaixiang* here refers to the prime minister of Khotan. In the missing text that preceded this passage, Cao Yijin probably sent greetings to his daughter

7 For images of the manuscript, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections), Vol. 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), p. 126. On the verso is a list of names, but since everything before and after the list is missing, it is impossible to know its function.

and asked after the prime minister's health. Thus the letter must have been written between 931 and 935, when Cao Yijin was called king.

The *loujiling* damask that he sent to Khotan has been discussed in the previous section. *Xiaoling* is a damask with a narrower loom width than *daling* 大綾. "Mohouluo brocade" must have been a brocade with a pattern depicting Mohouluo. *Jin* 錦 (brocade) is a processed textile with heavily worked raised patterns, made using a relatively complicated technology. The patterns are ornate and colourful, and the finished product has the feel of a weighty, high-quality, durable textile. It is one of the most valuable silk goods. Mohouluo 摩睺羅 is also called Mohouluo 磨睺羅 or Mohele 磨喝樂, all variations of the name Luohouluo 羅睺羅 (Skt. Rāhula), Śākyamuni's son, who later became a novice monk. Because Rāhula was the son of the Buddha, statues of Rāhula have been made and worshipped by people praying for a son on the double seventh festival ever since the Tang dynasty.[8] Historical records say that images of Rāhula were usually made of clay or wood. However, the image stitched in the brocade given by Cao Yijin and his wife to their daughter was made with unimaginable complexity and craftsmanship. Moreover, the message of this gift must have been the wish that she would soon give birth to a son. Coincidentally, we also have manuscript P.3111 recording a Khotanese princess newly planting a flowering tree on the 15th day of the 7th month of the *gengshen* year (960). The manuscript also mentions "ten Mohouluo".[9] Although we do not know what these Mohouluo were made of, this shows how popular such customs were in the regions of Dunhuang and Khotan. Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪 argues that the Khotanese princess in this document was the third daughter of the king of Khotan, who married Cao Yanlu of Dunhuang (see the inscription in Mogao Cave No. 61). Tan also speculates about her motivation in having such Mohouluo images made.[10]

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8 See Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, *Dunhuang minsu: Silu mingzhu chuan fengqing* 敦煌民俗 – 絲路明珠傳風情 (Dunhuang Folklore: Customs of the Pearl of the Silk Road) (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), pp. 244–246.

9 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Guanyu Dunhuang chutu Yutian wenxian de niandai ji qi xiangguan wenti" 關於敦煌出土于闐文獻的年代及其相關問題 (Dating the Khotanese Manuscripts Excavated at Dunhuang and Related Questions), originally published in Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心, ed., *Jinian Chen Yinque xiansheng danchen bainian xueshu lunwenji* 紀念陳寅恪先生誕辰百年學術論文集 (Academic Papers in Commemoration of Chen Yinque's 100th Birthday) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989); here I follow Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*), p. 89.

10 Tan Chanxue, *Dunhuang minsu: Silu mingzhu chuan fengqing*, p. 245.

1.3 *White Damask with Curly Grass Pattern*

This item is an artefact from a man's tomb discovered in a graveyard at Buzak in Khotan in 1984. According to the experts' on-site investigation, "It is 75 cm long and 56 cm wide, the latter being the loom width. It is made of white damask with a curly grass pattern …". It dates from the Five Dynasties or the beginning of the Song period. On one side of the piece, on the upper edge, is a design that looks like two rings made of thick rope tied together in the middle. Below this are some Chinese characters written in ink, saying, "A gift accompanying a letter sent from the Lady to her son, Prime Minister Li Wang'er 李旺兒". On the other side, along the edge are the Khotanese words *ḍī tsai syaṃ hīye*, which mean "belonging to Prime Minister Li" (Fig. 22.1).[11] Considering the presence of Chinese characters and the close relations between the king of Khotan and Dunhuang in the Five Dynasties and early Song periods, it is highly probable that this fabric came from Dunhuang. The relationship among the persons mentioned in the inscriptions is still not entirely clear, but it is likely that a certain noble lady from Khotan, who lived in Dunhuang, gave this cloth to her son (Prime Minister Li Wang'er). From the name Li Shengtian, the king of Khotan, we know that the royal family of Khotan had the Chinese surname Li in the 10th century, and we can speculate that Prime Minister Li was from the royal house.[12] Researchers presume that this piece of white silk was used as

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11 For an image of part the front and back sides, see Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu wenwu shiye guanliju 新疆維吾爾自治區文物事業管理局 et al., eds., *Xinjiang wenwu guji daguan* 新疆文物古跡大觀 (An Overview of Xinjiang Cultural Relics and Historic Sites) (Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1999), p. 99, Fig. 0230. For a study of textiles, see Zhao Feng 趙豐, Wang Le 王樂, Wan Fang 萬芳 and Li Meng 李甍, "Hetian Buzhake caiguanmu chutu de zhiwu yu fushi" 和田布札克彩棺墓出土的織物與服飾 (Textiles and Clothing Excavated from the Tombs at Buzak, Khotan), in Zhao Feng and Idris Abdurusul, eds., *Damo lianzhu: Huan Takelamagan sichou zhi lu fushi wenhua kaocha baogao* 大漠聯珠 – 環塔克拉瑪干絲綢之路服飾文化考察報告 (The String of Pearls in the Great Desert: Report of the Investigation of the Clothing Culture on the Silk Road around the Taklamakan) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2007), p. 94; Feng Zhao and Le Wang, "Textiles and Clothing Excavated from the Tombs of Buzak in Khotan", *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, III, 2009, p. 172, figs. 17–20, colour pl. 6. On the interpretation of the Khotanese text, see Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, *Kōtan shutsudo 8–9 seiki no kōtango sezoku bunsho ni kansuru oboegaki* コータン出土 8–9 世紀のコータン語世俗文書に関する覚え書き (Notes on Khotanese Secular Documents from the 8th–9th Centuries) (Kobe: Kōbe shi gaikokugo daigaku Gaikokugaku kenkyūjo, 2006), pp. 35–36 (transcribed and translated by Kumamoto Hiroshi 熊本裕).

12 Yoshida Yutaka speculates that this Li Wang'er was born to Li Shengtian, king of Khotan, and Cao Yijin's daughter. Yoshida asserts that Li Wang'er was Visa Sura, who succeeded Li Shengtian as king of Khotan, and was buried in the Buzak tombs. See Yutaka Yoshida, "Viśa′ Śūra's Corpse Discovered?" *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, 19 (Iranian and

a face cover.[13] The writing on it suggests that when it was originally sent from Dunhuang to Khotan it was used to wrap a gift, with the words on the edge indicating the sender and recipient.

A brocade-decorated silk fabric, excavated with this white damask, was a classic Liao style samite. This type of samite began to appear in Central China in the late Tang period, and was especially popular in the Five Dynasties and Northern Song. Hence it was manufactured in Central China. Apart from this item, the same grave also contained other textiles. Some silk goods were excavated from women's graves in the same cemetery in the 1970s and 1983, with craftsmanship akin to that employed in Central China during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, and ornamentation also following the Tang style.[14] Therefore we can speculate that quite a few of these items were high quality silk products that came to Khotan via Dunhuang. They were used in burials by members of the royal house.

Regretfully, apart from the tombs of Buzak, only a very few sites dating from the Five Dynasties and early Song have been discovered in the Khotan region, and there are no other writings or artefacts that can provide information about the silk goods sent from Dunhuang to Khotan in the Guiyijun period. However, the large quantity of manuscripts and silk paintings preserved in the Dunhuang library cave allow us to come to a greater understanding of the transmission of textiles from Khotan to Dunhuang, and we shall examine these in detail below.

1.4 *Crimson* mianling 緋綿綾 (*Damask Made of Spun Silk*), *Purple* mianling

Manuscript Дх.1265 + Дх.1457 in the Russian collection seems to be a draft of a letter from someone in Shazhou to the officer Zhang Lang 張郎 and others in Khotan. The characters are written rather sloppily, using many alternate variants. Moreover the bottom part of the paper is missing, which causes the meaning to be disconnected. The surviving part is as follows:[15]

Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Prods Oktor Skjærvø), 2005 (2009), pp. 233–238. However, this view is speculative and is yet to be proven.

13 Feng Zhao and Le Wang, "Textiles and Clothing Excavated from the Tombs of Buzak in Khotan", p. 172.

14 See Zhao Feng, Wang Le, Wan Fang and Li Meng, "Hetian Buzhake caiguanmu chutu de zhiwu yu fushi", pp. 90–99; Feng Zhao and Le Wang, "Textiles and Clothing Excavated from the Tombs of Buzak in Khotan", pp. 171–189.

15 For an image of the manuscript, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 8, p. 43.

> It is the first month of winter and it is gradually getting cold, I humbly [...]
> the officer Zhang Lang of Khotan and the military commandant [...]
> ten-thousand blessings on your house, within a few days [...]
> mother-in-law and step son in Shazhou named Yongqian, do not [...]
> worry, hope that you would consider the circumstances detailed below. Earlier [...]
> one bolt of crimson *mianling*, and one bolt of purple *mianling*. Zhang [...]
> received it or not. Don't bother sending me a reply(?) but do [...]
> mercury, yellow copper, pearls, four-fold folding screen dyed with purple gromwell, their [...]
> the officer, good assistant, area commander (*dutou* 都頭), do not let him [...].
> Now, because someone is going there, I will not use a mounted messenger [...]
> will not go into details. Sincerely, [...]

This letter records the comings and goings of an official whose status was below those belonging to the royal house. The silk goods sent from Shazhou consisted of one bolt of crimson *mianling* and one bolt of purple *mianling*. The historian Xu Zheng 徐錚 explains it clearly:

> For this type of *mianling*, the warp and weft should both be made of silk-floss threads. These so-called "silk floss threads" refer to silk threads that come from cocoons of inferior quality from which the threads cannot be extracted in the usual way. The filaments are therefore spun into fibres that can be used for weaving.

She also discusses Dunhuang manuscript P.4975 with the Shen 沈 family's inventory of gifts given and received, compiled on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the *xinwei* 辛未 year, which includes these three types of damask (i.e. crimson *mianling*, purple *mianling* and white *mianling*), as well as related artefacts discovered at Dunhuang.[16]

Apart from the Chinese manuscripts that contain detailed discussions of the types of silk transported to Khotan by a variety of means, there are also relevant records in other languages. The Tibetan P.t.1106r is a letter from "elder

16 Xu Zheng 徐錚, "Dunhuang sichou de pinzhong leibie" 敦煌絲綢的品種類別 (Varieties of Dunhuang Silk and their Classification), in Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yu sichou zhi lu* 敦煌絲綢與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang Silk and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), pp. 56–57.

brother, the emperor of Khotan" (i.e. Li Shengtian), to "younger brother in Shazhou, the *daṅ-re* (*täŋgri*, 'heavenly') *šaṅ-še* (*shangshu* 尚書, 'minister')" (i.e. Cao Yuanzhong). The letter mentions "a return gift of silk made in China in exchange for purchasing 50 …".[17] Although the document does not say what kind of silk it was, it clearly shows that there was a substantial amount of official trade.

The Khotanese manuscript P.2958 includes drafts of a number of letters. The sixth letter (lines 199–215) is from a person named Hva Pa-kyau, who calls himself the "prince of Śvahvāṃ (Shuofang 朔方)" to the Khotanese court. In reality, he was a Khotanese prince who had started out from Khotan on a tribute mission, heading for Shazhou and Shuofang on his way to Central China. However, he was not able to go to Shuofang because the route was obstructed, so he stopped at Dunhuang. The letter mentions that one of the envoys, Hvāṃ Capastaka (a prince), following the orders of the Khotanese court, traded 30 *jin* of jade with the Guiyijun authorities in exchange for 200 bolts of silk (*śaca*).[18] Among these, 150 were to be given to the Khotanese court and 50 to the queen mother Khī-vyaina. In the seventh letter (lines 216–277), Hva Pa-kyau once again mentioned Hvāṃ Capastaka's exchange of 20 *jin* of jade for 200 bolts of silk, adding that he hoped that the queen mother would be able to give him a bit more jade so he could exchange it for even more silk.[19]

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17 For an image of the manuscript, see Ariane Spanien and Yoshiro Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum*, II (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1979), pls. 446–447. For relevant research, see Géza Uray, "New Contributions to Tibetan Documents from the Post-Tibetan Tun-huang", in Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung, eds., *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Schlosse Hohenkammer – Munich 1985* (Munich: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), pp. 520–521; Rong Xinjiang and Zhu Lishuang 朱麗雙, "Yi zu fanying shi shiji Yutian yu Dunhuang guanxi de Zangwen wenshu yanjiu" 一組反映 10 世紀于闐與敦煌關係的藏文文書研究 (A Group of Tibetan Manuscripts Reflecting the Relations between Tenth Century Khotan and Dunhuang), *Xiyu lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 西域歷史語言研究所集刊 (Research Papers of the Institute of the History and Languages in the Western Regions), No. 5, 2012, pp. 101–102.

18 The Khotanese word *śaca* is the plural of *śaṃcī*. Harold W. Bailey says that this is a transliteration of the Chinese term *cansi* 蠶絲 (threads from a silkworm), which is borrowed to represent silk. See Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 394.

19 Harold W. Bailey, "Altun Khan", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. XXX, No. 1, 1967, pp. 97–98.

2 From Khotan to Dunhuang

Khotan was rather early among the kingdoms in the Western Regions to develop the technology of raising silkworms and reeling silk that spread from Central China. In the first half of the 7th century, the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) stayed in Khotan. In recording his observations, he noted down the following story of the introduction of sericulture to Khotan:

> Five or six *li* south-east of the capital city is the Mashe 麻射 Monastery, founded by the queen of a former king of this kingdom. Previously, the people in this kingdom knew nothing about sericulture. They had heard that it existed in the Eastern kingdom (i.e. China) so they sent envoys there to acquire it. At that time the ruler of the Eastern kingdom wanted to keep this a secret, and would not give it to them. He issued a strict order to the border guards not to allow mulberry or silkworms out of the empire. The King of Gostana then made a humble request for a bride from the Eastern kingdom. The [Chinese] ruler, wanting to be conciliatory toward the people living afar, granted his request. The King of Gostana sent an envoy to collect the new bride, instructing him to "tell the daughter of the king of the Eastern kingdom that we have never had silk or silkworms in our kingdom, so she should bring some with her to make her own clothes". When the daughter heard this, she secretly collected some mulberry seeds and silkworms and hid them in the stuffing of her hat. When they reached the border checkpoint, the guards searched everywhere, but they did not dare search the hat of the king's daughter. She then entered the kingdom of Gostana, stopping at the site where the Mashe Monastery would later be built. The rituals were prepared and she was welcomed into the palace. She left the seeds in this place. The next spring she planted the mulberry trees. When it was nearly time for the silkworms to start feeding, she picked the mulberry leaves and fed them to the silkworms. When the princess had first arrived, she was only able to give the silkworms other leaves to eat, but after a little while the mulberry trees grew so thick and lush that they cast a continuous stretch of shade. The queen then had a notice carved on stone saying that it was forbidden to harm or kill the silkworms; only when the moths had flown away could the cocoons be reeled. If anyone violated this regulation, the spirits would withdraw their blessings. Then she built this monastery in memory of the first groups of silkworms. There are several old, dry mulberry trees there, which are said to have been the original trees she planted. This is why

> nowadays no one in this kingdom kills silkworms and if anyone stealthily reels silk, he will not be allowed to raise silkworms for several years.[20]

According to the scholarship on the subject, Khotan had mastered the technology of raising silkworms and weaving silk by the 3rd century BCE at the latest.[21] Among the paintings on wooden panels discovered by M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) at the Tang dynasty site of Dandan Oilik is one depicting the princess bringing silk cocoons across the border (Fig. 22.2). Near the centre of the painting, to one side, is a loom, on top of which is the God of Silk, commonly worshipped in the Khotan region.[22] The same image can also be seen on other wooden panels excavated at some archaeological sites. The God of Silk is holding a shuttle in one hand, which clearly identifies him.[23] This image is not found at other sites in western China, perhaps because belief in this deity was particular to Khotan.

Xuanzang observed in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Great Tang Record of the Western Regions) that the Kingdom of Khotan "produces woolen rugs and fine felt, and spins and weaves all types of silk". The section on Khotan in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History) says that the people are ingenious in weaving on looms and skilled at spinning silk.[24] After experiencing growth in the course of the Tang period, Khotan's silk industry must have continued to develop further.

Based on the examination of Dunhuang manuscripts, we can say that most contact between the Shazhou Guiyijun and the kingdom of Khotan took place in the 10th century. Within this period, the earliest record of contact between the two regions is in manuscript S.4359, where there is a copy of a song entitled "Ye Jinmen, Kai Yutian" 謁金門·開于闐 (Paying Court at the Golden Gate; Opening Up Khotan) and the words are as follows:

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20 Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 1021–1022.

21 Yin Qing 殷晴, *Sichou zhi lu yu Xiyu jingji: Shi'er shiji qian Xinjiang kaifa shigao* 絲綢之路與西域經濟 – 十二世紀前新疆開發史稿 (The Silk Road and the Economy in the Western Regions: Preliminary History of the Development of Xinjiang before the Twelfth Century) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), pp. 162–168.

22 M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 259–260; pl. LXIII. For a colour illustration, see R. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984), fig. 66.

23 Joanna Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting", *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 23, No. 1–2, 1973, pp. 147–150; figs. 57 to 64.

24 *Xin Tangshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 221a, p. 6235.

> The route to Khotan is open, and there is an abundance of silk floss damask in every household.
> We present playful dragons and jade bowls for all the people to see.
> The minister attends the banquet for the guests; military expeditions and wars cease on the four borders,
> Wishing Alang a long life, and that Ganzhou will be free from disorder from now on.[25]

The minister mentioned in this song must have been Zhang Chengfeng 張承奉, who served as military commissioner of the Guiyijun from 901 to 903.[26] Manuscript P.4640 records the first visit to Dunhuang by the Khotan envoy Liang Mingming 梁明明 in the *xinyou* year (901).[27] From this record we can deduce that the song "Kai Khotan" was probably written in 901. It sings with the voice of a Dunhuang scholar praising Dunhuang's ruler for opening a route to the kingdom of Khotan, which initiated contact between the two kingdoms. They could now welcome envoys from Khotan, and envoys from Shazhou could also go there.

What deserves notice here is that to the people of Dunhuang the most direct result of opening relations between Khotan and Dunhuang was that "every household had an abundance of silk floss damask". That is, such high quality silk products as Khotanese *mianling* could flow into Dunhuang in large quantities, satisfying the population's appetite for silk. Although this song is not without poetic embellishment, it also records a historical fact. After this, a steady stream of Khotanese silk products flowed into Dunhuang.

2.1 *Purple Damask Jacket with Coiling Dragons*

Manuscript P.2704 records three sets of prayers and acts of donation by the military commissioner Cao Yijin in 933–934, in the first of which we read:

25 For the image of the manuscript, see *Ying cang Dunhuang wenxian* 英藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in British Collections), Vol. 6 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1992), p. 43; for a transcription of the text, see Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*), p. 85.

26 Rong Xinjiang, "Shazhou Guiyijun liren jiedushi chenghao yanjiu" 沙州歸義軍歷任節度使稱號研究 (Study of the Appellations of Successive Guiyijun Military Commissioners in Shazhou), in Zhongguo Dunhuang Tulufanxue xuehui 中國敦煌吐魯番學學會, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufanxue yanjiu lunwenji* 敦煌吐魯番學研究論文集 (Research Papers in Dunhuang and Turfan Studies) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 1990), pp. 787–790.

27 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai sekichō kenkyū*, p. 610.

> One purple damask jacket with coiling dragons, one red "palace" brocade warmer, one *daziling* 大紫綾 sleeveless vest. (The jacket was obtained as an exchange gift from the prime minister of Khotan). [...] The above have been donated to the monastic community.[28]

This text shows that among the high quality silk goods donated to the monastic community by Cao Yijin, military commissioner of the Guiyijun, the first on the list was "a purple damask jacket with coiling dragons", obtained from the prime minister of Khotan as an exchange gift. The "Dedication of Merit", which follows the list, contains the following prayer: "May the envoys to the Eastern Court soon be able to bow before the heavenly countenance; may the envoys from Khotan come and go without obstruction". This prayer shows that at that time there were envoys from Khotan stopping in Shazhou, and that the Khotanese prime minister was probably at the head of the envoys. The prime minister must have brought the "Purple damask jacket with coiling dragons" with him from Khotan. Although it was forbidden in the Tang realm to wear silk clothing decorated with coiling dragons,[29] it is unclear whether this law was in force in Khotan or whether Tang laws were still in effect in Khotan during the Five Dynasties period. According to the research of the historian Wang Le 王樂, three inventories of a temple in Shazhou list "embroidered coiling dragon parasols" 繡盤龍傘.[30] Examining the original manuscripts, we find that manuscript S.1642 (dated 942) lists among the devotional objects (lines 9–10) "one parasol with coiling dragons embroidered on a dark background, complete with ribs and stretchers, a *mianling* case, and a skirt belt";[31] manuscript S.1774 (dated 942) records (lines 20–21) "one parasol with coiling dragons embroidered on a dark background, complete with a white *mianling* case and a skirt waistband";[32] and manuscript S.1776 (dated 958) includes (lines 16–17) "one parasol with coiling dragons embroidered on a dark background, complete

28 For the image of the manuscript, see *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Dunhuang and Western Regions Manuscripts in French Collections), Vol. 17 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), p. 314; for a transcription of the text, see Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, *Yutian shi congkao* (*zengding ben*), p. 86.

29 Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, "Jin yong zhu, yu, jin, xiu zhao" 禁用珠玉錦繡詔 (Edict Prohibiting the Use of Pearls, Jade, Brocade and Silk Embroidery), in *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 26 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 300.

30 Wang Le 王樂, "Dunhuang sichou de tu'an leixing" 敦煌絲綢的圖案類型 (Typology of Silk Patterns from Dunhuang), in Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 87.

31 Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 et al., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu* 敦煌社會經濟文獻真蹟釋錄 (Texts on Social and Economic History among the Dunhuang Manuscripts), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1990), p. 19.

32 Tang Geng'ou et al., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, Vol. 3, p. 18.

with a damask case and a skirt waistband".[33] According to Tang Geng'ou's study, these three manuscripts are all inventories of permanent objects from a certain monastery. The first two are from the same year, thus one of them is probably the original and the other a copy; and the last is from an inventory list compiled some years later.[34] For this reason, the three "parasols with coiling dragons embroidered on dark backgrounds" are actually three records of the same item. One additional point is that because the parasols embroidered with coiling dragons are recorded among the devotional objects belonging to a nunnery, these were probably considered holy objects,[35] rather than items that ordinary people could own or use. Wang Le also notes that the Uighur king depicted on the eastern wall of Cave 409 at Mogao is wearing a long robe with a coiling dragon pattern (Fig. 22.3).[36] Tan Chanxue calls this type of coiling dragon pattern *tuanlong* 團龍 (circular dragons), pointing out that this design is no different from that on the imperial robes of Tang emperors. Only a king (or emperor) was allowed to wear it, whereas Uighur officials and nobles used circular floral designs as decorations.[37] In any case, the purple damask jacket with the coiling dragon pattern brought by the Khotanese prime minister was not permitted for common people to wear. It was probably the type of item that the king of Khotan bestowed as a gift, and was extremely valuable. The Khotanese prime minister brought it with him to Shazhou in order to exchange it with the Guiyijun military commissioner for some other valuable object. Even the military commissioner did not dare wear this kind of robe, therefore he presented it to the Shazhou *saṃgha* and it became a holy object.

2.2 *Hu Brocade Waistband for a Skirt and Fine Gancheng Cotton*

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts in Russia is a group of drafts of letters written by Khotanese people living in Dunhuang to be sent to Khotan. They were dated using the Khotanese Tianshou 天壽 reign title. Two of the letters

33 Tang Geng'ou et al., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, Vol. 3, p. 22.

34 Tang Geng'ou et al., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, Vol. 3, pp. 18, 21 and 25.

35 Regarding the meaning of *gongyangju* 供養具 (votive objects), see Rong Xinjiang, "Zailun Dunhuang cangjingdong de baozang: Sanjie si yu cangjingdong" 再論敦煌藏經洞的寶藏 – 三界寺與藏經洞 (Further Discussion on the Treasures of Dunhuang's Library Cave: The Sanjie Monastery and the Library Cave), in Zheng Binglin 鄭炳林, ed., *Dunhuang fojiao yishu wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 敦煌佛教藝術文化國際學術研討會論文集 (Papers from the International Academic Conference on the Buddhist Art and Culture of Dunhuang) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2002), pp. 14–29.

36 Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 93.

37 Tan Chanxue 譚蟬雪, ed., *Dunhuang shiku quanji: Fushi huajuan* 敦煌石窟全集·服飾畫卷 (Complete Collection of Dunhuang Caves: Clothing and Ornaments) (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005), pp. 208–209 and 211, Figs. 196–197.

were written by female servants waiting on the Khotanese princess and crown prince at Dunhuang. The second letter requests some goods to be sent from Khotan, and this is the one that we shall concentrate on here.

Manuscript Дх.2148(1) from the 9th month of the 2nd year of the Khotanese Tianshou reign period (964) says the following:

> [From] your humble maidservants Yuanniang 員娘 and Youding 祐定. As we, Yuanniang and Youding, are separated [from you] by mountain passes and long distances, far away beyond the desert road, we cannot respectfully wait on you at the palace. We are unable to bear your extreme kindness. Your humble maidservants Yuanniang and You[ding], ever since the Incarnate Buddha Emperor departed (i.e. Li Shengtian), have attended the princess and the crown prince morning and night, and have not left their sides. We eagerly anticipate that the princess and others will venture to say a good word for us in front of the emperor's countenance, so that your humble maidservants Yuanniang and Youding will not be punished for their offenses. Herewith, we wish you well in all your activities. We respectfully submit this letter to you.
>
> The 9th month of the 2nd year of Tianshou (964), your humble maidservants Yuanniang and Youding.

The second letter from 964, in manuscript Дх.2148(2) + Дх.6069(1), reads as follows:[38]

> Your humble servant Youding writes to Princess Tiannü: Youding has long prostrated herself in serving the princess, who has been so generous to her on numerous occasions. When will she ever be able to repay it? Now we need one skirt waistband made from *hu* brocade (*hujin* 胡錦). On the next trip we sincerely hope and request that the Emperor send an emissary with such a skirt waistband. In addition, there is a small matter, which we explain to you and the prime minister in the hope that he will grant our request.
>
> Because the cave construction at Dang stream 宕泉 has not yet been completed, we sincerely hope that the princess and prime minister will send 10 bolts, and another 5 bolts, of plain silk to the miller to make a

38 English translation after Valerie Hansen, "The Tribute Trade with Khotan in Light of Materials Found at the Dunhuang Library Cave", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 19, 2005, Iranian and Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Prods Oktor Skjærvø, p. 42.

> sieve and to buy it and bring it to the workmen living near the caves. In addition, send coloured pigments, iron powder, and dye for thread to sew an embroidered image for the Sanjie Monastery 三界寺 for project-related expenses.
>
> Our lady is growing old, and often suffers from cold vapours; perhaps when an emissary comes he can bring two or three *sheng* 升 (four to six litres) of refined warming medicine.
>
> Also, send 30 or 50 bolts of fine Gancheng 紺城 cotton, which will also be used for cave-related expenses.
>
> Also, 20 or 30 *jin* 斤 (12–15 kilograms) of red copper.
>
> We also ask Master Prime Minister: Chouzi 丑子 and Chouer 丑兒 want jade-rope belts, so send two. Also 30–40 good arrows, send them east as well.[39]

Yuanniang and Youding were not ordinary servants but had some social status. They were responsible for looking after the young princess and the crown prince who lived in Dunhuang. The first letter asks after a Khotanese "princess". The second is from Youding asking the Princess Tiannü to request that the Khotanese emperor send them a *hu* brocade skirt waistband. She also asks the princess and the minister to send 10 bolts and 5 bolts of plain silk, coloured pigments, iron powder, 30–50 bolts of fine Gancheng cotton; and 20–30 *jin* of red copper; for use in building a cave at Dangquan (i.e. Mogao). In addition, she asks for dye for the thread to embroider images for the Sanjie Monastery, some refined warming medicine for a certain lady, some leather and jade-rope belts for Chouzi and Chouer, and finally 30–40 good arrows. Asking for so many high quality things in such large quantities in one letter, Youding must have been requesting them on behalf of the Khotanese princess and the crown prince in Dunhuang.

39 For an image of the manuscript, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 8, pp. 144–145. For the transcription of the text, see Shi Pingting 施萍婷, "E cang Dunhuang wenxian jingyan lu zhi yi" 俄藏敦煌文獻經眼錄之一 (Dunhuang Manuscripts Examined in Russia, Part 1), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 2, 1996, p. 77; also Shi Pingting, "E cang Dunhuang wenxian jingyan lu (er)" 俄藏敦煌文獻經眼錄（二） (Dunhuang Manuscripts Examined in Russia, Part 2), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 2, 1997, pp. 314 and 323–324; Li Zhengyu 李正宇, "E cang Zhongguo xibei wenwu jingyan ji" 俄藏中國西北文物經眼記 (Notes on Artefacts from North-west China Examined in Russia), *Dunhuang yanjiu*, No. 3, 1996, pp. 39–42; Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Shi shiji Yutianguo de Tianshou nianhao ji qi xiangguan wenti", pp. 292–293. V. Hansen, "The Tribute Trade with Khotan in Light of Materials Found at the Dunhuang Library Cave". The translation of the second letter into English, with the explanation, is extremely helpful for understanding its meaning.

We are concerned here with the silk objects, among which is the *hu* brocade skirt waistband. As noted above, brocade was a comparatively valuable, high-quality textile made with complex craftsmanship, which often had an abundance of patterns. During the Tang period, the word *hu* usually referred to people of Iranian descent. The term *hu* brocade in the Tang usually meant Persian or, more frequently, Sogdian brocade. This was a weft brocade with a diagonal design, with most patterns having a clear foreign flavour. For example, the British Museum and the Musée Guimet, Paris, both have in their collections a sutra wrapper 經帙 (MAS.858 and EO 1199), the borders of which are made of samite with confronting lions inside a pearl roundel.[40] Among the Tang brocades excavated in Turfan and Dulan 都蘭, there are some pieces with designs showing a pair of animals facing each other inside such a pearl roundel. All of these could be called "*hu* brocade". In the Five Dynasties and beginning of the Song period, the people and culture of Khotan were of Iranian origin, thus the brocade made in Khotan can also be called "*hu* brocade". The entry on Khotan in the "Chapter on Foreign Kingdoms" (*Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳) of the *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song Dynasty) records a tribute embassy bringing *hu* brocade from Khotan in the 2nd year of the Jianlong 建隆 reign period (961) of the Northern Song.[41] Researchers think that this brocade was probably made in Khotan.[42] At the same time, because Khotan was located on the main route of the Silk Road, some Sogdian brocade may have come in from the East or the West. For these reasons, this *hu* brocade may have been made in Khotan, though it could also have been Sogdian brocade brought in from elsewhere. The *hu* brocade that Youding wanted to use for the skirt waistband must have been a Western Regions pattern that the Khotanese people liked.

"Fine Gancheng cotton" 紺城細緤 is another textile mentioned in the letter that is worth discussing. The toponym Gan 紺 (of Gancheng, i.e. Gan city) also occurs in Gao Juhui's 高居誨 account of his journey as an envoy to Khotan in the 3rd year of the Tianfu 天福 reign period (938) in the Later Jin 後晉 dynasty. There he says,

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40 Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yu sichou zhi lu*, pp. 67–68 and 94. For an image, see Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yishu quanji: Ying cang juan* 敦煌絲綢藝術全集·英藏卷 (A Complete Collection of Dunhuang Silk Art: The British Collection) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2007), p. 94; Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yishu quanji: Fa cang juan* 敦煌絲綢藝術全集·法藏卷 (A Complete Collection of Dunhuang Silk Art: The French Collection) (Shanghai: Donghua daxue chubanshe, 2010), pp. 136–137.

41 "Waiguo zhuan" 外國傳 (Chapter on Foreign Kingdoms), entry on Khotan, in *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song Dynasty), *juan* 490 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), p. 14106.

42 Zhao Feng, ed., *Dunhuang sichou yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 219.

> [From the Zhongyun 眾雲 border] we headed further west and crossed the Xian River 陷河 (Swampy river); we had to fell tamarisks and put those into the water to cross, otherwise we would have sunk. Further west we reached Gan 紺 prefecture, which was under Khotanese rule. It is south-west of Shazhou, said to be 9,500 *li* from the capital. We continued for two more days, first reaching Anjunzhou 安軍州 and then Khotan.[43]

Scholars now tend to think Gan prefecture refers to Kancheng 坎城, 300 *li* to the east of Khotan. In Khotanese this place is written *Kaṃdakä bisā kaṃtha* (Staël-Holstein Scroll).[44] The character *die* 緤 is a non-standard way of writing *die* 氎, which has two meanings; one is cotton cloth and the other is wool. Khotan produced both, hence it is difficult to determine which one is meant here. The *Da Tang xiyu ji* says, "The people of Khotan seldomly dressed in wool or fur cloaks; they usually wore coarse silk or white cotton".[45] From this it seems that the local people preferred to wear white cotton. If "fine Gancheng cotton" refers to the refined, delicate cotton unique to Kancheng, it was clearly seen in Dunhuang as a bright, beautiful material for making clothing. It also makes sense to see it as a delicate wool fabric unique to Kancheng.[46]

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43 "Siyi fulu" 四夷附錄 (The Four Barbarians: Supplement), *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (New History of the Five Dynasties), *juan* 74 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), pp. 917–918.

44 Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, "Chūun zoku no gachō no shozaichi ni tsuite" 仲雲族の牙帳の所在地について (On the Location of the Tent-camp of the Zhongyun People), in *Suzuki Shun kyōju kanreki kinen Tōyō shi ronsō* 鈴木俊教授還暦紀念東洋史論叢 (Papers on Oriental History in Celebration of Prof. Suzuki Shun's 60th Birthday) (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1964); here we follow Enoki Kazuo, *Enoki Kazuo chosakushū* 榎一雄著作集 (The Collected Works of Enoki Kazuo), Vol. 1, (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1992), p. 160, n8; Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊, "Kō Kyokai no Uten kikō ni tsuite" 高居誨の于闐紀行について (On Gao Juhui's Journey to Khotan), *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋學術研究 (Academic Research on Oriental Studies), Vol. 16, No. 4, 1977; later the title was changed to "Kō Kyokai no Uten-koku kikō" 高居誨の于闐國紀行 (Gao Juhui's Journey to the Kingdom of Khotan), and included in Nagasawa Kazutoshi, *Shirukurōdo shi kenkyū* シルクロード史研究 (Studies in the History of the Silk Road) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1979); here we follow Changze Hejun [Nagasawa Kazutoshi] 長澤和俊, ed., *Sichou zhi lu shi yanjiu* 絲綢之路史研究 (Studies on the History of the Silk Road), trans. by Zhong Meizhu 鐘美珠 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1990), pp. 590–591.

45 Ji Xianlin et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, p. 1001.

46 Cf. Dunhuang manuscript S.617, entitled "Suwu yaoming lin" 俗務要名林 (Forest of Important Words used in Daily Routines), says, "氎: a cloth made of fine hair, pronounced *tie*". Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Ying cang Dunhuang shehui lishi wenxian shilu* 英藏敦煌社會歷史文獻釋錄 (Annotated Transcription of the Dunhuang Manuscripts concerning Social History Preserved in Britain), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2003), p. 370.

2.3 Dazi boling 大紫帛綾 (*Purple Damask with a Wider Loom Width*)

The verso of Dunhuang manuscript Jinyi 061F from the collection of the Tianjin Art Museum contains a contract for hiring a camel in the *renwu* year (982?):

> This contract is made on the 26th day of the 1st month of the *renwu* year by the officer (*yaya* 押衙) Su Yongjin 蘇永進, who is about to go to Khotan as an envoy, but lacks a riding animal; therefore, he hires from the Area Commander (*dutou* 都頭) Deng Zailian 鄧栽連 a six-year old male camel at the price of one bolt of *dazi boling*.
>
> This agreement was made by officer Su Yongjin.[47]

Experts on contracts do not agree about the date of this manuscript. Sha Zhi 沙知 says that *renwu* corresponds to 922,[48] but Ikeda On 池田温 argues that it should be 982.[49] Here we temporarily follow the latter, and date it 982. From the layout of the text, we can see that this is not the original contract, but a type of writing practice. Although the text is not complete, most of the contents are there. It says that an officer in the Guiyijun military command named Su Yongjin was about to go as an envoy to Khotan, but he lacked a camel to ride, so he went to the *dutou*, Deng Zailian, and rented a six-year-old camel. After he returned from Khotan, he was to pay back the price of one bolt of *dazi boling* for the camel. Other credit or hire contracts reveal that borrowers usually repaid lenders on their return by giving them an expensive item brought back from the distant regions. Otherwise, lenders would not make any profit.[50] Thus it is clear that the bolt of *dazi boling* Su Yongjin promised him was brought back from Khotan. It was probably produced in Khotan, and well-known in Dunhuang. The term for *boling* 帛綾 here refers to *mianling* 綿綾, i.e. silk floss damask (see above).

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47 *Tianjin yishu bowugun cang Dunhuang wenxian* 天津藝術博物館藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in the Tianjin Art Museum), Vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), pp. 309 and 311. For the text, see Sha Zhi 沙知, *Dunhuang qiyue wenshu jijiao* 敦煌契約文書輯校 (Contracts Found in Dunhuang, Transcribed and Edited) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), p. 307 (based on Shi Pingting's 施萍亭 transcription, No. 4402v); Tatsuro Yamamoto et al., *Tun-huang and Turfan documents Concerning Social and Economic History, Supplement* (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 2001), (A), p. 57.

48 Sha Zhi, *Dunhuang qiyue wenshu jijiao*, p. 307.

49 Tatsuro Yamamoto and On Ikeda, *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents concerning Social and Economic History*, Supplement, p. 57.

50 Trombert, *Le crédit à Dunhuang: Vie matérielle et société en Chine médiévale*, pp. 120 and 129–130.

2.4 *Raw Silk* (shengjuan 生絹), *Processed Silk* (shujuan 熟絹) *and Crimson Fine Silk* (fei mianchou 緋綿綢)

Manuscript Дх.2143 is a contract of the officer Suo Shengquan 索勝全 for the exchange of a horse for silk, dated the 16th day of the 6th month of the *yiwei* year (995):

> On the 6th day of the 6th month of the *yiwei* year (995), officer Suo Shengquan, who is to go on a mission to Khotan, has entered into this contract with officer Zhai 翟 for the exchange of one large stallion. On the day of his return from the mission, he will repay [Zhai] with one bolt of raw silk and one bolt of processed silk, each 3 *zhang* 7 *chi* long. The width of the raw silk is 2 *chi* and that of the processed silk is 1 *chi* 9 *cun*. He will also pay one bolt of crimson fine silk. If [Suo Shengquan] runs into trouble along the way and is unsuccessful, on the day of the mission's return, [Zhai] shall obtain from the guarantors, i.e. [Suo's] son Shengying 勝盈 and his stepson, officer Zhangqian 長遷, the one bolt of raw silk, one bolt of processed silk and one bolt of crimson fine silk as a settlement. Fearing that people later on will not believe it, he makes this contract, to be relied on later.
>
> Person exchanging the horse, Officer Suo Shengquan 索勝全 (signature)
> Guarantor, his son Shengying 勝盈 (signature)
> Guarantor, his son Officer Zhangqian 長千(遷) (signature)
> Witness, Suo Yanzi 索衍子 (signature)
> Witness, Mu Fuan 穆富安 (signature)
> Witness, Wang Huichang 王會長, *falü* 法律 of the [Ling]tu Monastery [靈] 圖寺
> Witness, Officer Li Aduonu 李阿朵奴.[51]

The Cao family's rule over the Guiyijun began in 914, and the latest dated manuscript is from 1002. Thus the *yiwei* year of this contract could be either 935 or 995. When Lev Nikolaevich Menshikov initially compiled the catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts in Russia, both dates were a possibility.[52] Before the

51 For an image of the manuscript, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, Vol. 9 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), p. 45. For the transcription and images, see Tatsuro Yamamoto et al., *Tun-huang and Turfan documents Concerning Social and Economic History: Supplement* (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 2001), (A), p. 49; (B), p. 45.

52 Lev Nikolaevich Menshikov, *Opisanie kitaĭskikh rukopiseĭ Dun'khuanskogo fonda Instituta narodov Azii* (Catalogue of Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Institute of

publication of the facsimile images of the manuscripts, scholars could only see the first and last lines of the manuscript in Menshikov's catalogue, and many thought it was dated 935.[53] After the images of the entire manuscript were published, Ikeda On, who studied the manuscripts and prepared a transcription, ascertained that it was dated 995.[54] Here I have followed his view.

As was the case with Su Yongjin's contract for the hire of a camel, officer Suo Shengquan of the Guiyijun, went to his colleague, officer Zhai 翟, to obtain a horse before his departure on a mission to Khotan. After his return from Khotan, he was to pay Zhai a bolt of raw silk, a bolt of processed silk and a bolt of fine crimson silk. Raw silk is a plain weave silk that has not been degummed. Conversely, processed silk is a plain silk that has been through the degumming process. *Chou* 紬 is a coarse silk, whereas *fei mianchou* 緋綿紬 is a silk made of silk floss threads.

Although *juan* and *chou* silks were available in Dunhuang, those that Suo Shengquan intended to bring back were most likely from Khotan. During the 10th century, envoys to other kingdoms often engaged in commerce, obtaining local specialties and valuable items unique to those places, and bringing them back to sell, so as to profit from the price difference. Suo Shengquan's contract seems to reveal that one of the important aims of Dunhuang envoys in going on missions to Khotan was to obtain comparatively high quality silk from Khotan and sell it in Shazhou. This suggests that the raw silk, processed silk and crimson fine silk in Khotan was of a higher quality than those produced in Shazhou.

The Dunhuang manuscripts, especially those in Russia, which were the latest to be published, contain a number of valuable, hitherto unknown sources related to the exchange of material culture between Khotan and Dunhuang. This article combines this material with already known manuscripts and artefacts, focusing primarily on exchanges of silk goods between Dunhuang and Khotan. Because at this time relations between the kingdom of Khotan and the Shazhou Guiyijun government were essentially on equal footing,

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Peoples of Asia, Soviet Academy of Sciences), Vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), pp. 529–530; Chinese translation: Meng Liefu 孟列夫, *E cang Dunhuang Hanwen xiejuan xulu* 俄藏敦煌漢文寫卷敘錄 (Description of Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang in Russia), Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), pp. 495–496.

53 Tatsuro Yamamoto and On Ikeda, *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents concerning Social and Economic History*, III, Contracts (Tokyo: Toyo bunko, 1987), p. 108; Rong Xinjiang, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu* 歸義軍史研究 (The History of the Guiyijun) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), p. 20; Shi Pingting 施萍婷, "E cang Dunhuang wenjian jingyan lu (er)", pp. 313–314; Sha Zhi, *Dunhuang qiyue wenshu jijiao*, p. 199.

54 Tatsuro Yamamoto and On Ikeda, *Tun-huang and Turfan Documents concerning Social and Economic History, Supplement* (A), p. 49.

neither presented silk goods as tribute to the other. Some people were sending presents to relatives, some were requesting relatives or close associates to obtain items for them, some were exchanging commodities of the same value and price, and some were simple purchases. From these manuscripts, which survived by accident, it is clear that there was an uninterrupted exchange of these silk goods during the course of the entire 10th century, and that goods travelled in both directions. It is worth noting that the exchange between these two states was not limited to silk goods but also included other materials for which there was a demand in each location. Because of space limitations, these other materials have not been discussed here, but it is likely that there was some connection between commodities that were exchanged as part of the same transaction. These questions will have to be part of a future investigation.

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FIGURE 22.1 White damask with a curly grass pattern, from the graveyard at Buzak, near Khotan

FIGURE 22.2 Painting on a wooden panel found at Dandan Oilik near Khotan, depicting the princess taking silkworms across the border and the "God of Silk"

FIGURE 22.3 Image on the eastern wall of Cave No. 409 at Mogao of a Uighur king, wearing a long robe with a coiling dragon design while making an offering

PART 5

The Transmission of the Three Foreign Religions

CHAPTER 23

The Colophon of the Manuscript of the *Golden Light Sutra* Excavated in Turfan and the Transmission of Zoroastrianism to Gaochang

Translated by Li Huawei 李華偉

In January 1965, a farmer found a pottery jar on the lower level of an abandoned Buddhist stūpa near the southern suburbs of Anjanlik (also known as the ruins of Yingsha 英沙, or the city of Anle 安樂) in Turfan 吐魯番. It contained a number of texts, including the "Biography of Sun Quan" 孫權 from the *Wushu* 吳書 (History of the Wu Kingdom) part of the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), the "Biography of Zang Hong" 臧洪 in the *Weishu* 魏書 (History of the Wei Kingdom) part of the *Sanguo zhi*, the *Hanshu boyi* 漢書駁議 (Refutation of the *Hanshu*), and *juan* 2 of the *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden Light Sutra), as well as Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures in the pothi form and wooden slips with Old Uighur(?) writing on them. The manuscripts and artefacts were handed over to museum staff and entered into the collection of the Xinjiang Museum.

The main topic of this article is the colophon of the *Golden Light Sutra*, which reads as follows:

1 《金光明經》卷第二 凡五千四百卅三言
2 庚午歲八月十三日，於高昌城東胡天南太后祠下，為索將軍佛子妻息合家，寫此
3《金光明》一部，斷手訖竟。筆墨大好，書者手拙，具字而已。後有聰叡攬
4 采之者，貫其懊義，庶成佛道。

1 The *Golden Light Sutra*, *juan* 2 5,433 characters in total
2 On the 13th day of the 8th month of the *gengwu* year, one copy of the *Golden Light Sutra* was made beneath the Empress Dowager's shrine 太后祠 east of the city of Gaochang 高昌 and south of Hutian 胡天, for the lay disciple General Suo 索 and his family.
3 The ink and brush are excellent, but my calligraphy is clumsy. I have simply copied the words. In the future, if it falls into the hands of

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> someone bright and intelligent, he will fully comprehend its profound meaning, and hopefully attain the Way of the Buddha.[1]

Transcribing this text was one of the accomplishments of the Turfan documents reading group I ran in 1995 in the Department of History at Peking University. Based on transcriptions done by previous scholars, we deciphered several new characters, with Shi Rui 史睿 making a particularly significant contribution. In recent years, Wang Ding 王丁 summarised the transcriptions and interpretations of former scholars, especially Li Yuchun 李遇春, Wang Su 王素 and Zhang Guangda 張廣達, and contributed to a more accurate reading by deciphering the character *lan* 攬.[2] In the past, this character had not been deciphered, but looking at the images of the manuscript, his interpretation is persuasive. The only part that does not accord with our interpretation is his reading of the character *shu* 庶 as *ji* 疾 (quickly) in which he follows former scholars.

This paper primarily discusses two controversial issues surrounding this colophon.

1 The *gengwu* Year Is 430 CE

Because of the miscellaneous nature of this collection of manuscripts, no comprehensive report was published immediately after its discovery, though some of the important materials were subsequently published by individual

1 For the image, see Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館, *Xinjiang Weiwuer zizhiqu bowuguan* 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館 (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Museum), *Zhongguo bowuguan congshu* 中國博物館叢書 (Museums of China Series), No. 9 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), Fig. 84.

2 See Wang Ding 王丁, "Nan Taihou kao: Tulufan chutu Bei Liang xieben Jin guangming jing tiji yu gudai Gaochang ji qi pilin diqu de Nana xinyang yu Xianjiao yicun" 南太后考 – 吐魯番出土北涼寫本《金光明經》題記與古代高昌及其毗鄰地區的那那信仰與祆教遺存 (Study of the Nan Taihou: The Colophon to the Northern Liang Manuscript of the Golden Light Sutra from Turfan, and the Remnants of the Cult of Nana and the Zoroastrian Religion in Ancient Gaochang and Adjacent Areas), in Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, Hua Lan 華瀾 [Alain Arrault] and Zhang Zhiqing 張志清, eds., *Suteren zai Zhongguo: Lishi, kaogu, yuyan de xin tansuo* 粟特人在中國：歷史、考古、語言的新探索 (Sogdians in China: New Research on History, Archaeology and Language), *Faguo hanxue* 法國漢學 (Sinologie française), Vol. 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), p. 431; also, Wang Ding, "Tulufan Anjialeke chutu Beiliang xieben *Jin guangming jing* ji qi tiji yanjiu" 吐魯番安伽勒克出土北涼寫本《金光明經》及其題記研究 (A Study of the Northern Liang Manuscript of the *Golden Light Sutra* Excavated at Anjanlik in Turfan, and its Colophon), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 9, 2006, p. 40.

experts. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978) was first to author in 1972 an article on the "Biography of Sun Quan", making the manuscript known to academic circles at home and abroad relatively early.[3] Meanwhile, a colour photograph of *juan* 2 of the *Golden Light Sutra* was included in an exhibition catalogue published in a variety of foreign languages,[4] attracting the attention of some overseas scholars. In an article on the song titled "Muhuge" 穆護歌, Professor Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤 (1917–2018) pointed out that the term "Hutian" in the above colophon referred to either the deity Hutian or the Hutian shrine. He also compared this manuscript with the Eastern Jin 東晉 manuscript of the "Biography of Sun Quan" excavated in the same stūpa, and concluded that the *gengwu* year should be identified as 430 CE.[5]

However, for a long time, Professor Rao Zongyi's article remained unknown to scholars in mainland China. Instead, these scholars relied on an article co-authored by the Turfan Manuscripts Organising Team and the Xinjiang Museum, which contained an incomplete, and in fact inaccurate, transcription *cheng nan taihou ci xia Hutian* 城南太后祠下胡天,[6] which naturally affected Chinese scholars' understanding of the colophon's original meaning.

Regarding the date of the colophon, most people accepted Rao Zongyi's opinion, placing it in the year 430. Both Ikeda On 池田温, who systematically

3 Guo Moruo 郭沫若, "Xinjiang xin chutu de Jin ren xieben *Sanguo zhi* canjuan" 新疆新出土的晉人寫本《三國志》殘卷 (Fragment of a Jin Manuscript of the *History of the Three Kingdoms* Excavated Recently in Xinjiang), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 8, 1972, pp. 2–6.

4 I used the Japanese edition of *Shin Chūgoku no shutsudo bunbutsu* 新中国の出土文物 (Historical Relics Unearthed in New China) (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), pl. 122, held by the Peking University Library.

5 Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤, "Muhuge kao: Jianlun Huoxianjiao, Monijiao ru Hua zhi zaoqi shiliao ji qi dui wenxue, yinyue, huihua zhi yingxiang" 穆護歌考 – 兼論火祆教、摩尼教入華之早期史料及其對文學、音樂、繪畫之影響 (A Study of Muhuge: A Discussion of Early Historical Sources on the Introduction of Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism into China and their Influence on Literature, Music and Painting), originally published in Xianggang Dagongbao 香港大公報, ed., *Dagongbao zai Gang fukan sa zhounian jinian wenji* 大公報在港復刊卅周年紀念文集 (Commemorative Collection of Articles Reprinted from the *Ta Kung Pao* in Hong Kong from the Past 30 Years) (Hong Kong: Xianggang Dagongbao, 1978); here I rely on Rao Zongyi, *Xuantang jilin: Shilin* 選堂集林: 史林 (Collected Essays of Xuantang: History), Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 480.

6 Tulufan wenshu zhengli xiaozu 吐魯番文書整理小組 and Xinjiang bowuguan 新疆博物館, "Tulufan Jin-Tang muzang chutu wenshu gaishu" 吐魯番晉 – 唐墓葬出土文書概述 (An Overview of Texts Excavated in Turfan Tombs from the Jin through the Tang Dynasties), *Wenwu*, No. 3, 1977, p. 26. See Wang Su 王素, "Gaochang huoxianjiao lungao" 高昌火祆教論稿 (Preliminary Discussion of Zoroastrianism in Gaochang), *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (Historical Studies), No. 3, 1986, p. 168.

examined the colophons of Dunhuang 敦煌 and Turfan manuscripts,[7] and Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, who wrote an article on the spread of Zoroastrianism, agreed with Rao Zongyi.[8] I too adopted this date when I wrote about the history and culture of Turfan in 1987.[9] Although the limited format of the latter article did not allow me to list my reasons, my thinking at the time was, on the one hand, to follow Rao Zongyi's judgment based on the calligraphy in the colophon, and on the other, to follow the conclusion that Wang Su drew from his research on the Gaochang commandery and the manuscripts from the Gaochang kingdom: that Buddhist temples in the Gaochang region were called "shrines" (*ci* 祠) before 460 and "temples" or "monasteries" (*si* 寺) after that date.[10] Therefore, this text must be dated before 460, i.e. 430.

In 1989, Li Yuchun of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region Museum published the first work that gave a relatively detailed introduction to the 1965 discovery of these manuscripts in Anjanlik. His article also provides the full text of manuscript 65TIN029 with the colophon of the *Golden Light Sutra*. Regarding the date of the *gengwu* year in the colophon, Li Yuchun argued for 490. His reasoning was that Gaochang could not have had an Empress Dowager's shrine in 430 because it was not yet a kingdom. Only in the Northern Liang 北涼, when Juqu Anzhou 且渠安周 (d. 460) was on the throne, could it have had either an Empress Dowager or an Empress Dowager's shrine serving as the ancestral shrine of the royal house in the capital.[11]

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7 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūrokukō* 中国古代写本識語集録稿 (Draft Collection of Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Ōkura shuppan, 1979), p. 5, No. 187; later this draft developed into the book Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中国古代写本識語集録 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1990). This colophon is No. 74 on p. 84.

8 Kyō Hakkin [Jiang Boqin] 姜伯勤, "Tonkō, Torufan to Shirukurōdo-jō no Sogudo jin 敦煌·吐魯番とシルクロード上のソグド人", *Tōzai kōshō* 東西交渉 (East-West Exchange), Vol. 5, No. 1, 1986, p. 39, n. 37. This paper later became a chapter included in Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu Sichou zhi lu* 敦煌吐魯番文書與絲綢之路 (Dunhuang and Turfan Manuscripts and the Silk Road) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994). For a discussion of this colophon, see p. 236 (no date is indicated).

9 Rong Xinjiang, "Tulufan de lishi yu wenhua" 吐魯番的歷史與文化 (Turfan's History and Culture), in Hu Ji 胡戟 et al., eds., *Tulufan* 吐魯番 (Turfan) (Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1987), p. 32.

10 Wang Su 王素, "Gaochang foci xiang fosi de yanbian" 高昌佛祠向佛寺的演變 (The Evolution of Gaochang Buddhist Shrines into Buddhist Temples), *Xuelin manlu* 學林漫錄 (Random Writings from the Forest of Studies), No. 11, 1985, pp. 137–142.

11 Li Yuchun 李遇春, "Tulufan chutu *Sanguo zhi Weishu* he fojing shidai de chubu yanjiu" 吐魯番出土《三國志·魏書》和佛經時代的初步研究 (Preliminary Study of the *Weishu* of the *Sanguo zhi*, Excavated in Turfan and the Era of Buddhist Scriptures), *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Journal of Dunhuang Studies), No. 1, 1989, pp. 42–47.

Later on, Wang Su changed his mind. Although he had previously accepted the date 430, his 1997 article on artefacts from the Zhang 張 family rule of Gaochang presented detailed arguments in favour of the year 490. His main point was that in the Hexi 河西 and Gaochang kingdoms the king's mother was called Taifei 太妃 (Royal Mother), not Taihou (Empress Dowager). However, Mujian 牧犍, son of Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (r. 401–433) of the Northern Liang, married the Princess of Wuwei 武威公主, younger sister of Northern Wei Emperor Tuoba Tao 拓跋燾 (r. 423–452), and in 437 the Northern Wei granted Mujian's mother the title Empress Dowager of the Kingdom of Hexi 河西國太后. When the Northern Wei conquered the Northern Liang (439), Mujian surrendered and was taken to Pingcheng 平城. As Juqu Mengxun's biography in the *Weishu* notes, after Mujian's mother died, she "was buried according to the rites appropriate to a royal mother" (*juan* 99, p. 2208). In 447, Mujian was ordered to commit suicide. However, before this, in 442, his younger brothers Wuhui 無諱 and Anzhou went northward through Shanshan 鄯善 and seized Gaochang 高昌. In 443, Wuhui established the Greater Liang 大涼 (443–460) at Gaochang and changed the reign title to Chengping 承平 (443–460). The Empress Dowager's shrine in Gaochang could thus only have been established by the exiled Northern Liang regime. In addition, Wang Su also cited Wu Zhen's 吳震 view, expressed in an article of 1983, on reign titles in the Turfan manuscripts,[12] according to which, during the Northern Liang, dates were expressed as *sui ci* 歲次 followed by the cyclical characters, while after the Yixi 義熙 reign period (510) of Gaochang they were expressed with cyclical characters followed by the word *sui* 歲. Therefore, he concluded, the year 490 in this case was written in a transitional format.[13]

Regarding the date of the colophon, see p. 44. This article was originally included in the proceedings of the International Academic Conference on Dunhuang and Turfan Studies held in Beijing in 1988 and contained a complete table of all the discoveries appended to it, called "Wenwu dengji biao" 文物登記表 (List of Cultural Relics). Unfortunately when it was formally published, the appendix was not included. Since the table has still not been published, I have kept it on hand, and used it as a guide when I went on two occasions to the Xinjiang Museum to examine some of these manuscripts.

12 Wu Zhen 吳震, "Tulufan wenshu zhong de ruogan nianhao ji xiangguan wenti" 吐魯番文書中的若干年號及相關問題 (Some Reign Titles and Related Issues in the Turfan Manuscripts), *Wenwu*, No. 1, 1983, pp. 26–34.

13 Wang Su, "Tulufan chutu Zhangshi Gaochang shiqi wenwu san ti" 吐魯番出土張氏高昌時期文物三題 (Three Cases regarding Turfan Artefacts from the Period of the Zhang Family's Rule of Gaochang), *Wenwu*, No. 5, 1993, pp. 57–59. See Wang Su, *Gaochang wenshu biannian* 高昌文書編年 (A Chronology of Manuscripts from Gaochang) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1997), No. 282, entry for the 2nd year of Jianchu 建初 (490); Wang Su, *Gaochang shigao: Tongzhi bian* 高昌史稿·統治編 (Draft History of Gaochang: Administration) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998), p. 181.

Since then there have been no further discussions of the *gengwu* date, and scholars have followed their individual preferences. However, this date has implications for determining the earliest record of Zoroastrianism in Gaochang, therefore it must be discussed.

Let us first look at the main events concerning Hexi and Gaochang that occurred just before and after 430. These are listed in Table 23.1, which also includes manuscripts whenever they can be dated with certainty.

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
401	*xinchou*	2nd year of the Gengzi 庚子 reign period of the Western Liang 西涼	Lü Long 呂隆 of the Later Liang 後涼 killed Lü Zuan 呂纂, proclaimed himself Tianwang 天王 (King of Heaven) and changed the reign title to Shending 神鼎; Juqu Mengxun attacked and killed Duan Ye 段業, known as the Duke of Zhangye 張掖, and changed the reign title to Yongan 永安.
402	*renyin*	3rd year of the Gengzi reign period of the Western Liang	Yao Xing 姚興, ruler of the Later Qin dynasty 後秦, appointed Li Hao 李暠 General of Anxi 安西 and Marquis of Gaochang. (This shows that Li Hao had taken power in Gaochang.)
403	*guimao*	4th year of the Gengzi reign period of the Western Liang	Tufa Rutan 禿髮傉檀 of the Southern Liang 南涼 and Juqu Mengxun of the Northern Liang attacked Guzang 姑臧. Lü Long moved to Chang'an 長安, and the Later Liang fell.
405	*yisi*	1st year of the Jianchu 建初 reign period of the Western Liang	Li Hao proclaimed himself Duke of Liang 涼公, and changed the reign title to Jianchu. He moved to Jiuquan 酒泉, and the kings of Shanshan and of the former Jushi 車師 tribes sent tribute.

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
408	*wushen*	4th year of the Jianchu reign period of the	"Xiucai duice wen" 秀才對策文 (Counter Strategies of Cultivated
411	*xinhai*	7th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	Juqu Mengxun conquered Guzang. Xing Da 興達 wrote a colophon for the *Lotus Sutra*. (*Shikigo*, p. 81)
412	*renzi*	8th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	Juqu Mengxun moved to Guzang, proclaimed himself King of Hexi, and changed the reign title to Xuanshi 玄始.
415	*yimao*	11th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	"Zhang Xian rudai mi wenshu" 張仙入貸床文書 (Zhang Xian's Loan of Millet) (*Wenshu* 1, p. 6)
416	*bingchen*	12th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	Jin Ye 進業 wrote the *Lüzang chufen* 律藏初分 (The First Division of the Vinaya) in the Mobei shrine 陌北祠 west of Jiuquan (BD00868, *Shikigo*, p. 82, No. 64).
417	*dingsi*	13th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	Li Hao died. His son Xin 歆 became Duke of Liang, and changed the reign title to Jiaxing 嘉興 (417–420). The Jin 晉 army entered Chang'an, and the Later Qin fell.
418	*wuwu*	14th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang	Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 occupied Chang'an. "Yan Fuyuan lin cansang quan" 嚴福願賃蠶桑券 (Contract of Yan Fuyuan Leasing Silkworms) (*Wenshu* 1, p. 6)

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
419	*yiwei*	15th year of the Jianchu reign period of the	Manuscript fragment. (*Wenshu* 1, p. 13)
420	*gengshen*	4th year of the Jiaxing 嘉興 reign period of the Western Liang	Liu Yu 劉裕 replaced the Jin dynasty (265–420), changed the name of the dynasty to Song 宋 (i.e. Liu Song 劉宋, 420–479). Juqu Mengxun killed Li Xin and occupied Dunhuang. Later, Li Xin's younger brother Li Xun 李恂 reoccupied Dunhuang. Manuscript fragment. (*Wenshu* 1, p. 13)
		11th month, 9th year of the Xuanshi reign period of the Northern Liang	List of funerary objects (British Library, S.6251)
421	*xinyou*	10th year of the Xuanshi reign period of the Northern Liang	Juqu Mengxun destroyed the Western Liang; Bilong 比龍, king of Shanshan, came to court, and the kingdoms of the Western Regions proclaimed themselves his vassals; Kui Ren 隗仁 was the governor(?) of Gaochang.
422	*renxu*	11th year of the Xuanshi reign period of the Northern Liang	Juqu Mengxun's cousin Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 travelled west to Khotan to obtain scriptures and translated them after returning to Gaochang. "Ma Shou tiao cheng wei chu jiu shi" 馬受條呈為出酒事 (Ma Shou's Itemised Report on Supplying Wine). (*Wenshu* 1, p. 61)

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
423	*guihai*	12th year of the Xuanshi reign period of the Northern Liang	Juqu Mengxun's own appointed governor of Jinchang 晉昌, Tang Qi 唐契, rebelled and together with his younger brother Tang He 唐和 and nephew Li Bao 李寶 took refuge in Yiwu 伊吾 and was appointed King of Yiwu by the Rouran 柔然. "Shi guanma zepei wenshu" 失官馬責賠文書 (Compensation for the Loss of a State-owned Horse); "Zhai Ding ci wei guren gengmi shi" 翟定辭為雇人耕床事 (The Case of Zhai Ding's Refusal to
424	*jiazi*	6th year of the Zhenxing 真興 reign period of the Daxia 大夏	With enemies to his north and south, Juqu Mengxun submitted to the Xia 夏, adopting its reign title. Zhimeng 智猛 returned from India to Gaochang with the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Great Nirvana Sutra). Juqu Mengxun sent envoys to obtain the Sanskrit version, and ordered Tan Wuchen 曇無讖 (Dharmakṣema) to translate it. *Chu mai zhang* 出麥帳 (Account of Wheat Provision). (*Wenshu* 1, p. 33)
425	*yichou*	7th year of the Zhenxing reign period of the Daxia	List of the funerary objects for Song Feng's 宋灃 Wife Kui Yirong 隗儀容. (*Wenshu* 1, p. 28)

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
426	*bingyin*	2nd year of the Chengguang 承光 reign period of the Daxia 2nd year of the Chengyang 承陽 reign period of the Northern Liang	Helian Bobo, ruler of Xia, died, and his son Chang 昌 became king. Juqu Mengxun deployed Xia troops to resist the Western Qin 西秦. He continued to use the Xia reign title, modifying it slightly to Chengyang 承陽. "Gaochang huji" 高昌戶籍 (Gaochang Household Registration) from the 11th month. (German Turfan Collection, Ch 6001)
427	*dingmao*	undated	On the 23rd day of the 4th month, the king of Hexi's crown prince, the great Juqu Xingguo 且渠興國, wrote the colophon to the translation of a Buddhist sutra in the capital. (Ōtani manuscript excavated at Toyuq, Kyoto National Museum) In the 6th month, the Northern Wei army invaded Tongwan 統萬, capital of Xia, and won a great victory before returning. Helian Chang 赫連昌 fled to Shanggui 上邽.

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
428	*wuchen*		In the 2nd month, the Wei attacked the remaining forces of the Xia. Helian Chang was captured, and his younger brother Helian Ding 赫連定 took his place. In the 6th month, the Northern Liang changed its reign title to Chengxuan 承玄 (428–430); Juqu Mengxun sent envoys to present tribute to the Wei.
429	*jisi*	undated	On the 12th day of the 6th month, Linghu Ji 令狐岌 finished collating the *Fahua jing* 法華經 for the wise Dong Bigou 董畢狗. (Excavated in Turfan and held in the Nakamura Museum of Calligraphy)
430	*gengwu*	undated	On the 13th day of the 8th month, the *Golden Light Sutra* was copied below the Empress Dowager's shrine south of Hutian and east of the city of Gaochang.
431	*xinwei*		The Western Qin was destroyed by the Xia. The Xia attacked the Northern Liang and was defeated by the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾. Juqu Mengxun changed the reign title to Yihe 義和 (614–619), and sent his son Anzhou to serve the Wei.

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
432	*renshen*	2nd year of the Yihe reign period of the	Manuscript fragment. (*Wenshu* 1, p. 35)
433	*guiyou*		Juqu Mengxun died, his son Mujian inherited the throne and changed the reign title to Yonghe 永和. The Wei dynasty appointed Mujian as king of Hexi.
		3rd year of the Yihe reign period of the Northern Liang	"Zhuang Zhao Zhen shang yan" 幢趙震上言 (Statement Submitted by Captain Zhao Zhen); "Bingcao Li Lu baicao" 兵曹李禄白草 (Draft Statement by Military Officer Li Lu); "Bingcao tiaozhi zhi chuang ji wenshu" 兵曹條知治幢墼文書 (Itemised Notice of the Military Section on Adobe); *Wenshu* 1, pp. 62–63) "Zhang Weixing ci" 張未興辭 (Zhang Weixing's Deposition). (*Xinhuo*, Vol. 1, p. 192)
		2nd year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign period of the Northern Liang (2nd year of the Yanhe 延和 reign period of the Northern Wei)	"Zhao Huo muzi mingsong wenshu" 趙貨母子冥訟文書 (Zhao Huo's and his Mother's Complaint to the Underworld). (*Xinhuo*, vol. 1, p. 171)
434	*jiaxu*	3rd year of the Yuanhe reign period of the Northern Liang	In the 9th month, the *Dafang deng wuxiang Dayun jing* 大方等無想大雲經 (Great Cloud Sutra) was copied by the Liu Ju shrine 劉居祠 north of Tiandi city 田地城. (Russian Collection, Φ.320)

TABLE 23.1 List of events in Hexi and Gaochang before and after 430 (*cont.*)

Year	Cyclical signs for year	Dynasty, reign title, year and month (if known)	Events
435	*yihai*	4th year of the Yuanhe reign period in Gaochang	The Rouran, Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi paid their respects at the Wei court. The Wei sent Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others to the Western Regions as envoys. In the 10th month, the Juqu forces withdrew from Gaochang, and
436	*bingzi*	5th year of the Yuanhe reign period in Gaochang	List of Funerary objects, and "Di Afu quan cao" 翟阿富券草 (Di A'fu's Draft Certificate). (*Wenshu* 1, pp. 47, 66) The Northern Liang used the Northern Wei reign name Taiyan 太延, but wrote it Taiyuan 太緣.
437	*dingchou*	6th year of the Yuanhe reign period in Gaochang	List of Di Wan's 翟萬 funerary objects. (*Wenshu* 1, p. 85) The Northern Liang stopped using the reign title of the Northern Wei, and changed the current title to Chenghe 承和 (433–439), although still counting the years according to the Yonghe reign. Not long afterwards they changed the reign title to Jianping 建平. Dong Wan 董琬 was sent as an envoy to the Western Regions.
439	*yimao*	8th year of the Yuanhe reign period in Gaochang	In the 6th month, the Northern Wei destroyed the Northern Liang, and Juqu Mujian surrendered.

(Abbreviations: *Wenshu: Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 [Turfan Manuscripts], Images; *Shikigo: Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中国古代写本識語集錄 [Colophons from Chinese Ancient Manuscripts]; *Xinhuo: Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian* 新獲吐魯番出土文獻 [Newly Acquired Manuscripts Excavated at Turfan]. For detailed publication information, see the relevant footnotes.)

From the above timeline we know that Juqu Mengxun of the Northern Liang became a vassal of the Xia in 424, and used the Xia reign title Zhenxing. In 426, he continued to use the Xia reign title, but modified it from Chengguang to Chengyang, as seen from a household register excavated at Turfan, which dates from the 11th month of the 2nd year of the Chengyang reign period (426). Sekio Shirō 関尾史郎 and Wu Zhen think that the Northern Liang stopped using the Xia reign title in the 2nd year of the Chengyang reign period (426), whereas Wang Su argued that this happened in the 12th month of the 3rd year of the Chengyang reign period (427).[14] Wang Su's view seems problematic because the Northern Wei army invaded the Xia capital Tongwan in the 6th month of 427, and the Xia ruler Helian Chang fled to Shanggui. News of the fall of the Xia capital would surely have reached the Northern Liang, thus they would not have used the Xia reign title beyond the 6th month at the latest. In fact, Tuoba Tao, Emperor Taiwu 太武 of the Northern Wei, had begun a massive expedition against the Xia in the 10th month of the previous year (426), and the Northern Wei took Chang'an (of Xia) in the 12th month. News of this event may have affected the Northern Liang relatively quickly. However, although the household register for Turfan was dated the 11th month of the 2nd year of Chengyang (426), this does not mean that the Xia reign title was still being used in the Northern Liang capital of Guzang, as it would have taken some time for news to travel from Guzang to Gaochang. Thus, in my estimate, the Northern Liang probably stopped using Xia reign names from the 10th month of the 2nd year of Chengyang (426), although this news probably did not reach Gaochang until the end of the year. This is why the household register is dated the 11th month of the 2nd year of Chengyang. The colophon to *juan* 7 of the *Youposai jieben* 優婆塞戒本 (The Upāsaka Precepts) acquired by the Ōtani expedition to Toyuq says:

> During the summer of the *dingmao* year (427), on the 23rd day of the 4th month, the great Juqu Xingguo 且渠興國, crown prince of Hexi, general of the pacification army 撫軍將軍, and overseer of imperial secretariat affairs 錄尚書事, staying together with over 500 upāsakas in the capital, asked the Indian Dharma Master Tanmochen 曇摩讖 (Dharmakṣema) to translate these precepts for lay believers, which he finished by autumn, on the 23rd day of the 7th month.[15]

14 Wang Su, "Juqushi Bei Liang jianzhi nianhao guilü xintan" 沮渠氏北涼建置年號規律新探 (A New Investigation of the Patterns of the Reign Titles of the Northern Liang Ruled by the Juqu Family), *Lishi yanjiu*, No. 4, 1998, pp. 17–18.

15 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 83, No. 72, Fig. 8.

This colophon was handwritten by the crown prince of Juqu Mengxun, king of Hexi, in the capital Guzang, but it does not express the date as the 3rd year of Chengyang, which suggests that the Northern Liang had stopped using the Xia reign title by that time, although it did not use any other reign title because the political situation was still unclear.

In the 2nd month of 428, the Northern Wei attacked the remaining forces of the Xia and captured Helian Chang, whose younger brother Helian Ding 赫連定 succeeded him and changed the reign name to Shengguang 勝光 (428–431). In the 4th month, Helian Ding sent an envoy to Wei to sue for peace, and Tuoba Tao personally issued an edict ordering him to surrender. In the 6th month, the Northern Liang changed its reign title to Chengxuan 承玄, but we have no evidence that it was not used in the Turfan area. Juqu Mengxun sent envoys to present tribute to Wei. It may have been because the Xia was repeatedly defeated by the Northern Wei that the Northern Liang discontinued its use of the Xia reign title. Although the Northern Liang had their own new reign title, they did not yet dare use it but presented tribute to the Wei court, taking stock of the situation. The Turfan manuscripts seem to prove that the Northern Liang did not use their own reign title after this. The *Fahua jing* 法華經 (Lotus Sutra) copied by Linghu Ji 令狐岌 on behalf of the wise Dong Bigou 董畢狗, now in the Nakamura Museum of Calligraphy, is dated to the 12th day of the 6th month of the *jisi* 己巳 year (429).[16] Also, the *Golden Light Sutra* discussed in the present article was written in the *gengwu* year. In 431, Juqu Mengxun changed the reign title to Yihe 義和 and sent his son Anzhou to serve the Wei, officially becoming a vassal of the Northern Wei. We see that a Turfan manuscript from 432 bears the date "2nd year of Yihe" of the Northern Liang, which could probably have been written only after obtaining the Northern Wei's approval.[17] Juqu Mengxun died the next year (433). His son Mujian inherited the throne and changed the reign title to Yonghe, although the date "the 3rd year of Yihe" is still used in a Turfan manuscript,[18] perhaps because they had not received the news about the change. In the same year, the Wei appointed Mujian king of Hexi. The Turfan manuscript of the *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Great Cloud Sutra) was copied in 434 in the Liu Ju shrine 劉居祠 (Φ.320) north of Tiandi city 田地城. It is dated the 9th month of the 3rd year of the Yuanhe 緣禾 reign period of the Northern Liang. Most scholars see this

16 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, pp. 83–84, Fig. 9.

17 *Tulufan chutu wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 (Turfan Manuscripts), Vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), p. 35.

18 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

name as a more convenient way of writing the Northern Wei reign title Yanhe 延和 (602–613).

Therefore, we can say that between 427 and 430 (possibly until 431), due to the political situation, reign titles were not used in the Gaochang area to write dates; only the cyclical signs were used. This is why General Suo used cyclical signs instead of a reign title when he copied the *Golden Light Sutra*.

As for the situation around 490, we know that in 488 the Gaoju 高車 king killed Kan Shougui 闞首歸 (r. 478–488), the king of Gaochang, and appointed Zhang Mengming 張孟明 (r. 488–496) of Dunhuang as king. In 489, Zhang changed the reign title to Jianchu 建初.[19] We have two Turfan manuscripts – a memorial to the emperor dated "the 2nd year of Jianchu, a *gengwu* year" (490),[20] and an inscription on a coffin in Gaochang dated "the 12th day of the 12th month in the 7th year of Jianchu, a *dinghai* year" (495)[21] – which show that from 490 to 495, documents in the Gaochang area used the Jianchu reign title for dates, not the cyclical signs. This also indicates that it is incorrect to identify the *gengwu* year in the colophon to the *Golden Light Sutra* as 490.

A remaining point of inquiry concerns the Empress Dowager's shrine: Was the exiled Northern Liang regime the only one that could have established an Empress Dowager's shrine in Gaochang for the king's mother?

The *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 quotes from the *Shiliuguo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 (Chronicles of the Sixteen Kingdoms), saying, "Zhang Jun 張駿 (r. 323–345) began instituting a bureaucracy in his 21st year on the throne (344). The official titles all imitated those of the Heavenly Dynasty, and the carriages, trappings and flags were like those of the emperor".

The "Biography of Zhang Shi 張寔, including the biography of Zhang Jun" in the *Weishu* says:

19 As for the ascription of this Jianchu 建初 reign title to Zhang Mengming 張孟明, this article follows Shirasu Jōshin 白須淨真 and Wang Su. See Shirasu Jōshin, "Kōshō bosen kōshaku" 高昌墓塼考釈, 3 (Study of Tomb Bricks from Gaochang, Part 3), *Shoron* 書論 (Discussions on Calligraphy), No. 19, 1981; Wang Su, "Tulufan chutu Zhangshi Gaochang shiqi wenwu san ti", p. 55.

20 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, pp. 86–87.

21 Xinjiang shehui kexueyuan Kaogu yanjiusuo 新疆社會科學院考古研究所, *Xinjiang kaogu sanshi nian* 新疆考古三十年 (Thirty Years of Archaeology in Xinjiang) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1983), Fig. 110. Wang Su, "Tulufan chutu Zhangshi Gaochang shiqi wenwu san ti" has a detailed discussion of these two manuscripts. Seeing the original of the coffin inscription in the Xinjiang Museum caused him to revise the transcription done by earlier scholars; see pp. 54–57.

> They began to establish the various official posts like chancellor 祭酒, director 郎中, grand master 大夫, secretary 舍人 and usher 謁者, which all copied those in China, with slightly different names. They danced in six rows, added a leopard tail to the emperor's carriage, and their chariots, trappings and flags were just like those of the emperor (*juan* 99, p. 2195).

If their official titles in the Former Liang 前涼 (320–376) ruled by the Zhang family imitated those of the Heavenly Dynasty, it is also possible that the ruler's mother was called the Empress Dowager.

Fu Jian's 苻堅 (337–385) biography in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty) says:

> In the first year of the Shengping 升平 reign period (357), [Fu Jian] usurped the throne, proclaiming himself Heavenly King of the Great Qin, and changing the reign title to Yongxing 永興. He honoured his father Xiong 雄 with the posthumous title Emperor Wenheng 文恆皇帝, his mother née Gou 苟 with the title of Empress Dowager, his wife née Gou with the title of Empress and his son Hong 宏 with the title of crown prince (*juan* 113, p. 2884).

The second part of Fu Jian's biography contains the following passage:

> [Fu] Jian's brother [Fu] Fa's 法 son [Fu] Yang 陽, the Duke of Donghai 東海, and Wang Meng's 王猛 son, gentleman cavalier attendant 散騎侍郎 [Wang] Pi 皮 were plotting a rebellion. The plan was uncovered, and [Fu] Yang was exiled to Gaochang (*juan* 114, p. 2909).

Fu Jian of the Former Qin destroyed the Former Liang in the 8th month of the 12th year of the Jianyuan 建元 reign period (376) and took possession of Gaochang. Probably in the late spring or early summer of the 20th year of Jianyuan (384), the city fell under the control of the Qiang 羌 chieftain Yao Chang 姚萇. Since the royal house of the Former Qin had been in Gaochang, it is, of course, possible that they established an Empress Dowager's shrine for their grandmother.

Lü Long's 呂隆 (r. 401–403) biography in the *Jinshu* records that in the year 401, Lü Long usurped the throne of the Heavenly King, and his mother, née Wei 衛, became the empress dowager, but he was soon defeated ("Lü Long Zaiji" 呂隆載記, *Jinshu*, *juan* 122, p. 3069). Wang Su viewed this incident as an exception. In fact, prior to this, Lü Guang 呂光 (r. 386–399) had already

proclaimed himself Heavenly King in 396, and in 399, [Lü] Guang's son [Lü] Shao 紹 (r. 399–400) ascended the throne and became Heavenly King. All of their mothers may have been honoured with the title of Empress Dowager. In 394, Lü Guang sent his son [Lü] Fu 覆 to guard Gaochang, conferring on him the titles of commissioner with extraordinary powers 使持節, general guarding the west 鎮西將軍, area commander of military affairs west of the Jade Gate 都督玉門已西諸軍事, and great protector of the Western Regions 西域大都護. Therefore, while Gaochang was under Later Liang rule (385–397), an Empress Dowager's shrine may have been erected there.

For this reason, we cannot rule out the possibility that there was an Empress Dowager's shrine in the Gaochang region before the arrival of the exiled members of the Northern Liang regime.

Next to be examined is the question of the term "shrine".

Wang Su initially argued that Buddhist temples in the Gaochang region were called shrines (*ci* 祠) before 460 and temples (*si* 寺) afterwards.[22] However, later he said: "The evolution of the name of Buddhist temples from shrines to temples must have been gradual, with a stage in between where both words co-existed. The Gaochang kingdom was ruled by the Kan, Zhang, Ma 馬 and other families perhaps precisely in this transitional stage".[23]

At present, the materials available concerning shrines in Gaochang and other relevant regions are as follows:

The colophon to *juan* 3 of the *Lüzang chufen* 律藏初分 (The First Division of the Vinaya, *xin* 新 0868, National Library of China) states: "On the 27th day of the 12th month of the 12th year of the Jianchu reign period (416), the Buddhist monk Jinye 進業 finished copying this book in the Mobei shrine 陌北祠 located in the western part of the city of Jiuquan. Hence he made a record of this".[24] This manuscript entered the Dunhuang collection after 1949. If it had originally come from Dunhuang, there would have been two possibilities for Jiuquan here, either the Jiuquan of Hexi or the Jiuquan of Turfan. Manuscripts from either place could have been transmitted to Dunhuang. If the manuscript came from Turfan, it must have been the Jiuquan of Gaochang.

A document excavated from Tomb 96 at Kharakhoja, Turfan, concerning a monk offering a reward for a runaway slave, mentions "a Tang Sima shrine" 唐司馬祠 (75TKM96:21).[25] Other documents excavated from the same tomb date from the 12th year of Xuanshi (423) to the 2nd year of Yihe (432) of the

22 Wang Su, "Gaochang foci xiang fosi de yanbian", pp. 137–142.

23 Wang Su, "Tulufan chutu Zhangshi Gaochang shiqi wenwu san ti", pp. 57–58.

24 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 82, No. 64.

25 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Northern Liang. Therefore, this document probably can also be dated within this range.

Manuscript Φ.320 from the Russian Dunhuang Collection contains a colophon to *juan* 6 of the *Dafang deng wuxiang Dayun jing* 大方等無想大雲經 (Great Cloud Sutra, Skt. *Mahāmegha-sūtra*) that reads: "On the 5th day of the 9th month of the 3rd year of the Yuanhe reign period (434), a *jiaxu* year, I copied this revered [sutra] at the Liu Ju shrine north of Tiandi city. I wish to transfer this merit to all sentient beings so that they may hold to the good and leap into the Dharma citadel, attain the acceptance of non-arising phenomena and attain the unsurpassed Way".[26] Although this manuscript has been catalogued as belonging to the Dunhuang collection, the date and the Turfan-specific toponym Tiandi has already made scholars realise that this is in fact a manuscript from Turfan.[27] Accordingly, the Liu Ju shrine was located north of the seat of Tiandi commandery.

26 For this illustration, see *E cang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe / Eluosi kexue chubanshe dongfang wenxuebu, 2000–2001), Vol. 5, p. 168; Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 84, No. 77.

27 Lev Nikolaevich Menshikov et al., eds., *Opisanie kitaĭskikh rukopiseĭ Dun'khuan'skogo fonda Instituta Narodov Azii* (Catalogue of Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the Institute of Peoples of Asia, Soviet Academy of Sciences), Vol. 2 (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), p. 661; the Chinese translation is *Eluosi kexueyuan Dongfang yanjiusuo Shengbidebao fensuo Dunhuang hanwen xiejuan xulu* 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所敦煌漢文寫卷敘錄 (Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences), Vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), pp. 204–205; Jiang Boqin, "Shahuang Eguo dui Dunhuang ji Xinjiang wenshu de jieduo" 沙皇俄國對敦煌及新疆文書的劫奪 (Tsarist Russia's Plunder of Dunhuang and Xinjiang Manuscripts), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報 (Journal of Sun Yatsen University), No. 3, 1980, pp. 40–41; Hou Can 侯燦, "Bei Liang Yuanhe nianhao kao" 北凉緣禾年號考 (A Study of the Yuanhe Reign Title of the Northern Liang), *Xinjiang shehui kexue* 新疆社會科學 (Xinjiang Social Sciences), No. 1, 1981, p. 80; Wu Zhen 吳震, "Tulufan wenshu zhong de ruogan nianhao ji xiangguan wenti" 吐魯番文書中的若干年號及相關問題 (Some Reign Titles in the Turfan Manuscripts and Related Issues), *Wenwu*, No. 1, 1983, pp. 29–32; Sekio Shirō 関尾史郎, "Enka to Enwa no aida: *Torufan shutsudo monjo* sakki (5)" 「縁禾」と「延和」のあいだ：『吐魯番出土文書』箚記（五）(Between Yuanhe and Yanhe: Notes on the *Tulufan chutu wenshu* [5]), *Kioi shigaku* 紀尾井史学 (Kioi Historical Studies), No. 5, 1985, pp. 1–11; Shirasu Jōshin, "Kōshō Kan Sō seiken to Enka Kenhei kinen monjo" 高昌闞爽政權と緣禾·建平紀年文書 (The Regime of Kan Shuang in Gaochang and Manuscripts Dated with the Reign Titles Yuanhe and Jianping), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 (Research in Oriental History), Vol. 45, No. 1, 1986, pp. 76–111, esp. pp. 77–78; Fu Xianzhan 府憲展, "Dunhuang wenxian bianyi lu" 敦煌文獻辨疑錄 (Doubtful Cases in the Dunhuang Manuscripts), *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 (Dunhuang Studies), No. 2, 1996, p. 89.

A document excavated in Tomb 91 at Kharakhoja, Turfan, dated to the 21st day of the 7th month of the 5th year of the Jianping reign period (441) of Kan Shuang's reign, refers to a *ci*[...] 祠□, which must signify a shrine official 祠吏.[28] Another document (75TKM91:16A) from the same tomb mentions a shrine master 祠主 and a shrine clerk.[29] Yet another manuscript (75TKM91:12) points to a location below a certain shrine.[30] Other manuscripts from this tomb date between the 4th year of the Jianchu reign period of the Western Liang (408) and the 5th year of the Jianping reign period (441) of Kan Shuang's reign, suggesting that these two documents fall into the same date range.

A Turfan manuscript acquired in 2006 is an account of silk collected as taxes, which includes the records of silk received from the Du Sima shrine 杜司馬祠 and the Yang Tiandi shrine 楊田地祠. According to our research, this manuscript dates from around the 7th year of Chengping (449).[31]

The colophon to the *Foshuo bianyi zhangzhe zi suo wen jing* 佛說辯意長者子所問經 (Sutra of the Questions of the Son of Pratibhāna, Spoken by the Buddha) on manuscript S.2925, acquired by Stein at Dunhuang, says: "Completed at the Southern Shrine at Yiwu (*Yiwu nan ci* 伊吾南祠) on the 19th day of the 1st month of the 1st year of Taian 太安 (450), a *gengyin* year, by the monk Shenzong 申宗, a clumsy man with a brush; it was hard to obtain paper and ink".[32] Yiwu is present-day Hami 哈密, between Dunhuang and Turfan. This manuscript must have come into Dunhuang in ancient times and been preserved by monks. Because Yiwu is adjacent to Gaochang, changes to the nomenclature of Buddhist temples ought to have followed the same pattern in both places.

The colophon to the last *juan* of the *Jie yuan* 戒緣 (Conditions of Vinaya) in the Dunhuang collection in the National Library of China (地 76; current pressmark: BD00076), says: "The *bhikṣu* Fajiu 法救 presents this sutra as an offering. Copying finished on the 3rd day of the 7th month of the 4th year of Taian

28 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

29 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

30 *Tulufan chutu wenshu*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

31 Rong Xinjiang, Li Xiao 李肖, and Meng Xianshi 孟憲實, eds., *Xinhuo Tulufan chutu wenxian* 新獲吐魯番出土文獻 (Newly Excavated Manuscripts from Turfan) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008). As for the details of this document, see Pei Chengguo 裴成國, "Tulufan xin chu Bei Liang jizi, jikou chu si zhang yanjiu" 吐魯番新出北涼計貲、計口出絲帳研究 (A Study of Newly Discovered Tax Documents of the Northern Liang from Turfan: Silk Paid According to Assets and Population), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Journal of Chinese Literature and History), No. 4, 2007, pp. 65–103.

32 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 86, No. 84.

(453) in the Tang'er shrine 唐兒祠. Ashamed of his simple mind, he wishes that all […]".[33]

The first colophon to the *Foshuo pusa zang jing* 佛説菩薩藏經 (Sutra of the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*, Spoken by the Buddha) in a Toyuq manuscript formerly in the collection of Wang Shunan 王樹枏 says: "In the 15th year of Chengping (457), a *dingyou* year, the shrine master Dao[…]".[34] The sutra was given as an offering by the great Juqu Anzhou, king of the Great Liang dynasty.

From what has been discovered so far, Wang Su is correct in that the year 460 is still the latest date when Buddhist temples were called "shrines".

As for when they were called "temples" (*si* 寺), the Turfan manuscripts do not provide any evidence. The earliest occurrence of this term is a reference to the Fengle Temple 豐樂寺 in Dingzhou 定州 in a Dunhuang manuscript dated the 1st year of the Jingming reign period 景明 (500) of the Northern Wei (S.2106).[35] However, this was not in the north-west.

The suggestion that the format of dates using cyclical signs (i.e. *suici* xx 歲次×× vs. xx *sui* ××歲) in Turfan varied according to the date of the manuscript is not supported by strong evidence. The colophon to *juan* 7 of the *Youposai jieben* mentioned above uses the expression *sui zai dingmao* 歲在丁卯 (427), but just two years later, Dong Bigou dates his copy of the *Fahua jing* using the formula *jisi sui* 已巳歲 (429). Thus there is insufficient evidence to support this claim.

2 Hutian and the Empress Dowager's Shrine

The key information in the colophon to the *Golden Light Sutra* is: "On the 13th day of the 8th month of the *gengwu* year, one copy of the *Golden Light Sutra* was made beneath the Empress Dowager's shrine 太后祠 east of the city of Gaochang 高昌 and south of Hutian 胡天, for the lay disciple General Suo 索 and his family".

In 1998, I wrote the following passage concerning this colophon in an article on Sogdian settlements during this period:

> This colophon tells us that there was a Zoroastrian shrine for worshipping Hutian (Hu deities) east of Gaochang. Its existence indicates the presence

33 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, pp. 86–87, No. 86.

34 This scroll is currently in the Nakamura Museum of Calligraphy. Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 87, No. 89, Fig. 12.

35 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 94, No. 111.

> of Sogdian Zoroastrian believers, because we know that in places such as Shichengzhen 石城鎮, Yizhou 伊州, Dunhuang, and Liangzhou 涼州 there were often Zoroastrian shrines in Sogdian settlements. Therefore, although most of the Sogdian names that appear in currently existing Turfan manuscripts date from the 6th century, this record mentioning Hutian reveals that there must already have been Sogdians in Gaochang by the first half of the 5th century. The location of their settlement was probably east of the city of Gaochang, which matches the location of the Sogdian settlement in Dunhuang.[36]

In 2000, I also discussed the contents of this colophon in an article on the role of Gaochang in the communications between East and West:

> Judging from the manuscript's style of writing and the proper names in the colophon, the *gengwu* year must refer to 430, showing that Zoroastrianism had already come to Gaochang when it was a commandery, and a shrine dedicated to Hutian was established east of the city. This Zoroastrian shrine was definitely a well-known building in the area, thus people used it as a geographical reference point to identify the location of the Empress Dowager's shrine.[37]

Based on new archaeological discoveries in Turfan, I discussed this colophon again in another article in 2005:

> Recently, a cemetery was discovered in Badamu 巴達木 township, northeast of the ancient city of Gaochang, from which two documents were excavated: a list of items in the tomb of Kang Lunu 康虜奴 and his wife dated the 14th year of the Yanchang 延昌 reign period (574) and an epitaph for Kang Fumian 康浮面 dated the 7th year of Yanshou 延壽 (630). These documents indicate that there must have been a Sogdian settlement

36 Rong Xinjiang, "Beichao, Sui, Tang Suteren zhi qianxi ji qi juluo" 北朝隋唐粟特人之遷徙及其聚落 (Study of the Migration and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), in Beijing daxue Zhonguo chuantong wenhua yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國傳統文化研究中心, ed., *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), No. 6, 1999; here I follow the reprint in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 44–45.

37 Rong Xinjiang, "Gaochang wangguo yu Zhong-Xi jiaotong" 高昌王國與中西交通 (The Gaochang Kingdom and Communications between China and the West), *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 (Eurasian Studies), No. 2, 2000, p. 80; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, p. 201.

nearby, which was connected with the Hutian Shrine east of the city of Gaochang.[38]

To most scholars, including myself, the "Hutian" that appears in the colophon to the *Golden Light Sutra* refers to a Zoroastrian shrine dedicated to the worship of Hutian in the Gaochang area;[39] about this there is no doubt. I have previously argued that Hutian and Tian 天 in the Turfan manuscripts refer to the Zoroastrian divinity or to Zoroastrian shrines.[40]

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38 Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu Sute yimin juluo bukao" 西域粟特移民聚落補考 (A Supplementary Study of Sogdian Migrant Settlements in the Western Regions), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 2, 2005, p. 11.

39 Apart from the above-mentioned papers, please also consult Wang Su, "Gaochang Huoxianjiao lungao" 高昌火祆教論稿 (Papers on Zoroastrianism in Gaochang), *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical Studies), No. 3, 1986, p. 168; Jiang Boqin, ed., *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu*, p. 236; also Jiang Boqin, *Dunhuang yishu, zongjiao, yu liyue wenming: Dunhuang xin shi san lun* 敦煌藝術宗教與禮樂文明 – 敦煌心史散論 (Dunhuang's Art, Religion and Ritual Music Culture: Assorted Papers on Dunhuang's Spiritual History) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996), p. 487; Zhang Guangda, "Tulufan chutu Hanyu wenshu zhong suojian Yilangyu diqu zongjiao de zongji" 吐魯番出土漢語文書中所見伊朗語地區宗教的蹤跡 (Traces of the Religion of Iranian-Speaking Regions in Chinese Manuscripts from Turfan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, Vol. 4, 1999, p. 1. As for the Zoroastrian god Tian 天 (Heaven), that is, Hutian of the Turfan manuscripts, Lin Wushu 林悟殊 argues that this is related to the traditional belief of Gaochang in worshipping celestial bodies; see Lin Wushu, "Lun Gaochang sushi 'Tianshen'" 論高昌俗事"天神" (A Discussion of the Cult of Tianshen in Gaochang), *Lishi yanjiu*, No. 4, 1987, pp. 89–97 and Lin Wushu, "A Discussion about the Difference between the Heaven-God in the Qoco Kingdom and the High Deity of Zoroastrianism", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, XXIII, 1993, pp. 7–12. Chen Guocan 陳國燦 argues that it is the prevalent local custom of worshipping the Daoist Heavenly Emperor; see Chen Guocan, "Cong zangyi kan Daojiao 'Tianshen' guan zai Gaochang guo de liuxing" 從葬儀看道教「天神」觀在高昌國的流行 (From Funeral Rites, Examining the Popularity of Daoist Temples to the 'God of Heaven' in the Gaochang Kingdom), *Wei Jin Nan-Bei Chao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 (Sources on the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), Nos. 9–10, 1988, pp. 13–18 and 12; see also *Tulufanxue yanjiu zhuanji* 吐魯番學研究專輯 (Turfan Studies Research) (Urumqi: Dunhuang Tulufan xue Xinjiang yanjiu zhongxin, 1990), pp. 126–139. Xie Chongguang 謝重光 argues that it is a certain local non-Buddhist belief; see Xie Zhongguang, "Qushi Gaochang de siyuan jingji" 麴氏高昌的寺院經濟 (Monastic Economies in Gaochang under the Qu family), in Xie Chongguang, *Han-Tang fojiao shehui shilun* 漢唐佛教社會史論 (Social History of Buddhism from the Han to the Tang Dynasties) (Taibei: Guoji wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1990), p. 192 and 202, n. 67.

40 Rong Xinjiang, "Xianjiao chuchuan Zhongguo niandai kao" 祆教初傳中國年代考 (The Date of the Introduction of Zoroastrianism into China), *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (Studies in Sinology), Vol. 3, 1995; here I have used the version in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 282–285.

However, at the International Symposium “Sogdians in China: New Research in History, Archaeology and Language”, cohosted with French colleagues in April 2004, Dr. Wang Ding 王丁 expressed doubts regarding the usual understanding of the phrase “Hutian nan Taihou ci”. In the conference proceedings published later, we included his article where he finds fault with the description “east of the city of Gaochang and south of Hutian” because it first mentions east and then south, rather than saying “south-east”. He commented on the explanation I provided in my 2000 article, agreeing with my conclusion that the *gengwu* year was 430, but following former scholars in doubting the “Empress Dowager’s shrine”. In his view, Gaochang at this time was a commandery, not a kingdom, so it could not have had an Empress Dowager.[41]

Therefore, Wang Ding proposed the hypothesis that the words “Nan taihou” should be read together.[42] He found the word *nnδβ’mbn* (meaning Nana queen 那那女主)[43] in line 20 of the Sogdian manuscript M 549 in the Berlin Turfan collection and argued that Nantaihou was a Chinese translation of *nnδβ’mbn*, the name of a Sogdian goddess, suggesting that it was a hybrid name with the first part transliterating the sound and the second translating the meaning. With this in mind, he argued that the character *nan* 南 could transliterate *na* and was related to the cult of the goddess Nana; thus the “Nantaihou shrine” was actually a shrine of Nana in 5th century Gaochang. He went even further and speculated that the name “Yiwu nan ci” 伊吾南祠, the shrine mentioned in the monk Shenzong’s colophon (S.2925v; see above) from 450 may, like “Nantaihou ci”, be a reference, abbreviated even further, to a shrine of Nana. In sum, Wang Ding tried to interpret the phrase “the Empress Dowager’s shrine east of Gaochang city and south of Hutian” 高昌城東胡天南太后祠 as “the

41 Wang Ding, “Nan Taihou kao”.

42 He notes that this interpretation began with Zhang Guangda’s 1994 French article, where he used the term “temple de l’impératrice douairière Nan” as a translation of “Nan Taihou ci” (Guangda Zhang, “Trois exemples d’influences mazdéennes dans la Chine des Tang”, *Études chinoises*, Vol. XIII, 1994, p. 211). In 1999, Zhang published his “Tulufan chutu Hanyu wenshu zhong suojian Yilangyu diqu zongjiao de zongji”, where he still read Hutian and Nan Taihou ci separately (*Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, Vol. 4, p. 1). However, later on, his English edition discarded this interpretation and returned to the earlier view of reading it as Empress Dowager’s shrine (Guangda Zhang, “Iranian Religious Evidence in Turfan Chinese Texts”, *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, Vol. IV, 2000, p. 193).

43 Wang Ding points out that the earliest version of this manuscript was transcribed and translated into English in Walter B. Henning, “The Murder of the Magi”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 76, 1944, pp. 133–144, esp. pp. 142–144; for a description of this document, see Mary Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection,* Deutscher Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institute für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), p. 39.

shrine of Nantaihou, subordinate to the god Hutian, on the eastern side of the city of Gaochang".[44]

As for the next question arising from this discussion, i.e. why a Buddhist disciple would make a copy of a Buddhist scripture in a Zoroastrian shrine, Wang Ding provides an explanation in a follow-up article, writing:

> If it was not possible for a single temple to be used by both religions at the same time in ancient Gaochang, can we conjecture that the Hutian Nantaihou shrine was originally a Zoroastrian shrine that was later converted to a Buddhist shrine? According to information collected from Chinese manuscripts, scholars have already noted that during the Gaochang kingdom period some Zoroastrian shrines had been Buddhicised, that is, they had been transformed into Buddhist temples. There are various examples in the cultural history of Central Asia of religious buildings being taken over by other religions and adapted for their own purposes.... Thus the rituals practiced in this space originally dedicated to Zoroastrian sacrifices took on Buddhist connotations. In this case, names like "Hutian Nantaihou shrine", so clearly referring to the shrine of an alien religion, remained unchanged for a while, fortunately making this colophon a historical source that preserves traces of this transitional stage.... It was probably under such complex religious and cultural circumstances that the Buddhist manuscript of the *Golden Light Sutra* was copied in a Zoroastrian shrine.[45]

Wang Ding's new interpretation raises doubts regarding the reading accepted by me and most other scholars. If his opinion holds, we can not only be confident that a Zoroastrian shrine had already been established in the Gaochang region in 430, but also that this was a Zoroastrian shrine for the worship of the goddess Nana.

In a separate study, I used three personal names containing the name of Nana from the Sogdian ancient letters, and the Sogdian term *βγnpt* for the priest in charge of Zoroastrian sacrifices, to argue that there was a cult of Nana in Dunhuang at the beginning of the 4th century, and that it arrived there together with Zoroastrianism.[46] Wang Ding was not entirely convinced by my

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44 Wang Ding, "Nan Taihou kao", pp. 430–456.

45 Wang Ding, "Tulufan Anjialeke chutu Bei Liang xieben *Jin guangming jing* ji qi tiji yanjiu", pp. 41, 42 and 45.

46 Rong Xinjiang, "Xianjiao chuchuan Zhongguo niandai kao", pp. 258–296.

argument. However, if his theory about the "Nantaihou shrine" in Gaochang is tenable,

> the 5th century existence of a Nana shrine in Gaochang, in combination with records in transmitted Chinese sources of Sino-Persian contacts during the Northern Dynasties period and of Zoroastrian worship in both the capital and the provinces, may enable us to conclude that Zoroastrians were active as far as Dunhuang at the beginning of the 4th century.[47]

Of course, I too would like Wang Ding's view to hold, in order to strengthen the evidence for the spread of the cult of Nana in North-western China.

However, my initial reaction to Wang Ding's new theory was that the original meaning of the Chinese is plain; why is it necessary to use the Iranian language to explain it in such a roundabout way? Consequently, at the "Sogdians in China" conference I voiced my opinion on the matter. Yet, given its importance, and since Wang Ding has done such meticulous research and presented such detailed arguments, his view cannot be dismissed lightly. Therefore, in recent years, I have been pondering this issue and repeatedly perusing the relevant sources. Since this problem involves dating when the Zoroastrian shrine in Gaochang first appeared in written sources, as well as the entire issue of Zoroastrianism's entry into China, I have duly mulled over it again and again, and still feel obligated to express my opinion regarding these new theories in writing, just like I wanted to write out my view on dating this manuscript.

First, we must acknowledge that the handwriting in this manuscript is very good, and the colophon is also very clear and to the point. Although it is brief, it was clearly written by someone with a relatively high level of culture. Therefore, we should first attempt to understand the Chinese words from his point of view. In Chinese, "Hutian" means either the Hutian divinity or a Zoroastrian shrine dedicated to that god; on that point there is no doubt. If we say that the phrase "the Empress Dowager's shrine east of the city of Gaochang and south of Hutian" is somewhat roundabout, is it not also long-winded to interpret it as "the shrine of Nantaihou, subordinate to the god Hutian, on the eastern side of the city of Gaochang"? Given the concise language and style of the colophon, if the author knew that the Nantaihou shrine was a Zoroastrian shrine dedicated to the goddess Nana, he could simply have called it a "Nantaihou shrine"; there would have been no need to mention "Hutian". Therefore, according to my understanding of the author's meaning in Chinese, I still read the words *dong* 東 and *nan* 南 in the colophon as directional words (i.e. 'east' and 'south',

47 Wang Ding, "Nan Taihou kao", p. 436.

respectively). That is to say, the Empress Dowager's shrine is located east of the city of Gaochang, on the southern side of the Hutian shrine.

Second, according to Wang Ding's research, the name of the goddess Nana is translated as Nana 那那 in the Turfan manuscripts. Although this is based on rather late material, it can represent the traditional transliteration of the term in the Turfan area. Perhaps we can say that if there is a shrine named after Nana in Gaochang, the more likely name would be "Nana's shrine" 那那祠, rather than "Empress Dowager Nan's shrine". Although there are examples where the ancient translations of proper nouns combine sound and meaning, whether they would split the word *nnδβ'mbn* into two halves, using the sound *nan* and the meaning "Empress Dowager" is uncertain. Moreover, it is difficult to explain why the term "Empress Dowager", which has a specific meaning in Chinese, would be used to translate the word "goddess". Wang Ding did not give a full explanation of this point.

Third, the reason why Wang Ding interpreted the Empress Dowager's Buddhist shrine as the Zoroastrian "Empress Dowager Nan's shrine" is that former scholarship questioned whether an "Empress Dowager's shrine" existed in Turfan. On this point, I have thoroughly demonstrated above that there could have been an "Empress Dowager's shrine" in Gaochang in 430. Therefore, the reading "Empress Dowager's shrine" works both in terms of language and historical possibility.

Fourth, as demonstrated above, the Turfan manuscripts (as well as those from Dunhuang) indicate that Buddhist temples were called shrines during the Gaochang commandery period. However, we do not know what the early Zoroastrian temples were called. Although I also use terms like "Hutian shrine", "Hu Zoroastrian shrine" and "Zoroastrian shrine", these are all terms that were introduced later. Of course, in the early period Zoroastrian temples were probably called "shrines". However, we know from texts like the *Liang jing xinji* 兩京新記 (New Record of the Two Capitals) that since there were not as many Zoroastrian shrines as there were Buddhist ones, even in the Tang capital Chang'an they all used the simple term "Zoroastrian shrine" (*Xianci* 祆祠) to refer to temples dedicated to Hutian; they did not use such names as the Buddhist "Ximing Temple" 西明寺 (Temple of Western Brightness) or "Ci'en Temple" 慈恩寺 (Temple of Compassionate Blessings). For this reason, I doubt whether the early Zoroastrian shrines could have had a name like "Empress Dowager Nan".

Fifth, whether they are talking about the name of a temple, like the Empress Dowager's shrine, or the name of a person, like "the lay disciple General Suo", they both refer to some aspect of Buddhism. It is logical for a Buddhist disciple to copy a Buddhist sutra in a Buddhist shrine. If we regard the Empress

Dowager's shrine as a Zoroastrian shrine, however, we encounter the problem of why someone copied a Buddhist sutra in a Zoroastrian shrine. Although Wang Ding explains the "Hutian Nantaihou shrine" hypothetically as originally a Zoroastrian shrine that was later transformed into a Buddhist shrine, and while his argument is reasonable, it is also very circuitous.

Sixth, Wang Ding thinks that my statement that "[t]his Zoroastrian shrine was definitely a well-known building of the area, thus people used it as a geographical reference point to identify the location of the Dowager Empress's shrine" is also rather circuitous. Indeed, this point deserves consideration. I think that according to the situation of the Gaochang commandery at that time, the immigrants came mostly from Hexi and Central China, thus for the most part they were city-dwellers. This was especially true for the Buddhist monks who relied on others for their livelihood. They generally resided in the city, and most temples were in the city. Temples outside the cities and cave temples were built for specific purposes or geographical conditions. In my view, the Empress Dowager shrine probably performed some kind of sacrificial function of a political nature, and this is why it was south-east of the city. Later on, the Empress Dowager's shrine was less used for offerings than large temples in the city, and only then was the nearby Zoroastrian shrine used to indicate its location. It is also possible that because this Buddhist shrine was built in the early years, and since the dynasty had changed by 430, the shrine lost its former significance and became less well known. However, for some political reason, someone copied the *Golden Light Sutra* here specifically for General Suo's family.

To consider an additional viewpoint, the Sogdians brought their Zoroastrian beliefs with them when they arrived at Dunhuang in the early 4th century at the latest. Therefore, Zoroastrianism must have been introduced into Gaochang around this time. I have cited the 4th century Sasanian silver coins produced in Gaochang city, kept in a small square jet box, as the earliest evidence of Zoroastrianism in Gaochang.[48] It is not difficult to conclude that long before 430, when Gaochang's Hutian appeared in written sources, Zoroastrianism had already spread to Gaochang, and the shrine dedicated to Hutian had also been established. By 430, the Hutian Zoroastrian shrine had become a landmark building east of the city of Gaochang, which was even used to indicate the location of what may once have been an important Buddhist shrine dedicated to the Empress Dowager.

To conclude this article, the colophon to the *Golden Light Sutra* excavated in Turfan recorded the act of copying a Buddhist sutra for General Suo and

48 Rong Xinjiang, "Xianjiao chuchuan Zhongguo niandai kao", pp. 296–297.

his family in the Empress Dowager's shrine (a Buddhist shrine) on the south side of the Hutian (a Zoroastrian shrine), east of the city of Gaochang in the year 430. It revealed that in the first half of the 5th century, Sogdians already worshipped the Zoroastrian deity they believed in at a Zoroastrian shrine named Hutian. By combining this knowledge with information about the activities of Zoroastrian Sogdians in Dunhuang in the early 4th century, recorded in the Sogdian ancient letters excavated near Dunhuang, and information about Shi Zhao 石趙 worshipping Hutian in the first half of the 4th century (described in Cui Hong's 崔鴻 "Hou Zhao lu" 後趙錄 in the *Shiliuguo chunqiu*), I surmise that the Hutian shrine in Gaochang must have been established by the middle of the 4th century. By the first half of the 5th century, the shrine was already a landmark structure east of Gaochang, even serving as a reference point when referring to the Empress Dowager's Buddhist shrine.

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CHAPTER 24

Buddhist Images or Zoroastrian Deities? Religious Syncretism on the Silk Road as Seen from Khotan

Translated by Flavia Xi Fang 方希

From the Han to the Tang periods, the Western Regions 西域, in the narrow sense of the term (roughly identical to present-day Xinjiang 新疆), was the territory through which the main routes of the Silk Road passed, connecting Eastern and Western civilisations. Many religions spread eastward through this region, not only Buddhism from India, but also Zoroastrianism 祆教, Manichaeism 摩尼教 and Jingjiao 景教 (Church of the East) from Persia, and all left traces behind in this area. Due to the openness towards foreign cultures that has been prevalent in the oasis kingdoms of this region all along, these religions were able to spread freely throughout the area. They sometimes tended to congregate in specific locations, such as in the ancient kingdom of Gaochang 高昌 (Turfan 吐魯番), where Buddhism coexisted with Zoroastrianism, and where Buddhist temples were built alongside Manichean and Jingjiao temples.

This paper discusses examples of religious syncretism on the Silk Road deriving from a site belonging to the kingdom of ancient Khotan (Yutian 于闐) in the heart of the Taklamakan desert, called Dandan Oilik (meaning "ivory houses" in Uighur). From this location, the modern city of Khotan is 120 km to the south-west, the Khotan river is 75 km to the west, and the Keliya 克里雅 river is 35 km to the east. On this land that today looks like a vast expanse of desert covered with shifting sands, once stood religious temples that spoke of ancient civilisations.

1 Archaeological Investigation

In 1896, the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865–1952) discovered these ancient ruins by accident while crossing the Taklamakan desert.[1] Following Hedin's notes, M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) found the Dandan Oilik ruins in 1900 and

1 Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* (London: Methuen and Co., 1898). On how his materials were organised, see Gösta Montell, "Sven Hedin's Archaeological Collections from Khotan, (I)", *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Vol. VII, 1935, pp. 145–221, pls. I–XX.

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initiated the excavation of the site, unearthing a large number of artefacts and manuscripts. The most remarkable items among them were a series of painted votive panels discovered in a temple.[2] In 1905, the American geographer Ellsworth Huntington (1876–1947) paid a brief visit to this site without finding any antiquities.[3] Then in 1928, an expedition led by Emil Trinkler (1896–1931) searched the area discovering a number of artefacts.[4] After this, Dandan Oilik was forgotten by Western explorers and once again fell into a deep sleep in the middle of the Taklamakan desert.

In 1995, the Academic Committee of the Tang Studies Foundation decided to support the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology led by Professor Wang Binghua 王炳華 to re-excavate the ruins of Dandan Oilik. The following year, archaeologists from Xinjiang rediscovered the original site in the heart of the Taklamakan desert.[5] Unfortunately, the excavation project was halted, as some officials from the Xinjiang Cultural Relics authorities did not support this far-sighted work.

Nevertheless, two years later, in October 1998, a Sino-Swiss Expedition led by Christoph Baumer and consisting of eight other team members ventured into the Taklamakan desert.[6] They not only found the site, but also started to excavate. In the summer of 1999, Baumer published an article in the American journal *Oriental Art*, introducing the murals and statues they discovered at the site.[7] In the following year, he published a book providing a detailed description

2 M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan: Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

3 Ellsworth Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia: A Journey in Central Asia Illustrating the Geographic Base of History* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1907).

4 Emil Trinkler, "Die Zentralasien-Expedition 1927/28: Geographische und archäologische Ergebnisse", *Deutsche Forschung*, Heft 13, 1930, pp. 76–100; Trinkler, "Geographical and Archaeological Expeditions in the Takla-Makan Desert of Chinese Turkestan", *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, 1930, pp. 5–18; Trinkler, "Neue archäologische Funde in der Takla-Makan-Wüste Chinesisch-Turkestans", *Sinica*, VI, 1931, pp. 34–40, and pls. 2–4; Trinkler, *The Stormswept Roof of Asia: By Yak, Camel and Sheep Caravan in Tibet, Chinese Turkestan and over the Kara-Koram*, trans. by Belford K. Featherstone (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1931); Helmut de Terra, "On the World's Highest Plateaus: Through an Asiatic no Man's Land to the Desert of Ancient Cathay", *The National Geographic Magazine*, 59, 1931, pp. 318–367. For the catalogue of archaeological finds, see: Gerd Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesisch-Ostturkestan: Die Trinkler-Sammlung im Übersee-Museum, Bremen* (Bremen: Röver, 1974).

5 *Xinjiang wenwu guji daguan* 新疆文物古跡大觀 (Xinjiang Cultural Relics and Historic Sites) (Urumqi: Xinjiang meishu sheying chubanshe, 1999), pp. 74–75.

6 Members included the producer Jon Jerstad, the photojournalist Urs Mockli, the draftsman Ernst Ruegg, and five strong Han and Uyghur supporting team members.

7 Christoph Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited: New Findings a Century Later", *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 1999, pp. 2–14.

of their entire investigation of the southern Silk Road, including the process of excavating the Dandan Oilik site, similar to the account in the aforementioned article.[8] Baumer's most notable finds were two mural paintings discovered on the internal walls of the temple hall, both containing images of three deities combined into one, that is, divine triads. This was in the hall labelled D13 (probably the hall Stein called D.X).[9]

2 The Garrison of Jiexie in the Tang Dynasty

The documents in Chinese and Khotanese that had been discovered at Dandan Oilik by Stein and others had already revealed that this town, which flourished mostly in the 8th century, was called Jiexie 傑謝 (Gaysāta) during the Tang dynasty. It had been incorporated as the garrison of Jiexie 傑謝鎮 in the Khotan military garrison defence system, which was one of the Tang's Four Garrisons of Anxi.[10]

Based on Stein's archaeological reports, as well as research done on the Chinese and Khotanese documents excavated in Dandan Oilik during the past century, it is possible to divide the buildings discovered in these ruins roughly into four physically separate groups and to determine their nature from the artefacts and manuscripts found there.

Group A: Located in the north-eastern part of the site, this group consists of the ruins of a rather large housing complex and a small Buddhist temple.[11] The housing complex, numbered D.V by Stein, is composed of seven rooms. According to Chinese and Khotanese documents excavated there, it must have been a residential building. Stein had seen the name Silüe 思略 in the Chinese documents, and had surmised that it was a temporary or long-term official residence. According to a report (D.V.6) from the commoner Silüe of Jiexie, dated

8 Christoph Baumer, *Southern Silk Road: In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000), pp. 76–90.

9 Baumer, *Southern Silk Road*, pp. 10–14.

10 For the identification of Jiexie in Chinese with Gaysāta in Khotanese, see Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang, "'Tang Dali sannian sanyue dian chengxian die' ba"《唐大曆三年三月典成銑牒》跋, *Xinjiang shehui kexue* 新疆社會科學 (Xinjiang Social Sciences), No. 1, 1988, p. 62. With regard to the role of Jiexie in the defence system of the Four Garrisons of Anxi, see Rong Xinjiang, "Yutian zai Tangchao Anxi sizhen zhong de diwei" 于闐在唐朝安西四鎮中的地位 (Khotan's Role in the Four Garrisons of Anxi during the Tang), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Western Regions Studies), No. 3, 1992, pp. 58–59.

11 Unless specified, for all related archaeological discoveries, see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 264–273.

to the 2nd month of the 16th year of the Dali 大曆 reign period (781),[12] which Stein excavated from the same house, and the words "Notice of Silüe, *sabo* of Jiexie, from the 5th day of the 10th month of the 7th year of the Jianzhong era (786)" 建中七年十月五日杰謝薩波斯略條記,[13] appended to document M.9.c (Hoernle MS3), which we surmise was from the same house, the main person who lived there in the second half of the 8th century was the same one occurring in the aforementioned document, namely, Silüe 思略 (sometimes written as 斯略, Sīḍaka in Khotanese). Silüe served as a *sabo* 薩波 (spāta) in Jiexie, which means that he was probably the leading official who managed local administrative affairs.[14] In the ruins of the same house, Stein discovered document D.V.4, a letter written in Khotanese from Spāta tturgäśi to Spāta sīḍaki, which serves as additional evidence that this was Silüe's residence.[15] As the complex consisted of seven rooms, it must have functioned as both the administrative centre for the Jiexie region and the residence of Silüe. Other documents, including Sanskrit Buddhist texts, Khotanese documents (D.V.3), a wooden stick (D.V.5), and some Chinese documents have also been found in these rooms.

At the site D.IV, approximately 10 m south of D.V, are the remains of a Buddhist hall. On the shrine in the centre of the hall, once stood a statue of the Buddha, but now only debris and fragments are left scattered on the floor. The hall is surrounded by a veranda, whose entrance opens to the east. Inside the hall, Stein found two wooden panels with standing Buddhas painted on both sides (D.IV.4), and a longer panel, which features the legend of the Rat King (D.IV.5), reflecting the local belief of the people in Khotan. Manuscripts of Sanskrit scriptures and Khotanese secular documents have also been found here. It is worth noting that among these is a document (D.IV.6.1) containing the words *Sūlī krrapūśiri hīya ... vāra* (which means "belonging to the Sogdian Krrapūśiri"[16]) which testifies to the presence of Sogdians in this location. It is

12 Chen Guocan 陳國燦, *Sitanyin suo huo Tulufan wenshu yanjiu* 斯坦因所獲吐魯番文書研究 (Studies of the Documents Obtained by M. Aurel Stein in Turfan) (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 1995), pp. 540–541.

13 Chen Guocan, *Sitanyin suo huo Tulufan wenshu yanjiu*, p. 539.

14 For more information on Silüe, see Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Ba shiji xiaban zhi jiu shiji chu de Yutian" 八世紀下半至九世紀初的于闐 (Khotan from the Second Half of the 8th to the Beginning of the 9th Centuries), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), Vol. 3, 1997, pp. 350–351.

15 Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 259; Harold W. Bailey, *Saka Documents*, *Text Volume* (London: Percy Lund Humphreys, 1968), pp. 40–41 and 42.

16 Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V, p. 258; Harold W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, VII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 77.

thus clear that D.IV was a religious building affiliated with the big house in D.V. It may have functioned as a hermitage where Jiexie's local officials, owners of the house, carried out Buddhist practices. The building also contains images of deities belonging to local cults. The fact that the door of the big house in D.V. opens to the south, precisely in the direction of this small hall, also corroborates this point. Secular Khotanese documents were also found in this room.

Group B: Located in the south-eastern section of the site, this group comprises two buildings that are close to each other.[17] The one to the north, D.VII, has three rooms, two of which contain Buddhist altars. Numerous Chinese contracts have been found here. For instance, there is a contract made by Dispatch Officer 行官 Huo Xinyue 霍昕悅 in the 17th year of the Dali reign period (782) with the monk Qianying 虔英 from the Huguo Monastery 護國寺 to borrow millet (D.VII.4.a); a contract made by a certain Xu Shisi 許十四 during the Dali reign period to borrow money, probably also from the monk Qianying (D.VII.3.a); and yet another contract to borrow money from Qianying, this time made by a full-time soldier 健兒 named Ma Lingzhuang 馬令莊 in the 7th month of the 3rd year of the Jianzhong reign period (782) (D.VII.2). Documents D.VII.4.e and D.VII.4.d are both parts of a contract made by A Sun 阿孫 in the 4th month of the 8th year of the Jianzhong reign period (787), again, for borrowing money. There is also an expense record for the Huguo Monastery (D.VII.4.f), and a grass-cutting order issued by the three principal monks of the Huguo Monastery for the residence of a monk who was away on a mission (D.VII.7).[18] According to the contents of Édouard Chavannes' translations of such Chinese documents that mention monks being away on missions 外巡僧, Stein speculated that this building was the residence of the labouring monks 職事僧 of the Huguo Monastery who were in charge of looking after the temple's gardens and farms. Some of these texts contain the signatures of the three principal monks; some include the judgments of the Elder 上座, and there are also some expense records. These all indicate that this building was part of the Huguo Monastery. This group of buildings was where the monks lived and performed their daily activities; it is also where they worshipped Buddhist images and engaged in Buddhist practices. Three painted wooden panels were discovered near the south-eastern corner of the main building, two of which were probably hung up on walls. Item D.VII.1 is a square panel, with a small protruding part on top and a hole in the middle, so

17 For Stein's archaeological finds and his considerations, see his *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 273–281.

18 Édouard Chavannes, "Chinese Documents from the Sites of Dandan-Uiliq, Niya and Endere", in M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. 1, pp. 521–547, esp. pp. 526–532; Chen Guocan, *Sitanyin suo huo Tulufan wenshu yanjiu*, pp. 544–555 and 557.

it could have been suspended. Much of the paint is worn off, but Stein took it to be a Bodhisattva. Item D.VII.5 is a rectangular panel that is slightly pointed at the top. Two riders with halos are painted on this panel, one on the top riding a horse, and one on the bottom astride a camel. Each is holding a cup with both hands, and a bird swoops down from above toward the cup. The painting on the recto of panel D.VII.6 depicts a three-headed, four-armed Brahmanic Śiva sitting on two bulls; Stein identified this figure as a Bodhisattva. On the back (verso) is the depiction of a four-armed deity, with the distinct costume of a Persian prince. Stein was rather confounded by this image.

South of D.VII are the remains of another Buddhist hall, D.VI. Its entrance faces north, and its internal layout is similar to that of D.IV. In the centre is a Buddhist altar, and a double peristyle surrounds the building. On the wall along the peristyle are murals depicting seated images of the Thousand Buddhas. Two painted wooden panels were found in front of the altar. One of them (D.VI.3) depicts ten seated figures, presumably Bodhisattvas, and the other (D.VI.4) is painted on both sides, with six seated Buddha figures on each side. Also found in this site were fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and Khotanese documents. When Baumer and his team re-excavated this building, which they labelled D 7 a, the Buddhist murals Stein described were still extant. Judging from the orientation of the entrance and the contents of the interior, we can conclude that D.VI was a religious building affiliated with D.VII, where the monks of the Huguo Monastery practiced Buddhism.

Group C: Located in the middle of the site toward the north-west, this was where Stein, in building D.VIII, excavated two Chinese texts and fragments of Khotanese documents.[19] The Chinese texts also belong to the Huguo Monastery, and may have been brought here from elsewhere by the monks. North of [this building] was another ruin, which Stein numbered D.XIII. It suffered a similar fate to that of D.VIII: it had been looted, leaving nothing of significance.[20]

Group D: Located in the south-western section of the site, this is the place where religious buildings are in their highest concentration.[21] The easternmost building is the remains of a Buddhist temple (D.II) with two halls. The larger hall has a Buddhist altar in the middle and is surrounded by enclosing corridors. The smaller hall has an altar against its wall facing the entrance. In both halls the entrances open toward the north. In the larger hall, remains of

19 For the Chinese texts, see Chen Guocan, *Sitanyin suo huo Tulufan wenshu yanjiu*, pp. 558–559; for the Khotanese texts, see Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V, p. 260.

20 Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 281–282.

21 For Stein's records on this group, see his *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 245–263.

decorations around the statue of the Buddha and some accessory small sculptures have been found. The mural paintings of the Thousand Buddhas along the corridors were preserved. A relatively complete statue of a seated Buddha was found in the small Buddha hall, as well as other decorative sculptures and patterns around the Buddha statue.

On the eastern wall, near the altar, the lower half of a statue of Vaiśravaṇa was preserved. On the wall behind it, was a mural painting depicting the legend of the Dragon Girl, and figures of eminent monks. There was also a mural painting with three rows of riders. As for the panels discovered in D.II, panel D.II.4 had divine triads painted on both sides. Panel D.II.03 is painted only on one side. It features two seated figures with halos, each holding an infant wrapped in cloth. Panel D.II.79 depicts the image of a dancing girl, while panel D.II.010 is a long, narrow painted panel, with five seated figures, some of which are damaged and indistinct. Stein guessed they were images of Buddhist deities. Regretfully, by the time Baumer's team re-excavated this site, the painted image of Vaiśravaṇa was almost completely destroyed, and the mural of the Dragon Girl had already disappeared.[22]

A number of Buddhist texts have been uncovered in D.III, in the middle of this group of buildings. Manuscripts of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, such as the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Great Sutra of the Perfection of Wisdom),[23] were discovered here, as well as some in Khotanese, such as the *Sengjiatuo jing* 僧伽陀經 (Sutra of Saṇghāta),[24] and the *Foshuo shoulengyan sanmei jing* 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 (Sutra on the Heroic-March Concentration).[25] These pothi-form manuscripts must have belonged to the collection of the temple's Buddhist library; they may have been left here accidentally, because the presence of a cooking platform next to the eastern wall suggests that it must have been a kitchen.

The western part of the site, called D.X, also has a Buddhist altar in the centre. The Buddha hall is surrounded on all sides by corridors with a north-facing

22 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", p. 11, Fig. 20, D12.

23 Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, *Uten hakken no Daibonhan'nya danpen* 于闐發見の大品般若斷片 (A Fragment of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* Discovered in Khotan), originally published in *Shūkyō-kai* 宗教界 (Religious World), Vol. 8, No. 6, 1936; later included in *Kogetsu zenshū* 壺月全集 (Complete Works of Kogetsu), Vol. 1, pp. 539–549; A. F. R. Hoernle, ed., *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), pp. 176–195, pl. XXI:1; Shōgo Watanabe, "A Comparative Study of the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 114.3, 1994, pp. 386–396.

24 Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V, pp. 69–70.

25 Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V, pp. 256–257; R. E. Emmerick, *The Khotanese Śūraïgamasamādhisūtra* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

entrance. Stein excavated one part of the wall that depicts the Thousand Buddhas, hence he did not go on to clean the other walls. Around the altar, he unearthed numerous standing votive panels, which had probably been left there when used in offerings. These votive panels constitute the most remarkable finds in Dandan Oilik. Among them, D.X.3 depicts a divine triad, which Stein identified as the bodhisattvas Vajrapaṇi, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. Panel D.X.4 depicts the legend of the introduction of sericulture in Khotan. A princess with Persian features is wearing a tall hat with silkworm cocoons hidden inside; a female attendant is pointing to her hat, and on the side, a divine figure is sitting behind the loom. Panel D.X.5 shows a haloed rider sitting astride a dappled horse with the reins in his left hand and a bowl in his right. A bird is swooping down towards the bowl from above. Similar to the painting in D.VII.5, both the rider and horse are painted in a Persian style. Panel D.X.8 depicts a goddess holding an infant in her arms. Her head is also painted in a Persian style. In addition to the panels, Stein also discovered Khotanese Buddhist texts in this room, including the *Sengjiatuo jing* and *Foshuo shoulengyan sanmei jing*.[26] When Baumer's team re-excavated the temple hall (D13), they cleaned the pedestal of the central Buddha statue and cleared the sand away from all four walls, revealing the remaining Buddhist mural paintings. Apart from the Thousand Buddhas that Stein had seen on the eastern and southern walls, they also found the feet of a giant standing Buddha statue, images of female donors (Fig. 24.1), an image of two male donors and one rider on a red camel (Fig. 24.2), as well as two groups of divine triads.[27]

Located south of D.X, is a Buddha hall (D.XII) similar in structure. Inside are fragments of Buddhist statues, life-size mural paintings of Buddhas and images of Bodhisattvas' lower halves.

In sum, at this site there was a concentration of Buddhist monasteries in Jiexie, where offerings were made to Buddhist images and local gods.

On modern maps, Jiexie may seem like a lonely enclave in the middle of the desert. Nonetheless, in the Tang dynasty various roads took travellers to this town. East of Shenshan fort 神山堡 (present-day Mazar Tagh), mid-way along the Hetian 和田 river, which ran through the Tarim basin, there was a road that went through Jiexie. From here, travelling south, one could arrive at the area of Kancheng 坎城 (in the vicinity of present-day Old Damago 老達瑪溝), and join the southern route.[28] Under certain circumstances, Jiexie could be a stopping

26 Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, V, p. 261.

27 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", pp. 10–14.

28 Hou Can 侯燦, "Mazhatage gu shubao ji qi zai sichou zhi lu shang de zhongyao weizhi" 麻札塔格古戍堡及其在絲綢之路上的重要位置 (The Ancient Fortress of Mazar

FIGURE 24.1 Newly excavated images of female donors

FIGURE 24.2 Newly excavated image of male donors and a rider on a red camel

point along the shortcut between the northern and southern routes of the Western Regions. For this reason, its residents and their culture can be seen as typical of Silk Road cities in the Western Regions.

3 Buddhist Images and Zoroastrian Deities

The divine triads that Baumer and his team discovered triggered the reconsideration of the religious images from Dandan Oilik.

Some scholars, including Stein himself, noticed features of Persian art in a number of paintings on the wooden panels Stein had unearthed. However, because Khotan was so well-known as a Buddhist kingdom, no one associated these panel paintings with Zoroastrian iconography. For example, Joanna Williams, who has systematically studied the iconography of the image of the divine triad in D.X.3, identified the figure on the left of this triad as Indra, the one on the right as Brahmā, and the one in the middle as the birth-mother of Gautama Buddha, Māyā-Śrī, or the goddess of fertility.[29] In 1992, Markus Mode published an article on the iconography in these sites, claiming that some of the images on the wooden panels excavated in Khotan (especially those from D.X and D.VII) are not Buddhist images but Sogdian Zoroastrian deities. He identified the three figures on the recto of panel D.X.3, from left to right, as Ohrmazd, Nanā and Wešparkar (the God of Wind).[30]

The murals that Baumer discovered were excavated from Stein's D.X site. The two groups of triads he discovered there were particularly noteworthy, because a wooden panel displaying Zoroastrian triad deities had previously been unearthed at this location.

Baumer's description and comments concerning the two groups of murals were as follows: Regarding the triad deities on the western side of the northern wall (Fig. 24.3), (1) the deity on the left has three heads and a black bull resting at his feet. This image can undoubtedly be identified as Śiva and his mount Nandi. This Hindu deity, referred to in Khotanese texts as Maheśvara, was absorbed into the pantheon of Vajrayāna Buddhism. He was one of the eight guardian deities of the universe. Here he is represented as a *trimūrti*, with

Tagh and its Significance on the Silk Road), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 3, 1987, pp. 63–75.

29 Joanna Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting", *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 23, No. 1–2, 1973, pp. 109–154.

30 Markus Mode, "Sogdian Gods in Exile: Some Iconographic Evidence from Khotan in the Light of Recently Excavated Material from Sogdiana", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Vol. 2, 1991/92, pp. 179–214, esp. p. 184.

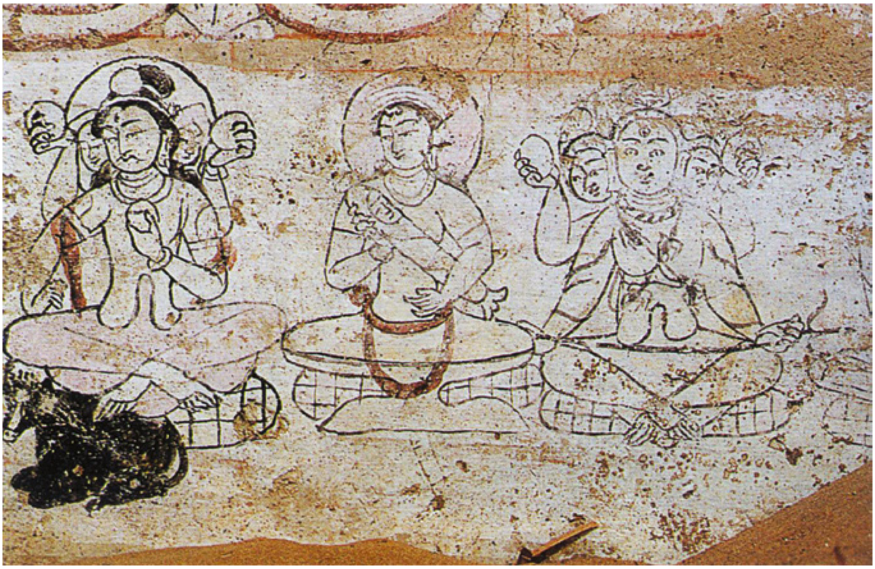

FIGURE 24.3 Newly excavated image of a divine triad on the western side of the northern wall of Buddhist temple D.X

a third eye in the middle of his head, symbolizing his superiority and inscrutability. The female deity on the left, with a slight smile on her face, represents Śiva's spouse Śakti, and symbolizes his energy; the angry face on the right represents his cruelty and destructive power. His two uplifted hands hold the sun and the moon. His lower left hand is holding a pomegranate, and his lower right a *vajra*. (2) The male deity on the right also has three heads. In his upper hands he holds the sun and the moon, or other round objects that symbolize the universe, while his lower hands hold two tridents. This may be a representation of Brahmā, with three heads rather than his usual four. Brahmā was also absorbed into the Vajrayāna Buddhist pantheon. Although tridents are usually identified with Śiva, they are also associated with other divinities, such as Brahmadaṇḍa-Lokeśvara, one of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara. (3) The female deity in the centre is holding a newborn baby wrapped in cloth. Stein had discovered a similar triad panel at this site, which, according to Williams, features Indra on the left, Brahmā on the right, and Māyā-Śrī, mother of Gautama Buddha, or the goddess of fertility, in the middle. If we accept this interpretation, the deity in the middle could represent Śiva and Brahmā celebrating the birth of the Buddha. However, it may also be Hārītī, the goddess of fertility and protector of children. Stein had discovered a mural dating back to the end of the 6th century at the Farhad Beg Yailaki site in Khotan, featuring Hārītī with

FIGURE 24.4 Newly excavated divine triad on the southern side of the western wall of Buddhist temple D.X

five children at play. Albert von Le Coq discovered a 9th-century painting on hemp in Turfan, also depicting Hārītī, and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) wrote about the popularity of this goddess in India as well. This evidence all contributes to the theory that the central figure could be Hārītī. Baumer mentioned another image to the right of Brahmā, but unfortunately it is no longer extant.[31]

Regarding the more finely-painted triad in the lower part of the western wall at the southern end (Fig. 24.4), Baumer's descriptions and identifications are as follows: (1) the image on the left is a three-headed Brahmā with its upper arms holding three arrows in the left hand, and a bow in the right. His mount, the mythical goose Haṃsa, is standing near his knees. His lower left hand is holding a cockerel, though it is not clear what it symbolizes. (2) The most noticeable feature of the deity on the right is its animal head, which resembles that of a male wild boar or wolf. This figure, which at first glance appears to be Viṣṇu's third avatar Varāha, is more likely to be one of the benevolent *grahas* that protect the health of children. Stein had discovered six sheets of paper with paintings of deities with animal or bird heads in Dunhuang 敦煌, which had Chinese and Khotanese colophons. According to the colophons, they are deities that protect children from calamity. (3) The goddess in the centre is

31 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", pp. 12–13.

accompanied by two children, an infant in her arms, wrapped in cloth, and a child sitting on her left knee. She can best be identified as Hārītī. The popularity in Dandan Oilik of this belief in deities that protect children is confirmed in a wooden panel painting, also discovered by Stein at site D.II, featuring two women, each holding a baby wrapped in cloth.[32]

These two mural paintings newly discovered by Baumer have some common characteristics: in both cases there is a goddess in the centre holding an infant in her arms, and two male deities, one on each side, all with halos on their heads. Their heads are all turned slightly to the right except for one deity; this is a characteristic feature of the Dandan Oilik wooden panel paintings discovered so far. All the deities have round faces, typical in the Khotanese fashion, thus the paintings are rich in the characteristics of Khotanese religious art. Baumer identifies the first group of deities, from left to right, as Maheśvara, Hārītī and Brahmā, and the second group, also from left to right, as Brahmā, Hārītī and a benevolent *graha*. He bases this conclusion on the order of development from Hinduism to Vajrayāna Buddhism.[33]

According to the correspondence between Hindu and Zoroastrian deities already established in scholarship, we can provide a new reading for these two triad murals.

For the first group, the deity on the left in Hinduism would be Śiva, in Buddhism it would be Maheśvara, and in the eyes of Zoroastrians, it would have been Ahura Mazda. Wei Shu 韋述 describes the Zoroastrian temple in the Buzheng 布政 ward in Chang'an 長安 in *juan* 3 of his *Liang jing xin ji* 兩京新記 (New Records of the Two Capitals) as follows: "A temple was set up in the 4th year of the Wude 武德 era (621) for the Hu 胡 god of the Western Regions, known as Maheśvara in Buddhist texts".[34] In other words, he is saying that the Maheśvara of Buddhist texts could be identified with the heavenly Hu god of the Western Regions. This identification has been confirmed in the Khotanese panel, Skrine C in the British Museum, as mentioned by Mode. The indistinct image of the god on the lower part of the back (verso) of this panel corresponds exactly to the clear image on the front (recto) of D.VII.6, discovered by Stein at Dandan Oilik (Fig. 24.5). It is a figure of Śiva with three heads and four arms, riding on two bulls. Moreover, on the back

32 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", pp. 13–14.

33 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", pp. 10–14.

34 Pinggang Wufu [Hiraoka Takeo] 平岡武夫, ed., *Tangdai de Chang'an yu Luoyang: Ziliao* 唐代的長安與洛陽 · 資料 (Tang Chang'an and Luoyang: Sources) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 185.

FIGURE 24.5 Image of Śiva on the recto of D.VII.6

of D.VII.6 is a divine image of the prince of Persia that corresponds to the deity on the upper part of Skrine C; thus they are both parts of the same pair of images.[35] This triad, located in the lower corner of the northern wall on the western side, shows a line sketch of only one bull, not coloured in, unlike D.VII.6, which represents two bulls painted in colour. A deity mounted on two symmetrical bulls is one of the typical characteristics of Zoroastrian iconography. It is also worth pointing out that the facial expression of the figure on the left is very similar to that on the divine horseman holding a bowl on the upper part of the wooden panel D.VII.5 mentioned above. These clues enable us to give this image a Zoroastrian interpretation.

The divinity on the right in the first group can be identified as Brahmā from a Buddhist point of view. His three heads look the same as those of the Brahmā on D.X.3 (Fig. 24.6). Mode claims that the latter must be the Sogdian god of wind, Wešparkar, which in the mural at Penjikent is represented as having three heads.[36] Even more interesting is that the newly discovered image of the deity is not holding a bow or a bowl, as in panel D.X.3. Instead, his upper hands are holding a sun and a moon, while his lower two hands are grasping horizontally-positioned tridents. In Sogdiana, Wešparkar is usually depicted standing with a vertical trident (Fig. 24.7), which makes it easier for us to regard him as a Zoroastrian deity.

A parallel in the Persian pantheon for the goddess in the centre, with an infant in her arms, has not yet been found. She is probably Hārītī, a goddess widely revered in the Khotan region.[37]

The second triad is located in the lower part of the western wall of the temple at the southern end. This group is outlined in red. It is unfinished, and only partially painted in green. The deity on the left is again Brahmā. He has three heads, and like the one in D.X.3, he is holding three arrows in one of his upper hands and a bow in the other, though the hands used for each are reversed in this image. Yet, the newly discovered Brahmā holds a cockerel in his lower left hand and is seated on a goose. Another set of correspondences between

35 Mode, "Sogdian Gods in Exile", pp. 186–187, Fig. 17.

36 Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting. The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art*, with contributions by A. M. Belenitskii, B. I. Marshak and M. J. Dresden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 29, Fig. 5.

37 For the image of Hārītī in Khotan, see Williams, "The Iconography of Khotanese Painting", pp. 138–139.

FIGURE 24.6 Brahmā to the right of the divine triad on the recto of wooden panel D.X.3

FIGURE 24.7 Wešparkar holding a trident in a Sogdian mural painting

Buddhist and Zoroastrian deities is provided in the Sogdian-language Buddhist text *Vessantara Jātaka* and Pelliot sogdien 8, both discovered in Dunhuang. In these texts, Brahmā corresponds to Zurvan, Indra to Ahura-Mazda or Adh-bagh, and Maheśvara to Wešparkar.[38] If one interprets these images according to Sogdian conventions, it seems appropriate for Brahmā to correspond to Zurvan, whose mount is indeed a goose in Zoroastrian iconography.[39] Nonetheless, it seems unlikely for the same deity to be conceptualized in such different ways within a single temple. It would be more plausible to consider this an image combining Wešparkar on the top, and Zurvan on the bottom.

The image on the right side of this group has the features of a Hindu deity, and may have derived from a local religious belief in India. Hārītī appears in the centre again, perhaps representing a local religious belief rather than one from a Buddhist context.

My intention here is not to identify these images as an art historian would do, but to pose a question: Why are there so many images of what seem to be Zoroastrian deities in such a relatively small Buddhist temple? They sometimes appear in a group (D.X.3), and at other times in association with other deities from Buddhism or local religions.

As mentioned above, the Dandan Oilik site was the location of the garrison of Jiexie under the kingdom of Khotan during the Tang period. The Khotanese and Chinese texts excavated here suggest the presence of Sogdian merchants from Central Asia, some of whom had become residents in this town in the middle of the 8th century.[40] Moreover, the town leader Silüe's official title was *sabo*, which in Khotanese is *spāta*, a title that may have been derived from the Sogdian word *s'rtp'w*. This term was first used to mean a Sogdian caravan leader; later it came to mean the head of the Sogdian community (also called

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38 Zhang Guangda, "Tulufan chutu Hanyu wenshu suojian Yilangyu diqu zongjiao de zongji" 吐魯番出土漢語文書所見伊朗語地區宗教的蹤跡 (Traces of Religion in Iranian-Speaking Regions in Chinese Manuscripts from Turfan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 4, 1999, pp. 10–11.

39 Cf. Rong Xinjiang, "*Shijia xiangfu waidao xiang* zhong de Xianjiao Misila yu Zu'erwan" 釋迦降服外道像中的祆神密斯拉與祖爾萬 (The Zoroastrian Gods Mithra and Zurvan in the Image of Śākyamunī Subjugating the Heretics), in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 326–342, esp. p. 340.

40 Rong Xinjiang, "Xiyu Sute yimin juluo kao" 西域粟特移民聚落考 (A Study of Sogdian Migrant Settlements in the Western Regions), in Ma Dazheng 馬大正 et al., eds., *Xiyu kaocha yu yanjiu* 西域考察與研究 (The Western Regions: Fieldwork and Research) (Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1994); Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 22–26.

sabao 薩保, *safu* 薩甫, or *sabao* 薩寶 in Chinese historical records).[41] On the basis of Stein's analysis of this archaeological site and its finds, as well as our examination of the excavated texts, the site of Dandan Oilik dates back primarily to the second half of the 8th century. The term "leader Sabo" 首領薩波 is mentioned in Дх.18923, excavated in Khotan and newly published as part of the Russian collection of Dunhuang documents held in St Petersburg.[42] This means that the term *sabo* may have retained the meaning of *s'rtp'w* at the time. Thus the possibility remains that Jiexie could have evolved from a Sogdian merchant settlement.

In any case, such a large number of Sogdians and their community leaders would naturally have brought their religious belief of Zoroastrianism from Sogdiana to the new community. Mode proposes two ways in which Sogdian Zoroastrian deities could have arrived in Khotan. First, they could have come with the early Sogdian travellers who embedded their deities within the pantheon of local Buddhist temples, or, second, they could already have been integrated among the divine elements in the Buddhist schools that spread along the southern Silk Road a long time before that.[43] Based on the coexistence of different religious iconographies discussed above, it is quite possible that Sogdians travelled through or lived in the town of Jiexie on the Silk Road. They would have had their own Zoroastrian temples for worship. However, because since ancient times Khotan had been a holy site of Buddhism on the southern route of the Silk Road, Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular, the Sogdians may have gradually accepted the more prevalent Buddhist faith, or at least recognized – if only on the surface – the leading role Buddhism played in local religions. Nonetheless, they were unwilling to give up their own religion, and therefore painted their beloved Zoroastrian deities in the style of Buddhist iconography in the less noticeable corners of the temple. In this subtle way,

41 Albert E. Dien, "The Sa-Pao Problem Re-Examined", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 82, No. 3, 1962, pp. 336–346; Rong Xinjiang, "Sabao yu Sabo: Beichao, Sui, Tang Huren juluo shouling wenti de taolun yu bianxi" 薩保與薩薄：北朝隋唐胡人聚落首領問題的爭論與辨析 (*Sabao* and *Sabo*: The Sogdian Leaders in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Periods), in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwenji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Papers on Iranian Studies in China), Vol. 3 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003), pp. 128–143; see also Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu Sute wenming* 中古中國與粟特文明 (Medieval China and Sogdian Culture) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2014), pp. 163–185.

42 Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang, "Shengbidebao cang Hetian chutu Hanwen wenshu kaoshi" 聖彼得堡藏和田出土漢文文書考釋 (The St. Petersburg Collection of Chinese Documents Excavated in Khotan), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, No. 6, 2002, pp. 229–230.

43 Mode, "Sogdian Gods in Exile", p. 183.

they would have been able to continue to venerate the gods of their homeland and follow the religion of their ancestors. The upper part of a mural painting discovered in Balawaste, east of Khotan, features a standing Buddha and a shadow sculpture of the Thousand Buddhas. However, below the Buddha's feet are depictions of Maheśvara, a divine rider and a meditating Buddha.[44] According to Mode, all three can be identified as Sogdian deities. The rider has been seen on many painted wooden panels, and the one it most closely resembles is the camel rider on D.VII.5. The deities on either side correspond to the two gods depicted on the two sides of the lower part of Skrine C. The one on the left is remarkably similar to that on D.VII.6, only facing in a different direction. The one on the right features Nana, the goddess most reverently worshipped by the Sogdians. She appears right in the centre of the panel D.X.3, mentioned several times above.[45] When we assemble together the various deities that Mode discusses separately (Fig. 24.8), we can see even more clearly the hidden meaning behind situating these Zoroastrian deities beneath Buddhist images. Most of the Zoroastrian deities we see today are painted either in the bottom part of the rooms, or in the bottom part of the panels, sometimes grouped together with images of local deities. The upper part of the temples are where the Thousand Buddhas are painted and the Buddhist images are carved. These observations seem to elucidate my point.

4 Conclusion

The ancient kingdoms along the Silk Road were characterized by an openness towards different religions and cultures, allowing them to coexist and intermix in local cities and towns. Religious syncretism would have been particularly prominent in places such as Jiexie, which were far from the political and cultural centre. This aspect is reflected in the images that can be seen in local temples, where Buddhist images and representations of Zoroastrian deities can be found together.

In the past, as in the present, divergences and confrontations between religions, sometimes even among disparate sects of the same religion, have brought about conflicts and wars. This creates the impression that different religious beliefs are incompatible with each other. However, in most cases, the spread and distribution of religions in the ancient world did not lead

44 Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan*, pp. 111–119, 112, Abb. 42 a-f.
45 Mode, "Sogdian Gods in Exile", p. 202, Fig. 6 (the horseman); p. 204, Fig. 8 (Nana); p. 213, Fig. 17 (Maheśvara).

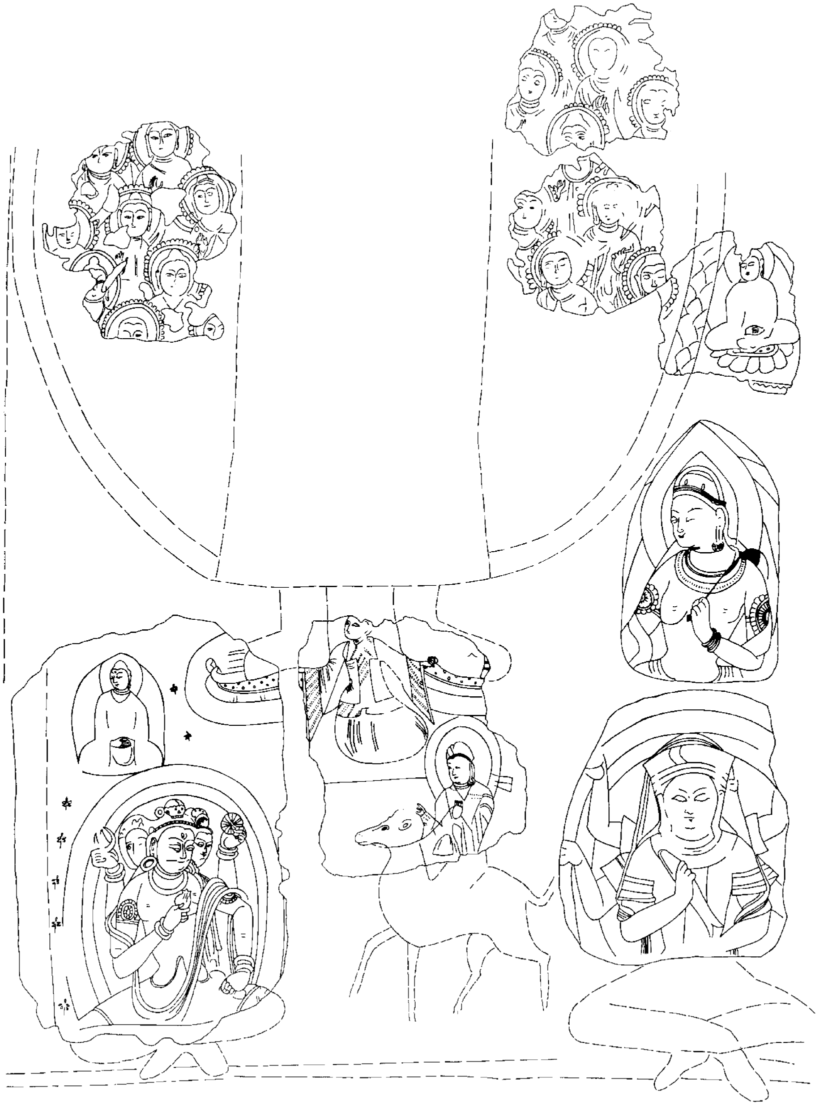

FIGURE 24.8 Deities depicted in the lower part of the Balawaste mural painting

to confrontation or conflict, but rather to coexistence and assimilation. As the eminent scholar of religious studies Raphael Jehuda Zwi Werblowsky once said, "Wherever there are contacts between cultures, there is religious syncretism".[46] Gerardus van der Leeuw pointed out even more clearly, "There is no such thing as pure religions; they are all fusions of different religious elements. This can be seen not only in the early period of their formation, but also during their later evolution".[47] A careful study of the three great religions (Buddhism, Christianity and Islam), reveals similar patterns of development. Of course, the phenomenon of religious syncretism mentioned by both scholars[48] is particularly apparent and typical in ancient Central Asia, "the crossroads of human civilizations". In this vast region from the Kushan to the Mongol empires, from Kanishka to Qubilai Qan and from Samarkand to Turfan, despite changes in time and place, and different attitudes and policies adopted by ruling classes toward religions, there has never been a single religion that could dominate the world or govern the spiritual realm of all people. What people choose to believe depends on the time in which they live, their historical conventions and their personal interests. Some are steadfast followers of one religion, while others choose aspects of different belief systems that suit their individual preferences when they seek faith and consolation in times of peace or conflict. Although there is opposition and competition among different religions, most of the time they coexisted in relative peace. On the other hand, in some sense it is precisely the opposition and competition that sometimes stimulate religions to evolve, not only looking inward, but also outward, absorbing and learning the advantages of other religions to enrich and improve themselves and increase their adaptability.[49] In this way, they are able to occupy a greater religious space and become more resilient.

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46 Raphael Jehuda Zwi Werblowsky, "Synkretismus in der Religionsgeschichte", in Walther Heissig and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, eds., *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), p. 2.

47 Cited in Werblowsky, "Synkretismus in der Religionsgeschichte", p. 2.

48 The study of religious syncretism began in the 1970s and 1980s and has since received considerable attention in Western scholarship (especially in Germany), being explored in many publications. For the definition, types, patterns, and methodologies of syncretism, see Zwi Werblowsky, "Synkretismus in der Religionsgeschichte", and other relevant chapters in Heissig and Klimkeit, *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. For the phenomenon of syncretism in Central Asia specifically, see the chapter by Klimkeit, "Synkretismus in Zentralasien – eine Zwischenbilanz", in Heissig and Klimkeit, *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*, pp. 207–216.

49 In his "Synkretismus in Zentralasien – eine Zwischenbilanz", Klimkeit repeatedly uses the term "adaptation", including the adaptation of foreign religions in the local cultural environment, the adaptation of local cultures to foreign elements and the mutual adaptation

Because opposition between religions has often led to war, people today have the strong impression that religious diversity leads to conflict. On the ancient Silk Road, however, coexistence and syncretism among different religions was a common phenomenon throughout history.

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of foreign religions to each other. He also suggests that this kind of adaptation, whether passive or active, is not only the driving force behind the development of individual religions, but also an important prerequisite for the emergence of religious syncretism.

CHAPTER 25

Further Discussion of the Mixing of Religions on the Silk Road: A New View of the Buddhist Murals in Khotan

Translated by Mia Ye Ma 馬也

In July 2000, I gave a presentation on the transformation of Zoroastrian art as it spread from Sogdiana to China at the international conference "Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period" held at Peking University. Based on Markus Mode's identification of Sogdian deities, I expressed the following viewpoint:

> We are not completely sure where these wooden panels depicting Zoroastrian deities were originally located. For instance, all of the deities on the obverse side of panel D.X.3 are Zoroastrian, while those on the reverse side are Bodhisattvas. If both sides of the panel were originally situated in the temple as M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) presents them, the reverse side was probably attached to the wall, leaving only the obverse side with the Zoroastrian deities facing the worshippers. (The side depicting the Zoroastrian deities is much clearer than the one showing the Bodhisattvas – perhaps because the side attached to the wall suffered from abrasion?) The Khotanese and Chinese manuscripts excavated at the Dandan Oilik site near Khotan provide evidence of large numbers of Sogdians living in the region of Jiexie 傑謝 during the Tang period. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that the local Sogdians had a Zoroastrian temple. Because this composition consists of figures that are so obviously Zoroastrian, it is difficult to interpret them within a Buddhist context.

Here, I added a footnote saying, "Of course this is outside the scope of Mode's identification, but given the function of the panels and the presence of Sogdians in this location, I would like to raise this as a third possibility, though it would require more careful research to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion".[1]

1 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Sute Xianjiao meishu dong chuan guocheng zhong de zhuanhua: Cong Sute dao Zhongguo" 粟特祆教美術東傳過程中的轉化：從粟特到中國 (From

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Regarding the iconography of Zoroastrian deities represented on the wooden panel from Dandan Oilik, Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 has written a study in which he examined the three-deity images.[2]

Before this, in October 1998, Christoph Baumer and others had re-excavated the Buddhist temple marked by Stein as D.X (new number: D13). They cleared the central pedestal of the Buddhist statue and found Buddhist paintings on all four walls. In addition to the Thousand Buddhas Stein discovered on the east and south walls, they also found the feet of large-scale standing Buddhas, some female donors and two male donors, and a rider on a red camel. Most fascinating were the images of two divine triads.[3] In the summer of 1999, Baumer published the paper entitled "Dandan Oilik Revisited: New Findings a Century Later", in which he pointed out the similarities between these two newly discovered murals. Both had at their centre a goddess cradling an infant, with two male deities by her sides, which Baumer explained in terms of a chronological development from Hinduism to Vajrayāna Buddhism.[4]

After reading Baumer's paper, I reconsidered these images. In the winter of 2003, I published an article on religious syncretism from the point of view of Buddhist and Zoroastrian images from Khotan. Based on past scholarship, which has settled the relationship between Hindu and Zoroastrian deities, I provided a new interpretation of the murals of divine triads newly discovered by Baumer.[5]

In August 2006, Lin Meicun 林梅村 also relied on Baumer's two murals while discussing the images of the god Brahmā in Buddhist paintings from

Sogdiana to China: The Transformation of Sogdian Zoroastrian Art during its Eastward Migration), paper presented at the international conference "Between Han and Tang: Religious Art and Archaeology in a Transformative Period", held at Peking University in July 2000. See Wu Hong 巫鴻, ed., *Hantang zhijian wenhua yishu de hudong yu jiaorong* 漢唐之間文化藝術的互動與交融 (Between Han and Tang: Cultural and Artistic Interaction in a Transformative Period) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), p. 58.

2 Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, "Yutian mubanhua suojian Sute Xianjiao meishu de yingxiang" 于闐木板畫所見粟特祆教美術的影響 (The Influence of Sogdian Zoroastrian Art as Seen in the Wood Panels from Khotan), in Jiang Boqin, ed., *Zhongguo Xianjiao yishu shi yanjiu* 中國祆教藝術史研究 (The History of Zoroastrian Art in China) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2004), pp. 195–202.

3 Christoph Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited: New Findings a Century Later", *Oriental Art*, Vol. XLV, No. 2, 1999, pp. 10–14.

4 Baumer, "Dandan Oilik Revisited", pp. 10–14.

5 Rong Xinjiang, "Foxiang haishi Xianshen? Cong Yutian kan Silu zongjiao de huntong xingtai" 佛像還是祆神？從于闐看絲路宗教的混同形態 (Buddhist or Zoroastrian Deities? The Mixing of Religions on the Silk Road as seen from Khotan), *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州學林 (Forest of Chinese Culture), Vol. 1, No. 2, 2003, pp. 93–115.

Khotan. He agreed with most of Baumer's arguments, except for the identification of the deity on the right-hand side of the second group as a *graha*.[6]

In April 2007, Huo Wei 霍巍 discussed the similarities between the style and content of wooden panels and mural paintings from Dandan Oilik and the Buddhist paintings in Western Tibet. He pointed out that Buddhism in Western Tibet was strongly influenced by Khotanese Buddhism.[7]

Both of the above studies focused on Buddhist iconography. Among them, Huo Wei's emphasised the assimilation of local religions into Buddhism.

In October 2002, a Buddhist temple in Dandan Oilik was discovered by a joint expedition team from the Xinjiang Cultural Relics Bureau 新疆文物局, the Xinjiang Research Institute for Archaeology and Cultural Relics 新疆文物考古研究所, and the Niya Ruins Academic Research Organisation of Bukkyō University 佛教大学ニヤ遺跡学術研究機構 in Japan. A rescue excavation was carried out in November, exposing the murals in the lower layer of the Buddhist temple.[8] This new discovery has proved extremely helpful for understanding the issues discussed here.

The murals preserved in the lower layer of the Buddhist temple were in the same position as the wooden panels obtained by Stein and the murals discovered by Baumer. They were all below the main Buddha statue. In the newly discovered mural painting are also what remains of a tall standing Buddha: his two feet and the lower part of his cassock. Below his feet is a relatively small

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6 Lin Meicun 林梅村, *Sichou zhi lu kaogu shi wu jiang* 絲綢之路考古十五講 (Fifteen Lectures on the Archaeology of the Silk Road) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 207–210.

7 Huo Wei 霍巍, "Yutian yu Zangxi: Xinchu kaogu cailiao suo jian liang di jian de gudai wenhua jiaoliu" 于闐與藏西：新出考古材料所見兩地間的古代文化交流 (Khotan and Western Tibet: Ancient Cultural Exchange between the Two Regions as Seen in Newly Discovered Archaeological Materials), in Sichuan daxue Zhongguo Zangxue yanjiusuo 四川大學中國藏學研究所, ed., *Zangxue xuekan* 藏學學刊 (Journal of Tibetan Studies), No. 3 (*Tubo yu Sichou zhi lu yanjiu zhuanji* 吐蕃與絲綢之路研究專輯 [Special Issue on Tibet and the Silk Road]), 2007, pp. 146–156.

8 Xinjiang wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 新疆文物考古研究所, "2002 nian Dandan wulike yizhi Fosi qingli jianbao" 2002 年丹丹烏里克遺址佛寺清理簡報 (2002 Brief Report on the Ruins of a Buddhist Monastery at Dandan Oilik), *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 (Cultural Relics of Xinjiang), No. 3, 2005, pp. 8–19, and Plates 2 and 3. Cf. Zhang Yuzhong 張玉忠, Qu Tao 屈濤, and Liu Guorui 劉國瑞, "Dandan wulike xin faxian de Fosi bihua" 丹丹烏里克新發現的佛寺壁畫 (Newly Discovered Mural in a Buddhist Monastery at Dandan Oilik), in Bukkyō daigaku Niya iseki gakujutsu kenkyū kikō 佛教大学ニヤ遺跡学術研究機構 et al., eds., *Nicchū kyōdō Dandan-uiriku iseki gakujutsu kenkyū no seika wo megutte* 日中共同ダンダンウイリク遺跡學術研究の成果をめぐって (Japan-China Joint Communiqué on the Archaeological Results at Dandan Oilik) (Kyoto: Bukkyō daigaku, 2005), pp. 79–85; Matsumoto Nobuyuki 松本伸之, *Shin shirukurōdo-ten* 新シルクロード展 (New Silk Road Exhibition) (Tokyo: Sankei shinbunsha, 2005), pp. 71–79.

guardian supporting the Buddha's feet on his shoulder. Behind the Buddha's feet is a line-drawing defining a brick wall on which there is a procession of deities on horseback. Below this, in front of the wall, is a deity riding on a dappled horse. Above his head to the right, a huge dark bird swoops down towards him. This motif of a deity on horseback appears frequently in the paintings and murals discovered by Stein and others, and are also derived from Iranian deities of the Sogdians. The upper section of the other wall painting depicts three rows of Thousand Buddhas. Below it is a procession of deities riding horses, some of whom have birds swooping down on them from above, as in the case of the above-mentioned deity on horseback. Of greatest interest is what is depicted on yet another mural fragment. On the top is what remains of two Buddhas next to each other; one sitting in meditation, and the other standing, with a lotus platform beneath them. To the lower left of the Buddhas, from top to bottom, are images of a human with an animal head on top, a wild wolf[9] in the middle, and a female deity holding an infant wrapped in cloth at the bottom. Below the Buddhas are four images, which are, from left to right, as follows. The first figure has an animal head and a human body, holding at the shoulder level in its left and right hand the sun and the moon. Further down, it holds with another hand a chicken(?) in front of its chest. Its lower body merges into the rocks that envelop its waist. The second figure is a boy with three faces and four arms, who holds with his upper hands the sun and the moon. One of the lower hands holds a chicken while the other makes a fist. A peacock in front of the boy is straining its neck looking backwards. The third figure is a goddess with exposed breasts. She is lifting her hands to grasp a nude figure who is hanging upside down in front of her. The fourth one is quite damaged; it is a male deity, with two horses facing each other in front of him.

We can identify among these figures Hārītī, known to us from Buddhist iconography, but we can also trace some of the images, such as the horse-riding deity, back to Iranian Zoroastrianism. In addition, many of the ferocious images are similar to those in late Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism, which are entirely different from the orthodox images that usually appear in Buddhist temples. If we compare the above-mentioned wooden panels from Dandan Oilik with the murals of Balawaste, it is not difficult to understand that these images are more likely to be local deities worshipped by the common people of the area. Even Hārītī, as depicted here, is most likely connected to a local cult rather than the Hārītī known in the Buddhist context.

9 Lin Meicun suggests that it is a yellow dog, see Lin Meicun, *Sichou zhi lu kaogu shi wu jiang*, pp. 210–211.

Art historians often try to explain newly discovered images by finding similarities with known images. When one takes such an approach, small Silk Road kingdoms like Khotan seem to be almost completely bereft of any culture of their own, as all their images can be traced to earlier forms in India, Persia, Greece, Rome and the interior of China. In reality, these kingdoms of the Western Regions have possessed a high level of civilisation ever since the Han period and, naturally, have developed their own cultural traditions. Moreover, they have also blended their local culture with external ones, according to their own preferences. For this reason, rather than trying to use Buddhism to explain such deities that are unknown in Buddhist iconography, it would be better to regard them as local gods, which include various Hindu and Iranian, or Buddhist and Zoroastrian elements.

In the conclusions of my article "Foxiang haishi xianshen?" 佛像還是祆神？(Buddhist Images or Zoroastrian Deities?), I wrote,

> The ancient kingdoms along the Silk Road were characterised by an eclectic attitude towards different religions and cultures, allowing them to coexist and intermix in local cities and towns. Religious syncretism would have been particularly prominent in places such as Jiexie, which were far from the political and cultural centre. This aspect is reflected in the images seen in local temples, which are Buddhist images but at the same time representations of Zoroastrian deities.

Hence, these newly discovered murals in Dandan Oilik can increase our understanding of the mixing of different religions on the ancient Silk Road.

(This article is taken from my paper "Foxiang haishi Xianshen? Cong Yutian kan Silu zongjiao de huntong xingtai" 佛像還是祆神？– 從于闐看絲路宗教的混同形態 [Buddhist Images or Zoroastrian Deities? – The Mixing of Religions on the Silk Road as seen from Khotan], submitted for the "Joint Sino-Japanese International Academic Symposium on the Silk Road" held on 11 November 2007. It was later published in *Xinjiang wenwu* 新疆文物 [Xinjiang Cultural Relics], 2008, Nos. 1–2, pp. 29–34. Here I have used the material deleted from that article, preserving the description of the academic background and the discussion of the newly discovered mural.)

CHAPTER 26

Jingjiao Christians as Heretics in the Eyes of Buddhists and Daoists of the Tang Dynasty

Translated by Flavia Xi Fang 方希

In 1999, I pointed out in an article that in the *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages), compiled by the monks of the Baotang school 保唐宗 of the Jiannan 劍南 circuit (present-day Sichuan 四川) during the Dali 大暦 reign period (766–779), the two heretics defeated by their Indian patriarch are called Momanni 末曼尼 and Mishihe 彌施訶. They respectively refer to the founder of Manichaeism and the Christian Jesus.[1] In a short paper published in 2003, Timothy H. Barrett pointed out that Manichaeans and Jingjiao 景教 Christians (members of the Church of the East) are also indicated as heretics in the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscript *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 (Scripture on Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians) and a Daoist source of the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1279), *Youlong zhuan* 猶龍傳 (Biography of the One Who is Like a Dragon). In addition, he discussed the possible connection

1 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "*Lidai fabaoji* zhong de Momanni yu Mishihe: Jian tan Tubo wenxian zhong de Monijiao he Jingjiao yinsu de laili"《歷代法寶記》中的末曼尼與彌師訶 – 兼談吐蕃文獻中的摩尼教和景教因素的來歷 (Momanni and Mishihe in the *Lidai fabaoji*: Also Discussing the Origin of the Manichaean and Jingjiao Elements in Tibetan Documents), in Wang Yao 王堯, ed., *Zangxue yanjiu congkan: Xianzhe xinyan* 藏學研究叢刊·賢者新宴 (Collected Studies on Tibet: A New Banquet for the Worthies) (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999), pp. 130–150; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhonguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 343–368. Wendi L. Adamek, *Issues in Chinese Buddhist Transmission as Seen through the* Lidai fabaoji (*Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages*), Ph.D Dissertation, Stanford University, 1997, pp. 152–153, was the first to point out that the names [Mo]manni (末) 曼尼 and Mishihe 彌施訶 do not appear in the *Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 (The History of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasury), but this may have been because she used the *Taishō Tripitaka* edition, where Momanni is written as Manni. Thus she did not discuss these heresies further. Recently, in her article "The *Lidai fabaoji* (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages)", she has accepted my hypothesis, see Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright, eds., *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 90–91, n. 33. Cf. Wendi L. Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 107, 427, n. 68.

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between Daoist and Chan 禪 texts, as well as the problem of dating.[2] Liu Yi 劉屹 pointed out that Jingjiao Christians were disparaged as "heretical demons" and called "Mishihe" 彌施訶 in the Dunhuang 敦煌 *Huahu jing* 化胡經 (Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians; S.6963), and then further investigated the question of why the *Huahu jing* considers Manichaeism an orthodox religion on a par with Daoism and Buddhism, but regards Jingjiao Christians as heretical demons. This could be related to the specific historical background in the early reign of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), but we still cannot offer any precise answer to the question.[3]

Now that almost a century of research has been done on Jingjiao and Manichaeism, and we have almost exhausted all the relevant historical materials, it is exciting that the *Lidai fabaoji* and the *Laozi huahu jing* contain references to Jingjiao. Yet, these materials have only recently been introduced into discussions on Jingjiao. My aforementioned article was written for Tibetan specialists, to voice a different explanation regarding the source of Mani and Jesus (Messiah) in Chan texts from the Tibetan period. Therefore, issues like the precise dating of texts and the context for the establishment of the religions have not been taken into account. Barrett offers relevant Daoist materials in his article, but he does not discuss the issue more deeply. The present paper uses a broader approach, focusing on the history and development of religion in the Tang dynasty to explore how Jingjiao Christians came to be seen as heretics by Daoists and Buddhists, how Jingjiao, once transmitted to the Tang capital, was transformed into heresy in the *Laozi huahu jing*, and how the image of this heresy was later used by Buddhists and Daoists. In addition, I shall analyse which texts continued to see Christians as heretics, and which were motivated, due to contemporary local religious conflicts, to consider both Christians and Manichaeans as antagonistic, heretical forces that needed to be exterminated completely.

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2 Timothy H. Barrett, "Tang Daoism and the Mention of Jesus and Mani in Tibetan Zen: A Comment on Recent Work by Rong Xinjiang", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 1, 2003, pp. 56–58.

3 See Liu Yi 劉屹, "Tangdai Daojiao de *'Huahu' jing shuo* yu *Daoben lun*" 唐代道教的"化胡"經說與"道本論" (The Scripture on the 'Conversion of the Barbarians' in Tang Daoism and the 'Daoben lun'), in Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, ed., *Tangdai zongjiao xinyang yu shehui* 唐代宗教信仰與社會 (Tang Religions and Society) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2003), pp. 115–116.

1 The Introduction of Jingjiao and Daoism

When the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907) was first founded, Buddhism and Daoism were the religions that prevailed in society, with Buddhism being the more dominant. As the imperial Li 李 clan claimed Laozi 老子 as their progenitor, from the reign of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626) onward, the dynasty actively supported Daoism. During the time of Emperor Gaozu, the hierarchy of the three religions was "first Daoism, then Confucianism, and lastly Buddhism".[4] Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) issued an edict in the 11th year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (637), stating,

> My clan derives from Laozi, its prosperity and heaven-bestowed fortune are due to the favour of the Supreme Virtue, and the empire's great stability is based on the merit of Non-Action. It would be suitable to make a change and expound the Mysterious Transformation. From now on, ritual meals are to be offered and rules of conduct are to be established. As for their appellation, Daoist priests and nuns should be ranked above Buddhist ones.[5]

Just two years before Emperor Taizong issued this edict, i.e. in 635, Jingjiao was introduced at the Tang capital, Chang'an 長安. One year after the above edict, Taizong issued an edict specifically in relation to Jingjiao. The entry on the "Da Qin Temple" 大秦寺 in the *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) reads as follows:

> The edict issued in the 7th month of the 12th year of the Zhenguan reign period (638) reads: "The Way does not have a constant name and the holy does not have a constant form. Teachings are established according to localities, and their mysteries aid mankind. The Persian monk Alopen (fl. 635) has brought scriptures and teachings from afar, and presented them at the capital. He has explained the doctrines, so that nothing is left obscure. They set forth the most important things for living, everything in them benefits man. It is appropriate that they should spread throughout

4 "Shi Huisheng zhuan" 釋慧乘傳 (Biography of Shi Huisheng), in Daoxuan 道宣, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), *juan* 25, T.50.2060, p. 634a.

5 *Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 (Collection of Tang Edicts), *juan* 113, "Daoshi nüguan zai seng ni zhi shang zhao" 道士女冠在僧尼之上詔 (Edict on the Higher Status of Daoist Priests and Nuns Compared to Buddhist Monks and Nuns) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1959), pp. 586–587.

> the empire. The office in charge should construct a monastery in the district of Yining 義寧 to host the 21 monks".[6]

A more detailed account can be found in the inscriptions on the "Stele Commemorating the Propagation of the Da Qin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom" 大秦景教流行中國碑 (abbreviated as the "Jingjiao Stele"), erected in the 2nd year of the Jianzhong 建中 reign period (781):

> The way of the true constant is mysterious, and it is difficult to give it a name, but its merits are manifest, impelling us to call it the Luminous Teaching. If it is only a way and is not holy, then it is limited. If it is holy but is not the way, then it is not great. When the way and holiness match each other, then the world will be enlightened. When Emperor Taizong's reign began, he was wise in his relations with the people. In the state of Da Qin (i.e. the Eastern Roman Empire) there was a man of great virtue (a bishop), known as Alopen, who detected the intent of Heaven and conveyed the true scripture here. He observed the way the winds blew in order to travel through difficulties and perils, and in the 9th year of the Zhenguan reign period (635), he reached Chang'an. The emperor dispatched the minister Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 as an envoy to the western outskirts to welcome the visitor, who translated the scriptures in the library. [The emperor] examined the doctrines in his apartments and reached a profound understanding of their truth. He specially ordered that they be promulgated. In the autumn, in the 7th month of the 12th year of the Zhenguan reign period (638), the emperor proclaimed: The Way does not have a constant name, and the holy does not have a constant form. Teachings are established according to localities, and their mysteries aid mankind. Alopen, the virtuous man of Da Qin, has brought scriptures and images from afar, and presented them at the capital. He has explained the doctrines, so that nothing is left obscure. We have observed its basic teachings. They set forth the most important things for living, their words are not complicated, and their principles, once learnt, can be easily retained. Everything in them benefits man. It is appropriate that they should spread throughout the empire. As a result,

6 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 1011–1012. [English translation based on Lance Eccles and Samuel N. C. Lieu, trans., "Stele on the Diffusion of the Luminous Religion of Da Qin [Rome] in the Middle Kingdom" [2016], <http://www.mq.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/55987/Xian-Nestorian-Monument-27-07-2016.pdf>, accessed 25 March 2021.]

> a Da Qin temple was constructed in the capital, in the district of Yining. This temple had 21 monks.[7]

Based on the wording of Emperor Taizong's edict, it is not hard to tell that his initial understanding of the doctrines of this newly introduced religion, Jingjiao, is that it preaches the "mysterious and unconditioned". This matches the basic doctrine of Daoism supported by the Tang court. In addition, this edict was issued immediately after the "Ling Daoshi zai seng qian zhao" 令道士在僧前詔 (Edict on the Higher Status of Daoist Priests and Nuns Compared to Buddhist Monks and Nuns), which further indicates that Taizong accepted Jingjiao because he saw it as a religion similar to Daoism; he even ordered priests to spread the teaching. It is clear from this edict that Jingjiao first entered China in a Daoist disguise,[8] and this was probably one of the reasons why it was soon accepted and allowed to be promulgated. As for the newly arrived Christians, attaching themselves to the imperially supported Daoism and using its power to develop was a tactic adopted for the sake of promoting their own teachings.

The temple built in the 12th year of the Zhenguan reign period (638), which was the "Persian Temple 波斯胡寺 north-east of Cross Street 十字街" in the Yining district mentioned in the *Liang jing xinji* 兩京新記 (New Record of the Two Capitals),[9] was initially inhabited only by the Persian bishop Alopen and twenty one monks.

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7 My quotations from the Jingjiao Stele below are based on Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, edited with supplements by Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Scuola di studi sull'Asia orientale; Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises de Collège de France, 1996), Fig. 2. [English translation based on Eccles and Lieu, trans., "Stele on the Diffusion of the Luminous Religion of Da Qin (Rome) in the Middle Kingdom".]

8 In his annotations to the Jingjiao Stele, Pelliot points out many words that come from Daoist texts. See Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, pp. 181ff. Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之, *Zhongguo Jingjiao* 中國景教 (The Jingjiao Religion of China) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1993), focuses on the Daoist influences on Jingjiao, see p. 141. Yang Senfu 楊森富 also lists the technical terms from Buddhism and Daoism, as well as from the Christian religion, that occur in the Jingjiao Stele and in Jingjiao scriptures, and draws comparisons among them. See his "Tang Yuan liangdai Jidujiao xingshuai yuanyin zhi yanjiu" 唐元兩代基督教興衰原因之研究 (Study of the Reasons Behind the Rise and Fall of Christianity in the Tang and Yuan Dynasties), in Lin Zhiping 林治平, ed., *Jidujiao ru Hua baiqishinian jinianji* 基督教入華百七十年紀念集 (Collection of Studies Commemorating 170 Years of Christianity in China) (Taibei: Yuzhouguang chubanshe, 1977), pp. 31–52.

9 Pinggang Wufu [Hiraoka Takeo] 平岡武夫, ed., *Tangdai de Chang'an yu Luoyang: Ziliao* 唐代的長安與洛陽·資料 (Tang Chang'an and Luoyang: Sources) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 192.

2 The Buddho-Daoist Conflict and the Heretic Mishihe in the *Huahu jing*

Although the Tang imperial family used its political authority to elevate Daoism above Buddhism, ever since the Wei 魏 (220–265), Jin 晉 (265–420) and Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 (420–589) periods, Buddhism's popularity among both the ruling classes and the general populace – its support from multiple levels of society – far surpassed that of Daoism. Therefore, conflicts continued among Buddhists and Daoists from the beginning of the Tang dynasty. The *Laozi huahu jing* has always been at the focus of discussion in this rivalry between Buddhism and Daoism.

The *Laozi huahu jing* (here abbreviated *Huahu jing*), literally the *Scripture on Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians*, was written by Wang Fu 王浮 of the Western Jin 西晉 period (259–307). Originally consisting of only one *juan*, it claims that Laozi transformed himself into the Buddha in order to convert the barbarians. The author's purpose was to denigrate Buddhism. Thereafter, the idea of Laozi converting the barbarians became widespread and underwent various additions and modifications, leading to the creation of different versions, texts and images. There were even Daoist versions of the *Huahu jing* for Daoists, and Buddhist versions for Buddhists, each expressing different views.

During the reign of Emperor Tang Gaozu, when the grand astrologer Fu Yi 傅奕 (555–639) presented his eleven arguments for the abolition of Buddhist teachings, and the Buddhist monk Falin 法琳 (572–640) refuted him with his treatise *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (Treatise on the Destruction of Evil), they both quoted different versions of the *Huahu jing*. During the reign of Taizong, explicit edicts were issued ranking Daoism above Buddhism. In the 5th year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period (660), the Buddhist monk Jingtai 靜泰 (fl. 660–666) and the Daoist priest Li Rong 李榮 (fl. 658–663) participated in a debate about the *Huahu jing* at court, taking opposite sides and quoting from different versions of the scripture.[10] During Emperor Gaozong's reign, the Daoist priest Wang Xuanhe 王懸河 (fl. 680) included two different versions of *Huahu jing* in his edited collection *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 (Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns).[11] Daoxuan's 道宣 *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (Catalogue of the

10 Wang Weicheng 王維誠, "Laozi huahu shuo kaozheng" 老子化胡說考証 (An Investigation into the Theory of Laozi Converting the Hu), *Guoxue jikan* 國學季刊 (Journal of Chinese Studies), Vol. 4, No. 2, 1934, pp. 59–65.

11 Wang Xuanhe 王懸河, "Sandong zhunang" 三洞珠囊 (Pearl Satchel of the Three Caverns), *juan* 9, "Laozi hua xihu pin" 老子化西胡品 (Works about Laozi Converting

Inner Canon of the Great Tang), says in the chapter called "Lidai suochu yiwei jing lun lu" 歷代所出疑偽經論錄 (Record of Suspicious Sutras and Treatises through the Ages): "*Zheng hua neiwai jing* 正化內外經, in 2 *juan*, also known as *Laozi huahu jing*, is said to have been written by Chancellor 祭酒 Wang Fu of the Jin period".[12] This text is listed under spurious sutras in the *Da Zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定眾經目錄 (Catalogue of Scriptures, Collated in the Great Zhou) compiled by Mingquan 明佺 (fl. 695) and others in the 1st year of the Zhengsheng 證聖 reign period (695). One catalogue says it was in one *juan*, the other, in two *juan*.[13]

Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) was raised in a family with a Buddhist background. She also used the *Dayun jing* 大雲經 (Great Cloud Sutra) and *Baoyu jing* 寶雨經 (Precious Rain Sutra) as political propaganda to rise to the throne. Therefore, when she replaced the ruling house of Li and changed the name of the Tang dynasty to Zhou 周 (690–705), she fervently promoted Buddhism and suppressed Daoism. As a result, some prominent Daoist priests in the capital also converted to Buddhism.[14] However, as a ruler, Wu Zetian was extremely skillful at using various religions to maintain the stability of her own reign. In the first year of the Wansui tongtian 萬歲通天 reign period (696), the Buddhist monk Huicheng 惠澄 requested permission to destroy the *Laozi huahu jing*. Empress Wu ordered Vice Director of the Ministry of Justice 秋官侍郎 Liu Ruxuan 劉如璇 to discuss this matter [with other officials].[15] The result was that Liu and the others emphasised the authenticity of the *Huahu jing*, advocating the common origin of Buddhism and Daoism, and recommending against its destruction.[16] Therefore, Wu Zetian issued an imperial decree prioritising both Buddhism and Daoism, which reads:

the Western Hu), *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Vol. 25 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe; Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1994), pp. 355b–359b.

12 T.55.2149, p. 334.

13 T.55.2153, p. 473.

14 Antonino Forte, "The Maitreyist Huaiyi (d. 695) and Taoism", *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 4, 1998, pp. 15–29; Forte, "Additions and Corrections", *Tang yanjiu*, No. 5, 1999, pp. 35–40.

15 This is stated in the note added to the "Yi Huahu jing zhuang" 議化胡經狀 (Report on the Discussion on the *Huahu jing*) listed under works related to immortals in the bibliographic treatise in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 59, p. 1521.

16 For a partial record of the discussions, see "Hunyuan shengji" 混元聖紀 (Sagely Records of the Primordial Chaos), *juan* 8, *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Vol. 17, pp. 859–60; *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 165 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1686.

> The [account of] Lord Lao converting the barbarians is treated extensively in the canon. How can I allow monks frivolously to request its destruction? We know that one must not make decisions after hearing only one side; [the matter] requires further discussion. […] It is clear that the conversion of the barbarians was true, and the [Venerable Sovereign's] transformation into the Buddha was not fallacious. Daoism can establish its teaching through expedient means, and the Buddha initially was born from the Dao (Way). Since the teachings of Laozi and Śākyamuni come from the same origin, it would be appropriate to give them the same degree of respect. From now on, if Buddhist monks enter a Daoist temple and do not pay respect to the Celestial Worthies, or if Daoist priests enter a Buddhist monastery and do not revere the image of the Buddha, they will be forced to leave the monastic order and receive punishment for violating this decree.[17]

Clearly, on the matter of whether to destroy the *Huahu jing*, the head of the Zhou dynasty, who herself was a fervent advocate of Buddhism, decided not to destroy the scripture; she wanted to resolve the conflict between Buddhists and Daoists. The edict required Buddhist monks to pay respect to the Daoist divinities when entering a Daoist temple, and Daoist priests to revere the image of the Buddha in Buddhist temples. Otherwise, they would not only be forced to leave their respective monastic orders, but would also be punished for violating the decree.

The reason why we have discussed this 696 decree in such detail is that it is closely related to the Dunhuang *Laozi huahu jing* which mentions Mishihe. As far as we can ascertain, the Dunhuang manuscripts with the *Huahu jing* are S.1857 and P.2007 (*juan* 1), Дх.769+S.6963v (*juan* 2),[18] P.3404 (*juan* 8), P.2004 (*juan* 10) and P.2360 (unknown *juan*). Among them, P.3404 bears the heading "[*Laozi*] *Huahu jing shoudao juan di ba*" [老子] 化胡經受道卷第八 (Scripture of [Laozi] Converting the Barbarians and Teaching the Dao, *juan* 8). A note below the title says that this is a "version of the scripture revised by

17 *Quan Tangwen*, *juan* 96, pp. 990–991.

18 For the identification of Дх.769 and how it was matched with S.6963, see Wang Ka 王卡, *Dunhuang Daojiao wenxian yanjiu: Zongshu, Mulu, Suoyin* 敦煌道教文獻研究 – 綜述 · 目錄 · 索引 (Research on Daoist Texts from Dunhuang: General Description, Catalogue, Index) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), p. 188. In the first draft of this article, I did not notice the fragments in the Russian collection, and I am grateful to Fang Guangchang 方廣錩 and Liu Yi 劉屹 for informing me about them.

order of an imperial decree".[19] Liu Yi has pointed out that this *juan* must be a revised version ordered by Wu Zetian in the 1st year of the Wansui tongtian reign period.[20] Based on the mention of the "various versions of the *Huahu jing*" in Emperor Zhongzong's 中宗 (r. 705–710) "Jin *Huahu jing* chi" 禁化胡經敕 (Decree Banning the *Huahu jing*), Liu also argues that there was no single unified ten-*juan* version; moreover, the "converting the barbarians in Khotan theory", which first took form in the Zhenguan reign period (627–649) was incorporated into the first *juan* of the *Huahu jing* from the *Xuanyuan Huangdi xishengji* 玄元皇帝西昇記 (The Primordial Emperor Ascends to the West) in the early years of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741). For these and other reasons, Liu emphasizes that the content of the different Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Huahu jing* comes from different periods and was written by different hands. They were compiled between the 1st year of the Xiantian 先天 reign period (712) and the 19th year of the Kaiyuan era (731), i.e. during the early part of Emperor Xuanzong's reign.[21] From the inherent logic of the content, he also believes that *juan* 1 and *juan* 2 were written later than *juan* 8. In general, I agree with Liu's views. The dating of *juan* 2 seems to have been the least discussed issue in recent scholarship on Daoism. In Liu Yi's opinion, the current *juan* 8 originated as a continuation of the "Kashmir theory" (i.e. the view that the conversion of the barbarians took place in Kashmir); the content in the beginning must also represent the traditional "Kashmir theory".[22] Accordingly, *juan* 2, which mentions Mishihe, may also be within the scope of the Kashmir theory.

In order to determine the dates of the Dunhuang *Laozi huahu jing*, we should also look at the situation around the time of the collapse of Empress Wu's Zhou dynasty. In the 1st month of the 1st year of the Shenlong 神龍 reign period (705), Emperor Zhongzong ascended the throne. In the 9th month of that year, he issued a decree to ban the *Huahu jing*, as well as the display in Buddhist and Daoist temples of transformation tableaux containing images about converting the barbarians. Emperor Zhongzong's decree is recorded in Faming's 法明 biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period):

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19 Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Zuroku-hen* 敦煌道經·圖錄編 (Dunhuang Daoist Texts: Illustrated Catalogue) (Tōkyō: Fukutake shoten, 1979), p. 668.

20 Liu Yi, "Dunhuang shijuan ben *Laozi huahu jing* canjuan xintan" 敦煌十卷本《老子化胡經》殘卷新探 (A New Study of the Dunhuang Fragment of the Ten-*juan* Version of the *Scripture on Laozi Converting the Barbarians*), *Tang yanjiu*, No. 2, 1996, p. 106.

21 Liu Yi, "Dunhuang shi juan ben *Laozi hua hu jing* canjuan xintan", pp. 105–108; also, Liu Yi, "Tangdai Daojiao de '*Huahu' jing shuo* yu *Dao ben lun*", Rong Xinjiang, *Tangdai zongjiao xinyang yu shehui*, pp. 93–116.

22 Liu Yi, "Tangdai Daojiao de '*Huahu jing' shuo* yu *Dao ben lun*", pp. 104–105.

> As I have heard, the Daoist temples throughout the empire all display the transformation tableaux of "Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians and Becoming the Buddha", and the Buddhist monasteries bear the images of the Primordial One. The coexistence of the revered images of the two teachings should not be permitted. The images should be destroyed within ten days of receiving the present edict. If anyone retains them, they will be punished by the officials for violating edicts. As for the *Huahu jing*, I have learned recently that, despite being banned by explicit edicts in various reigns, it is still in circulation outside the court. From now on, the various versions of the *Huahu jing* and all references to the "conversion of the barbarians" in various records are to be destroyed. If anyone preserves them, they will be punished for violating the edict.[23]

We know that, as a result of Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602–664) request, Emperor Zhongzong was given the name Prince Buddha-light 佛光王 as soon as he was born. He received a Buddhist education from Xuanzang in his youth and closely interacted with eminent monks of the Jingzhou 荊州 region during his many years of exile there. Therefore, once Zhongzong ascended the throne, he promoted Buddhism energetically, based in the Jianfu Temple 薦福寺 built at his own residence.[24] The ban on the *Huahu jing*, therefore, was part of his promotion of Buddhism.

In the 1st year of the Tanglong 唐隆 reign period (710), Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 710–712) succeeded to the throne. Ruizong, who represented the power of the imperial Li clan during Empress Wu and Zhongzong's reigns, once in power, reverted to the practice of previous Tang emperors in terms of religious preference, i.e., restraining Buddhism and promoting Daoism. When Emperor Xuanzong ascended the throne in 712, he continued the policy of advocating Daoism and limiting the development of Buddhism. He ordered the collation of the various versions of the *Huahu jing* and the compilation of the *Kaiyuan Daozang* 開元道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Kaiyuan Reign), pushing the Daoist religion to another peak.

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23 Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Song Period) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 415–416.

24 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); here we have consulted the Chinese translation, *Tangdai fojiao: Wangfa yu fofa* 唐代佛教 – 王法與佛法 (Buddhism under the Tang: The King's Law and the Buddha's Law) (Taibei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1999), pp. 76–78; Sun Yinggang 孫英剛, "Chang'an yu Jingzhou zhi jian: Tang Zhongzong yu fojiao" 長安與荊州之間：唐中宗與佛教 (Between Chang'an and Jingzhou: Tang Emperor Zhongzong and Buddhism), Rong Xinjiang, ed., *Tangdai zongjiao xinyang yu shehui*, pp. 125–150.

Seen from the aforementioned texts of the *Huahu jing* and their circulation, *juan* 2 of the *Huahu jing* that mentions Mishihe, first of all, cannot be one of the two *juan* of the version recorded in the *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu*, because if it had been from a two-*juan* version, it would have been recorded as *juan* 2 卷下. Therefore, this *juan* 2 is probably the second *juan* in the version of the *Huahu jing* edited according to the decree of 696. Of course, from the fact that the 96 heretics are mostly Buddhist figures, *juan* 2 was more likely to be a product of the period between the Xiantian and Kaiyuan eras. In other words, the entire Dunhuang text of the *Huahu jing* was most likely to have been part of a ten-*juan* version written between 712 and 731.

It is worth noting that the period between the 1st year of the Wansui tongtian reign period and the 1st year of the Shenlong reign period, when Zhongzong ascended the throne, as well as the period between 712 and 731 when the *Huahu jing* was most popular, were also the times that Christians considered the most difficult. The Jingjiao Stele reads: "In the Shengli 聖曆 reign period (697–700) the Buddhists used their power and influence to complain about us in the eastern capital (Luoyang 洛陽). At the end of the Xiantian reign period (713), inferior scholars (i.e. Daoists) ridiculed us and spread slander about us in the western capital (Chang'an)". Thus, in Luoyang during the Shengli reign period of Empress Wu and in Chang'an at the end of the Xiantian reign period, Christians were ridiculed and attacked by both Buddhists and Daoists. During this time, the *Laozi huahu jing*, which presented the Christian Messiah as a heretic, was quite popular. This ridicule must have been very difficult for Christians to accept, especially because they had initially allied with the Daoists; now they were portrayed as heretics in a Daoist text. This is why the Jingjiao Stele says they were "slandered".

Scholars have already discussed at length the following passage about the transformation of Laozi into Mani in *juan* 1 of the *Huahu jing*:

> After more than 450 years, riding the spontaneous and bright vital pneuma of the Way, I flew from the realm of true tranquility to the kingdom of Sulin 蘇鄰 in the realm of Xinayu 西那玉. There I was reborn in the royal family and was designated as the crown prince. But I left my secular life and entered the Way, I was called Momoni 末摩尼. I turned the Great Wheel of the Dharma and taught the scriptures, precepts, laws, and ways of meditation and wisdom. I have thus taught humans and gods, appearing in three time periods in two gateways of the teaching, helping them know the absolute truth. Up to the Realm of Light, down to the Path of Darkness, all sentient beings were saved in this way. After [my life as] Mani, five times nine (i.e. five times ninety) years will pass; the golden

energy will rise and my teachings are bound to flourish. As a sagely image from the West, vested in multicoloured spontaneity, I will come to the Middle Kingdom. At this point, yellow and white energies will merge and the Three Teachings will unite, all taking refuge in me.

The text before "my teachings are bound to flourish" was included in its entirety in the *Moni guang fo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (Compendium on the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light), compiled in the 19th year of the Kaiyuan era. This, on the one hand, reveals that the *Huahu jing* treats Moni on a par with the Buddha as a transformation of Laozi; on the other, it shows the dependence of Manichaeism on Daoism.[25] Because Manichaean missionaries did not come to China to preach until the 1st year of the Yanzai 延載 reign period (694), they naturally wanted to seek support from Buddhism, which was already well-rooted in China, and Daoism, which was supported by the ruling clan. Therefore, Manichaeism – along with Buddhism and Daoism – became

25 For a related discussion, see Paul Pelliot, "Les Mo-ni et le *Houa-hou-king*", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome 3, 1903, pp. 318–327; Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine", *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, pp. 120–126; Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, trans., "Shawan, Boxihe, 'Monijiao liuxing Zhongguo kao'" 沙畹、伯希和《摩尼教流行中國考》(Chavannes and Pelliot's "The Spread of Manichaeism in China"), in *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong babian* 西域南海史地考証譯叢八編 (Eight Translations of Studies of the Historical Places in the Western Regions and Southern Seas) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), pp. 101–104; Fukui Kōjun 福井康順, *Dōkyō no kiso-teki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (A Basic Study of Daoism) (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1952; rpt. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1987), pp. 251–316; Lin Wushu 林悟殊, "*Laozi Huahu jing* yu Monijiao"《老子化胡經》與摩尼教 (The Scripture of Laozi Converting the Hu and Manichaeism), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (Studies in World Religions), No. 4, 1984, pp. 116–122, reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Monijiao ji qi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Manichaeism and its Eastward Transmission) (Taibei: Shuxiang chubanshe, 1997), pp. 72–82; Samuel N. C. Lieu, "A Lapsed Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official (1264): A Study of the Ch'ung-shou-kung chi 崇壽宮記 of Huang Chen 黃震", in his *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 112–115; Liu Yi, "Tang Kaiyuan nianjian Monijiao mingyun de zhuanzhe: Yi Dunhuang ben *Laozi xi sheng huahu jing xu shuo* he *Moni guang fo jiaofa yilüe* wei zhongxin" 唐開元年間摩尼教命運的轉折 – 以敦煌本《老子西昇化胡經序說》和《摩尼光佛教法儀略》為中心 (The Change in the Fate of Manichaeanism during the Kaiyuan Period: The Dunhuang Version of *The Preface to Laozi's Ascent to the West and Converting the Barbarians* and the *Compendium on the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light*). Liu Yi originally submitted this paper to the International Manichaeism Conference in Quanzhou in September 2004, but the conference was cancelled. He sent me a draft, and I would like to thank him for that. [This article has now been published in *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), Vol. 9, 2006, pp. 85–109.]

one of the Three Teachings that would unite, as extolled in the *Huahu jing*, and one of the Three Sagely Ways to merge, as claimed in the *Moni guang fo jiaofa yilüe*. The time when this amalgamation of the Three Teachings was supposed to take place was between the 1st year of the Yanzai reign period and the 19th year of the Kaiyuan era (694–731). After the 20th year of the Kaiyuan era (732), Manichaeism was banned by the Tang court, and was no longer on a par with Confucianism and Daoism.

One important reference often overlooked by those who conduct research on the three foreign religions in medieval China is the mention of Zoroastrianism 祆教 as one of the heretics in *juan* 2 of the *Huahu jing*:

> The twenty-fifth heretic is called the Great Xian 大祆 and has ten thousand demons as his retinue; when they possess humans, [their hosts] can only burn sweet herbs and give fire-making paraphernalia as offerings.[26]

Zoroastrianism was consistently restricted during the Tang dynasty. The section on temples in the "Treatise on the Bureaucracy" in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang) says: "The fire [worshipping] Zoroastrians of the two capitals and in the various prefectures west of the desert have two sacrificial rituals a year and forbid their people from praying" ("Baiguan zhi" 百官志 1, "Cibu" 祠部 [Shrines], *juan* 46, p. 1195). This religion was primarily popular among the Hu 胡. For this reason, it was regarded as heretical in the eyes of people of the Tang.

Relatively speaking, Jingjiao, which initially spread by attaching itself to Daoism, in this period fell behind Manichaeism, which arrived much later. Jingjiao is on the same level as Zoroastrianism, which did not have canonical texts. It became a heretical faith, in opposition to the orthodox religions. *Juan* 2 of the *Huahu jing* describes it this way:

> The fiftieth heretic is called Mishihe and has twelve hundred demons as his retinue. They enter into human bodies and if their hosts give way to the five desires, they can cause misdeeds. They are able to control all sorts of perversity, and those who serve them long enough end up on the evil path.[27]

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26 Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Zuroku-hen*, p. 661. The character *xian* 祆 (for Xianjiao 祆教, Zoroastrianism) is written as *yao* 祅 in the manuscript, but from what it says further down, "only burn sweet herbs and offer fire-making paraphernalia", it is not difficult to determine that it should be *xian* 祆. [English translation based on Barrett, "Tang Taoism and the Mention of Jesus and Mani in Tibetan Zen", p. 57.]

27 Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Zuroku-hen*, p. 662.

Whatever the case, with the widespread transmission of the *Laozi huahu jing*, the image of Christians as heretics was established at least as early as the first few years of the Kaiyuan era. The change in attitudes of Daoists towards Jingjiao from tolerance in the Zhenguan reign period to exclusion in the Kaiyuan era, may have been a reaction against the free rein given Buddhism during the reign of Empress Wu. In other words, when Daoism was restored to its position of eminence by the imperial Li clan from the Xiantian to the Kaiyuan eras, there may necessarily have been a reaction against Buddhism, or an effort to subsume it into a Daoist system, and such efforts were often combined with movements to reject all foreign religions, including Jingjiao. The *Laozi huahu jing* was always a powerful weapon used by Daoists to oppose Buddhism; now it became a manifesto against all foreign religions.

After listing all 96 heretical beliefs, the *Huahu jing* at the end of the second *juan* says the following:

> At that time, Lord Lao, for the benefit of various disciples and all sentient beings, told [Yin]xi [尹] 喜: There are 96 kinds of heretic demons, and now I will tell you about them in brief. These demons tarnish and obscure the correct teaching. They are able to do evil things to those who cultivate the Way and transform themselves into various forms. Some lead people to fall into pits on the road and deprive sentient beings from being at peace. When I am gone, they will spread all over the world, all the way to the Eastern Xia 東夏 (i.e. China). They specialise in evil and delusion and are experts in confusing the minds of people, making them fall into delusion and frenzy. Those who are possessed by them will not be able to come back to their senses. Some make people cut their hair or shave their beards, or wear black clothes and go barefooted, take all sorts of forms and ask for people's support and offerings. Some lead people to engage in lewdness, hanker after wealth, and tell them to abandon their sons and daughters, […] life, to the point that people cherish nothing, not even their own body, country or city, or wives and children. It is said that from past to future, one will receive retribution for all their deeds, but the people are unaware of this. [The heretics] also make emperors and rulers […] belief and dedication, ruin the affairs of governance and fail to find refuge in the Way. When one is possessed by a heretic, one becomes arrogant and indulges in all sorts of pretenses and fabrications, thus bringing confusion to the Great Way. I therefore impart these […] verses to you: […] Lord Lao said: "As soon as you become possessed, recite the first half of the verses. When you are possessed entirely, recite all the verses. If [the evil influence] does not go away, recite these verses constantly and

> also [the names of] the Great Way of the Ten Directions and the Celestial Worthies of Three Times. The last line of verse is a constant incantation, always keep reciting it in your mind and do not let it dissipate. Always focus on the right perfection, letting it continue without disruption. Only in this way can one reject the evil spirits and the heretics. You must recite these [verses] diligently".[28]

When these heretical demons that disturb the true teaching arrive in the Eastern Xia, they will delude and mislead those who seek the way, enticing them into corruption. The heretics will either cause people to cut their hair to become monks and ask for support and offerings, or make them covet wealth and lust; they will even make emperors and rulers lose their control over the affairs of the state. In order to do away with these heretics, it is necessary to recite Lord Lao's verses and the names of the Great Way of the Ten Directions and the Celestial Worthies of the Three Times, and to constantly recite the incantation.

The Tang dynasty was, after all, a cosmopolitan dynasty, especially during the Kaiyuan era. It was when the state power of the Tang was at its height, that foreign cultural elements were most actively absorbed. Jingjiao was able to establish itself in the capital city of Chang'an thanks to the efforts of the Abbot Luohan 羅含 and the Bishop Jilie 及烈 (fl. 725). Moreover,

> Xuanzong, Emperor of the Perfect Way, ordered the Prince of Ning 寧國王 and four other princes to visit the sacred shrine and restore the altar and sanctuary. The consecrated timbers which had been temporarily cast down rose still more sublime, and the holy stones which for a time had been desecrated were re-erected. In the early Tianbao 天寶 era (742–756), orders were given to the Great General 大將軍 Gao Lishi 高力士 to send the five sacred portraits and have them placed in the temple; and to donate a hundred bolts of silk. (Jingjiao Stele)

In the 3rd year of the Tianbao era (744), a Jingjiao priest Jihe 佶和 came from the state of Da Qin, and performed a service of merit at the Xingqing 興慶 palace. From this, people of the Tang learned that the Jingjiao religion brought by Alopen had originally come from Da Qin, therefore an edict was issued in the 9th month of the 4th year of the Tianbao era (745), saying: "It is appropriate for the Persian temples in the two capitals to change their names to Da Qin temples; this is also approved for those located in the various prefectures and

28 Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō Dōkyō: Zuroku-hen*, p. 667.

counties throughout the empire".[29] Thus in the early years of the Tianbao era, Christian churches could be found both in the two capitals and in other areas. Comparing the *Huahu jing* with the Jingjiao Stele, it is not hard to see that when Daoism was at its height, during the early Kaiyuan era, Jingjiao became seen as a heretical faith. Yet the situation changed by the end of the Kaiyuan and early Tianbao eras on account of the efforts of Christian priests. This seems to demonstrate that, although the Tang dynasty supported Daoism, it was not intended to eradicate all foreign religions.

3 The Heretic Mishihe in the *Lidai fabaoji*

In the 14th year of the Tianbao era (755), An Lushan 安祿山 (ca. 703–757) staged an armed rebellion in Hebei 河北. As a man of mixed race who grew up in a Sogdian community, An Lushan called himself the incarnation of the God of Light and must have used Zoroastrianism as part of his propaganda to launch the rebellion.[30] Both An Lushan and Shi Siming 史思明 (ca. 703–761) were of mixed Hu origin from Yingzhou 營州, and both had Zoroastrian backgrounds. In their armies, there were a large number of Sogdians and other Hu people who followed the Zoroastrian faith. When these armies moved south, Buddhist monasteries and Daoist temples in Central China, including the two capitals, all underwent considerable destruction, some never being able to recover.

The An Lushan rebellion (755–763) brought about a change in the religious landscape of the Tang. As I have pointed out in my article on Mani and Messiah in *Lidai fabaoji*, after the outbreak of the An Lushan rebellion, the different religions all took advantage of the situation and tried to foster their own development. Among them, Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) of the Southern School of Chan 禪宗南宗 and the Jingjiao clergyman Yisi 伊斯 (fl. 781) were able to spread their respective religions during the reigns of Daizong 代宗 (762–779) and Dezong 德宗 (779–805), thanks to their relations with the Northern, i.e. Shuofang 朔方 Army, the main force that suppressed the

29 *Tang huiyao, juan* 49, p. 1012.

30 Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "An Lushan de zhongzu yu zongjiao xinyang" 安祿山的種族與宗教信仰 (An Lushan's Ethnicity and Religious Beliefs), originally published in Zhongguo Tangdai xuehui bianji weiyuanhui 中國唐代學會編輯委員會, ed., *Disan jie Zhongguo Tangdai wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第三屆中國唐代文化學術研討會論文集 (Papers from the Third Academic Symposium on the Culture of the Tang Dynasty) (Taibei: Zhongguo Tangdai xuehui, 1997); reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 233–236.

rebellion. Manichaeans were also able to attain success after encountering the Uighur Qaghan in Luoyang and converting him.[31]

Interestingly, we read the following passage in the Jingjiao Stele: "The Cultured and Martial Emperor Daizong revived the imperial fortunes and smoothly conducted the affairs of the state. Every year, on the morning of his birthday, he made a gift of incense to pray for success; he distributed food from imperial banquets to brighten the luminous assembly". This was the moment of utmost splendour and celebration for the Jingjiao Christians in Chang'an. Yet it was also during Daizong's reign, not long after the 9th year of the Dali reign period (774), that the *Lidai fabaoji*, edited by the Chan monks of Sichuan, considered the "Illuminated Honourable Trinity Mishihe", i.e. the Meshiha or Messiah of the Bible, as a heretic who needed to be exterminated immediately. The relevant passage reads as follows:

> After Siṁha Bhikṣu had transmitted [the Dharma] to Śaṇavāsa, he went from Central India to Kashmir. The king there was named Mihirakula. This king did not believe in the Buddha-Dharma – he destroyed stūpas, demolished monasteries, slaughtered sentient beings and honoured the heretics Momanni 末曼尼 and Mishihe 彌師訶. At that time Siṁha Bhikṣu came purposely to convert his king, and the wicked king held up a sharp double-edged sword with his hand and swore an oath: "If you are a Holy One, the [other] masters must suffer punishment". Siṁha Bhikṣu then manifested himself in a form whereby his body exuded white milk. Momanni and Mishihe were executed, and like ordinary men their blood spattered the ground. The king was inspired to take refuge in the Buddha, and he ordered the disciple of Siṁha Bhikṣu (the Dharma had already been transmitted to Śaṇavāsa) to go to South India to preach extensively and liberate beings. The king then sought out and captured the disciples of the heretics Momanni and Mishihe. When he had captured them he erected a stand at the court and hung their heads from it, inciting the people of the country to shoot arrows at them. The king of Kashmir ordered all other kingdoms to expel any [followers] of these creeds from their kingdoms. Owing to Siṁha Bhikṣu, the Buddha-Dharma flourished again.[32]

31 "Lidai Fabaoji" zhong de Momanni yu Mishihe", in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 360–365.

32 Dunhuang version of the *Lidai fabaoji*, see T.51.2075, p. 180b; Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, *Shoki no Zenshi* 初期の禅史 (Early Chan History), Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1971–1976), p. 59; Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang ben Chanzong dengshi canjuan shiyi" 敦煌本禪宗燈史殘卷拾遺 (A Fragment of a Chan Lamp History Found in Dunhuang),

Concerning the reason why the monks of the Baotang Monastery 保唐寺, who were the editors of the *Lidai fabaoji*, called the two heretics from Kashmir Momanni (Mani) and Mishihe (Messiah), I wrote in the aforementioned article that the *Fabaoji* 法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel) is a work that records the Chan teachings of Wuzhu 無住, who came from Shuofang. Du Hongjian 杜鴻漸, who invited Wuzhu to come to reside in the Baotang Monastery in Chengdu 成都 in the 2nd year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign period (766), also came from Shuofang. The religious preferences of the supporters of Buddhism in the Northern Army, like Du Hongjian, inevitably influenced the editors of the *Lidai fabaoji*. These editors considered Momanni and Mishihe heretics, probably following the likes and dislikes of the military officers in the Northern Army who were Buddhist believers. Thus, after the Shuofang faction of Buddhism spread into the Jiannan 劍南 region, its anti-Manichaean, anti-Christian sentiments also came to the land of Shu 蜀 in its wake.[33] This, I think, is still a sound interpretation. What can be added is that the Jingjiao Stele says that “The Cultured and Enlightened Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) rebuilt the Jingjiao temples in the five commanderies including Lingwu 靈武; great benefits were conferred, and there was an increase in felicity; great prosperity descended, and the imperial state was strengthened”. This passage in the stele shows that the Shuofang commandery was once a key region where Emperor Suzong re-established Jingjiao temples, and that Du Hongjian and other Buddhist generals of the Northern Army were definitely not happy about this.

The question that Barrett raised about whether the passage in *Lidai fabaoji* could have come directly from the *Laozi huahu jing* is particularly thought-provoking. Wang Weicheng 王維誠 has pointed out early on:

> The *Lidai fabaoji* quotes from the *Qingjing fa xing jing* 清淨法行經 (Sutra of the Pure Dharma Conduct), when it cites the monk Wuzhu’s comment that the Daoist priests learn only how to defame the Buddha, and relates the debate on whether the Buddha or Laozi was born first. These details must be understood in the context of the story of Laozi converting the barbarians.[34]

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in *Zhou Shaoliang xiansheng xinkai jiuzhi qingshou wenji* 周紹良先生欣開九秩慶壽文集 (Papers in Celebration of Zhou Shaoliang’s 80th Birthday) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 238–239.

33 Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 365–368.

34 Wang Weicheng, “Laozi huahu shuo kaozheng”, p. 80.

This shows that the editors of *Fabaoji* had seen the *Huahu jing*. From our careful comparison of the two texts, we can make the following points. (1) Although the names of Mishihe (彌施訶) in the *Laozi huahu jing* and Mishihe (彌師訶) in the *Lidai fabaoji* use different characters for the middle syllable, they are pronounced the same, and there is no doubt that they are referring to the same name and the same figure, which seems to indicate a connection between the two texts. (2) Moni (摩尼) in the *Huahu jing* is written as Momanni (末曼尼) in the *Fabaoji*, but they both refer to the founder of Manichaeism. Their status, however, is different in the two texts; in the *Huahu jing*, Moni is one of the transformations of Laozi, thus Manichaeism is considered one of the orthodox religions, of equal status to Buddhism and Daoism, whereas in the *Fabaoji* Momanni is depicted as a heretic. (3) As for the location where Laozi converted the barbarians, the most popular theory is that this occurred in Kashmir. The theory that it took place in Khotan first appeared in the early Tang and was included in the ten-*juan Huahu jing* of the early Kaiyuan era, yet from the An Lushan rebellion to the Song dynasty, the "Kashmir theory" prevailed, perhaps because the "Khotan theory" contained stronger political overtones concerning the governance of the Western Regions, and was not part of the Daoist tradition. It should be noted that, according to the *Fabaoji*, Siṁha Bhikṣu's elimination of the heretics and restoration of the Buddha's Dharma happened in Kashmir, in contrast to what is said in the ten-*juan Huahu jing*, and is probably related to the theories about converting the barbarians that appear after the Tianbao era.[35] From these points, we may be able to say that the editors of the *Fabaoji* wrote the above passage after consulting the *Huahu jing*, and borrowed from it ideas such as the conversion of the barbarians in Kashmir and the story of the heretic Mishihe. Nonetheless, the basic content, such as Kashmir being the location of the conversion, the depiction of Momanni and Mishihe as heretics and the desire to exterminate all their disciples, differ from the way Moni and the heretic Mishihe appear in the *Huahu jing*.

In sum, the description of the heretic Mishihe in the *Lidai fabaoji*, on the one hand, may have absorbed some elements from the *Laozi huahu jing*, including the idea that the conversion of the barbarians occurred in Kashmir and the depiction of Mishishe as a heretic. On the other hand, it reflects the religious conflicts of the Chan School with Manichaeism and Jingjiao in Lingwu and Chengdu after the An Lushan rebellion, and sheds some light on

35 Liu Yi, "Tang Kaiyuan nianjian Monijiao mingyun de zhuanzhe", note 51, says, "In the *Lidai fabaoji*, Siṁha Bhikṣu's debate about the Law with the heretics in Kashmir is similar to that in the *Huahu jing*".

the interrelationships among the three foreign religions in different localities during the mid-Tang period.

4 The Continued Depiction of Christians as Heretics

As noted above, the great Jingjiao donor Yisi had the Jingjiao Stele erected in the Da Qin Temple in the Yining district of Chang'an in the 2nd year of the Jianzhong era (781).[36] This stele became a historical testament to the transmission of Jingjiao in the Tang, as well as an important monument of the Church of the East. This was also the time when the Persian Christian Li Su 李素 (743–817, also known by his courtesy name Wenzhen 文貞) was recruited as an academician awaiting orders 翰林侍詔 to the Bureau of Astronomy 司天臺 at the Tang court.[37] Thus, the Christians in Chang'an seem not to have suffered the fate of the "heretics" described in the *Lidai fabaoji*. The seventy names of Jingjiao priests inscribed on the two sides of the Jingjiao Stele also demonstrate the size of the Church of the East at the time.[38]

However, by the Huichang 會昌 reign period (841–846), Jingjiao and Zoroastrianism, together with Buddhism, suffered greatly in the persecution of religions. Manichaeism had been banned some years earlier because of the collapse of the Uighur Qaghanate. On the *gengzi* 庚子 day of the 7th month

36 Regarding the place where the Jingjiao Stele was excavated, there is the Chang'an theory and the Zhouzhi 盩厔 theory. See Zhu Qianzhi, *Zhongguo Jingjiao*, pp. 78–81; Lin Wushu, "Xi'an Jingjiao bei yanjiu shuping" 西安景教碑研究述評 (Review of Research on the Xi'an Jingjiao Stele), *Zhongguo xueshu* 中國學術 (China Scholarship), No. 4, 2000, pp. 230–260; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu* 唐代景教再研究 (Further Studies on Tang Dynasty Jingjiao) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003), pp. 3–26. I espouse the theory that it was excavated in the Yining district of Chang'an. For the discussion, see Antonino Forte, "The Chongfu-si 崇福寺 in Chang'an: A Neglected Buddhist Monastery and Nestorianism", appendix to Paul Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, pp. 415–472; Lin Wushu, "Zhouzhi Da Qin si wei Tangdai Jingsi zhiyi" 盩厔大秦寺為唐代景寺質疑 (Doubts about the Identification of the Da Qin Temple in Zhouzhi with the Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Monastery), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, No. 4, 2000, pp. 1–12; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 65–84.

37 Rong Xinjiang, "Yige ru shi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu" 一個入仕唐朝的波斯景教家族 (A Persian Jingjiao Clan Serving the Tang), in Ye Yiliang 葉奕良, ed., *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwenji* 伊朗學在中國論文集 (Papers on Iranian Studies in China), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), pp. 82–90; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*, pp. 238–257.

38 Duan Qing 段晴, "Tangdai Da Qin si yu Jingjiao seng xin shi" 唐代大秦寺與景教僧新釋 (A New Explanation of the Tang Dynasty Da Qin Temple and Jingjiao Monks), Rong Xinjiang, *Tangdai zongjiao xinyang yu shehui*, pp. 434–472.

in the autumn of the 5th year of the Huichang reign period (845), Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846) ordered that all Buddhist temples in the empire be inspected. The secretariat reported back, saying:

> [As for] the Da Qin (Jingjiao) and Muhu 穆護 (Zoroastrian) temples, with the reform of Buddhism, these evil teachings should not be the only ones to remain. Their people should be compelled to return to lay life and go back to the place where they were officially registered, to supplement the tax-paying households. In the case of foreigners, they should be sent home to the care of their respective authorities.

In the 8th month, Wuzong issued another edict including the words: "We have ordered over three thousand people of the Jingjiao and Zoroastrian faiths to return to lay life and cease polluting the native tradition of China".[39] It is worth noting that Jingjiao and Zoroastrianism were considered "evil teachings" 邪法 in this edict, as they were in the *Laozi huahu jing*. Furthermore, the edict also maintains that the Chinese tradition would be purer and more authentic if these evil teachings were eradicated.

The edict mentions that there were over three thousand Jingjiao and Zoroastrian priests at the time. Although it is hard to tell the percentage of each, the number of Jingjiao priests was certainly considerable. Having returned to lay life at their original place of official registration, they did not abandon their Christian faith immediately. Therefore, even though Jingjiao was dealt a heavy blow, it did not completely disappear. In remote places like Guangzhou 廣州,[40] Shazhou 沙州[41] and Gaochang 高昌,[42] Jingjiao persisted until the end of the Tang and Five Dynasties 五代 periods (907–960). We are not sure about Tang attitudes towards Christians who were not part of the clergy, such as Li Jingliang 李景亮, the son of Li Su, who was appointed an academician awaiting orders by the emperor in the 12th year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (817) after Li Su died, and was promoted to director of the Bureau of Astronomy in

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39 *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, *juan* 18 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), pp. 604–606.

40 Gabriel Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Suleymân en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851* (Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1922), p. 76. See Arthur Christopher Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) (New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1930), p. 76.

41 Lin Wushu, "Dunhuang Jingjiao xieben Bo 3847 zhi zai yanjiu" 敦煌景教寫本伯 3847 之再研究 (Further Study of the Dunhuang Jingjiao Text P.3847), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 5, 2001, pp. 59–77; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 123–145.

42 Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, "Gaochang Huihu Jingjiao yanjiu" 高昌回鶻景教研究 (Jingjiao in the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu*, No. 4, 1999, pp. 165–214.

the 1st year of the Dazhong 大中 reign period (847). He occupied this position until at least the 9th year of the Dazhong reign period (855).[43] Like Li Su, Li Jingliang was treated favourably and served in the palace for at least thirty years, but probably never abandoned his Christian faith. After the restoration of Buddhism in Emperor Xuanzong's 宣宗 (r. 846–859) Dazhong reign period (847–859), the situation for Christians must have been relatively easier.

There is little material about Jingjiao after the late Tang period. In a Dunhuang manuscript entitled *Foshuo Amituo jing jiangjing wen* 佛說阿彌陀經講經文 (Sutra Lecture of the Amitabha Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha) (also called *Shuo sangui wujie wen* 說三歸五戒文), we read the following passage:

> As for the disciples and followers who talk about taking refuge in the Buddha, which buddha do they want to take refuge in? It is not the Moni Buddha 磨尼佛, nor the Bosi Buddha 波斯佛, nor the Huoxian Buddha 火祆佛, instead, it is the Śakyamuni Buddha with the Pure Dharma-body, the Perfect Reward-body, and trillions of Transformation-bodies. [...] Just as in India there are 96 kinds of heretics, in this place there are people like Bosi, Moni, Huoxian and Kushen 哭神, all saying that they have renounced secular life and have left behind life and death forever. These are all lies that deceive humans and gods. Only the disciples of Śakyamuni, once they have renounced secular life, are worthy of extensive reverence from humans and gods.[44]

We have studied this text in detail and concluded that it was used by a Buddhist monk from Central China in his lecture in the Xizhou 西州 Uighur kingdom (Gaochang) in the first half of the 10th century, while on a pilgrimage to the West. Moni in the text refers to Manichaeism, and the religion of Bosi (Persia) signifies Jingjiao. The existence of these two religions together with Xianjiao 祆教 (Zoroastrianism) and *kushen* 哭神 (shamanism?) reflects the coexistence of different religions among the Xizhou Uighurs.[45] Note that the concept of

43 Lai Ruihe 賴瑞和, "Tangdai de Hanlin daizhao he Sitiantai: Guanyu 'Li Su muzhi' he 'Beishi shi muzhi' de zai kaocha" 唐代的翰林待詔和司天臺 – 關於《李素墓志》和《卑失氏墓志》的再考察 (Tang Dynasty Academician Awaiting Orders and the Bureau of Astronomy: Further Investigation of the Funerary Inscriptions of Li Su and Beishi shi), in *Tang yanjiu*, No. 9, 2003, p. 316.

44 Wang Zhongmin 王重民 et al., *Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌變文集 (Collection of Dunhuang Bianwen), final volume (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1957), p. 464; Huang Zheng 黃征 and Zhang Yongquan 張涌泉, *Dunhuang bianwen jiaozhu* 敦煌變文校注 (Annotated Edition of Dunhuang Bianwen) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p. 681.

45 Zhang Guangda 張廣達 and Rong Xinjiang, "Youguan Xizhou Huihu de yipian Dunhuang Hanwen wenxian" 有關西州回鶻的一篇敦煌漢文文獻 (A Dunhuang Chinese

96 heretics originally comes from Buddhism; for example, it is used in the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Flower Garland Sutra).[46] Yet its use here to refer to religions such as Jingjiao, Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism tallies with its use in the *Laozi huahu jing* and the *Lidai fabaoji*.[47] From this, we can also see that the composition of this sutra lecture is, on the one hand, influenced by transmitted texts like the *Laozi huahu jing*, and on the other, a reflection of the religious landscape of the Xizhou Uighurs at that time.

In the 6th year of the Taiping xingguo 太平興國 reign period (981) of the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty (960–1127), the Qaghan of the Uighur kingdom of Gaochang sent envoys to the Song court, and Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997) dispatched envoys to Gaochang, including court service official Wang Yande 王延德 (938–1006). In the 4th month of the 1st year of the Yongxi 雍熙 reign period (984), Wang Yande returned to the Song court. Fragments of his travel account have survived in Wang Mingqing's 王明清 (b. 1127) *Huizhu lu* 揮塵錄 (Records of Brandishing a Fly-whisk); in the "Siyi kao" 四裔考 (The "Barbarians" of the Four Cardinal Directions) section of the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Studies in Administration) *juan* 336; and in the entry on Gaochang in the "Waiguo zhuan" 外國傳 (Treatise on Foreign States) of the *Songshi* 宋史 (History of the Song). The account includes the following words:

> Furthermore, there were Manichaean temples and Persian priests, each upholding their own teachings. These are the ones called heretics in the Buddhist sutras.

From what has been discussed above, we can be sure that Persian priests here refer to Christians. Although this is a report based on the first-hand experience of Wang Yande, he names only Manichaeism and Jingjiao as heretical, not the other religions, matching the way the *Lidai fabaoji* identifies the same religions as representatives of heretical teachings.

Document Concerning the Xizhou Uighurs), *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報, No. 2, 1989, pp. 24–36; reprinted in Zhang Guangda, *Xiyu shidi conggao chubian* 西域史地叢稿初編 (Historical Places in the Western Regions, First Series) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), pp. 217–248.

46 T.10.0279, pp. 140b and 142c.

47 Note that the Turkic Manichaean fragment discovered in Turfan (T II D 173b) uses the words "Mishihe fo" 彌施訶佛 (*mšixa burxan*) to refer to "Yishu" 夷數 (i.e. Jesus), which is a completely positive image. See Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Parables, Hymns & Prayers from Central Asia* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993), p. 326. Thus we can see that the Xizhou Manichaeans and the author of this sutra lecture had different views.

By Northern Song times, Christians and Manichaeans had to attach themselves more closely to Daoism or Buddhism to survive. A considerable amount of research has already been done regarding the absorption of Buddhist or Daoist elements into Manichaeism,[48] and I will not go into detail here. Jingjiao adhered more closely to Daoism than to Buddhism. Both Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎[49] and Luo Xianglin 羅香林[50] have tried to show that some of the teachings of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (also known as Lü Chunyang 呂純陽), founder of the Daoist School of the Golden Elixir 金丹教, were developed from Jingjiao doctrines. Although these studies have quite a few points that are difficult to prove, and the identification of relevant personages is extremely difficult,[51]

48 See Wu Han 吳晗, "Mingjiao yu Da Ming diguo" 明教與大明帝國 (The Religion of Light and the Great Ming Empire), *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 (Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies), Vol. 13, 1941, pp. 49–85; Lin Wushu, "Song Yuan shidai Zhongguo dongnan yanhai de siyuan shi Monijiao" 宋元時代中國東南沿海的寺院式摩尼教 (Monastic Manichaeism along the South-east Coast of China in the Song and Yuan Periods), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, No. 3, 1982, pp. 103–111; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Monijiao ji qi dongjian*, pp. 116–179; also Lin Wushu, "Quanzhou Caoan Moni diaoxiang yu Tulufan Moni huaxiang de bijiao" 泉州草庵摩尼雕像與吐魯番摩尼畫像的比較 (A Comparison between the Manichaean Sculpture in Caoan, Quanzhou, and the Turfan Manichaean Paintings), *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物 (Archaeology and Artefacts), No. 2, 2003, pp. 76–80; also, Lin Wushu, "Fujian Mingjiao shiliu zi ji kaoshi" 福建明教十六字偈考釋 (Study of the Sixteen-Character Gāthās of the Religion of Light from Fujian), *Wenshi* 文史 (History and Literature), No. 1, 2004, pp. 230–246; Wang Qingyi 王清毅, "*Chongshou gong ji* dui Monijiao yanjiu de yingxiang"《崇壽宮記》對摩尼教研究的影響 (*Record of the Palace of Venerating Life* and its Impact on the Study of Manichaeism), *Hangzhou daxue xuebao* 杭州大學學報 (Journal of Hangzhou University), Vol. 22, No. 4, 1992, pp. 100–103; Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 120; Zhu Yueli 朱越利, "Jingming dao yu Monijiao" 淨明道與摩尼教 (The Religion of Pure Light and Manichaeism), *Zhongguo xueshu*, Vol. 14, 2003, pp. 107–132.

49 Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎, "Daishinji no shozaichi ni tsuite" 大秦寺の所在地に就いて (On the Location of the Da Qin Temple), *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies), No. 3, 1932, pp. 97–140; see also Saeki Yoshirō, *Shina kirisutokyō no kenkyū* 支那基督教の研究 (Research on Christianity in China), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1943), pp. 210–214.

50 Luo Xianglin 羅香林, "Lüzu yu Jingjiao zhi guanxi" 呂祖與景教之關係 (The Relationship between Lü the Progenitor and Jingjiao), in Luo Xianglin, *Tang Yuan erdai zhi Jingjiao* 唐元二代之景教 (Jingjiao in the Tang and Yuan Dynasties) (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe, 1966), pp. 135–152.

51 Xiang Da 向達, "Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming" 唐代長安與西域文明 (Tang Dynasty Chang'an and the Cultures of the Western Regions), *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報 (Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies), Special issue No. 2, 1933, p. 107; also, Xiang Da, *Tangdai Chang'an yu Xiyu wenming* 唐代長安與西域文明 (Tang Dynasty Chang'an and the Cultures of the Western Regions) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957), p. 116; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, "Jingjiao bei shuren Lü Xiuyan fei Lü Yan" 景教碑書人呂秀巖非呂巖 (Lü Xiuyan, the Writer of the Jingjiao Stele Inscription, is not Lü Yan), in Cen

we can still be certain that Daoist doctrines contained Jingjiao elements after the end of the Tang.

At the same time, the depiction of Christians as heretics continued in the Daoist tradition. Among the 96 heretics listed in the *Youlong zhuan* by the Northern Song (960–1127) Daoist priest Jia Shanxiang 賈善翔, Mishihe 彌施訶[52] appears as number fifty. This is clearly the legacy of the *Laozi huahu jing*.[53]

5 Conclusion

The philological and historical examination presented in this article reveals that the compilation of religious texts in different periods was related both to the transmission of texts and to the historical background of the time. Buddhism and Daoism, as the two orthodox religions occupying authoritative positions, adopted different attitudes towards Jingjiao that ranged from absorption to criticism. In response to the difficulties of maintaining their religion, Christians sometimes allied with Buddhists and Daoists. As a result of this wprocess, some of them gradually shifted from "heretical" to "orthodox" status.

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Zhongmian, *Jinshi luncong* 金石論叢 (Epigraphic Studies) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 150–151; Zhu Qianzhi, *Zhongguo Jingjiao*, p. 157.

52 *Daozang*, Vol. 18, p. 20.

53 Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine", pp. 291–292; Feng Chengjun, trans., "Shawan, Boxihe, 'Monijiao liuxing Zhongguo kao'", p. 90. Note that Chavannes and Pelliot speculated that heretic No. 51, Modi 摩底, was a miswritten form of Moni 摩尼. Now we can see the manuscript of *juan* 2 of the *Laozi huahu jing*, and it too has Modi. However, *juan* 1 of the *Hua hujing* has an entire section on Manichaeism but it does not depict it as a heresy at all. For this reason, the hypothesis of Chavannes and Pelliot is no longer tenable. See note 49 in Liu Yi, "Tang Kaiyuan nianjian Monijiao mingyun de zhuanzhe".

CHAPTER 27

The Authenticity of Some Jingjiao Texts from Dunhuang

Translated by Sun Jicheng 孫繼成

1 The Authenticity of Kojima Yasushi's Collection of Jingjiao Texts

In February 1991, I flew to London from Tokyo, at the invitation of the British Library, to catalogue some Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts. With the arrangements made by the curator of the Chinese collection Frances Wood, I was admitted to a modest apartment in southern London, where, in addition to a shared living room and kitchen area, there were four bedrooms. One was for me; two of the others were occupied by new acquaintances; and in the last room, to my amazement, was my old friend, Lin Wushu 林悟殊 of Sun Yat Sen University in Guangzhou.

Thus, from February to August of that year I had ample time to discuss common academic interests with Lin Wushu. On weekdays, I went to work in the British Library, while he went to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, where he was a visiting scholar. On weekends, we often went to the SOAS library together, where we each looked for what we needed, collected materials for our research, and then returned home. We talked about everything, but the topic that came up most frequently was the so-called "three foreign religions" (*san yi jiao* 三夷教) that came into China during the premodern period: Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism and Jingjiao 景教 (Nestorianism, or Church of the East). Lin had published an excellent study on Manichaeism,[1] and he now expanded his research to include Zoroastrianism and Jingjiao. While conducting research on the Dunhuang and Turfan 吐魯番 manuscripts, I had been paying attention to documents in Central Asian languages, as well as those in Chinese, and had become interested in the issues surrounding religions that had come into China from outside.

The Dunhuang manuscripts kept in Britain, France, Russia and the Beijing Library (now the National Library of China) were acquired directly from the Dunhuang library cave. Dunhuang manuscripts other than these are

1 Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Monijiao ji qi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Manichaeism and Its Eastward Transmission) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987).

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collectively referred to as dispersed collections. Generally speaking, most of the Dunhuang manuscripts fall into the first category, that is, they are directly from the library caves, while a smaller proportion of them, such as *Zheng Xuan zhu Lunyu* 鄭玄注《論語》 (Zheng Xuan's Commentary on the *Analects of Confucius*) belong to the latter (i.e. the dispersed collections). Most of the former are in the British and French collections because M. Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) had their first choice of manuscripts from the library cave; only a minority of documents belong to the category of scattered collections. Moreover, those in the larger collections are mostly free of the problem of authenticity. By contrast, although most of the dispersed texts are probably genuine, there are also some modern forgeries among them. One day I asked Lin the following question from the perspective of Dunhuang studies. There is general agreement in academic circles that there are seven Jingjiao manuscripts among the Dunhuang manuscripts (some contain more than one text). However, only one of them was acquired by Pelliot; the other six are in dispersed collections, which is an improbably high proportion. Not only that, but manuscript P.3847 in the Pelliot collection contains two texts, the *Da Qin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* 大秦景教三威蒙度贊 (Hymn in Adoration of the Holy Trinity) and *Zunjing* 尊經 (Scripture on Veneration), both very short – not longer than two sheets of paper[2] – while the manuscripts in dispersed collections, such as the *Yishen lun* 一神論 (Discourse on Monotheism) and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* 序聽迷詩所經 (Scripture on Hearing [the Teaching] of the Messiah), are all long scrolls. It does not seem logical that the dispersed manuscripts would be so long, while those from the library cave would be so short. For these reasons I wondered whether there are forgeries among these dispersed so-called Jingjiao manuscripts.

This question also aroused Lin's interest. Upon his recommendation, we decided to examine the authenticity of two items from Kojima Yasushi's 小島靖 collection, which were claimed to have come from the collection of Li Shengduo 李盛鐸 (1858–1937). One of the chosen items was the *Da Qin Jingjiao dasheng tongzhen guifa zan* 大秦景教大聖通真歸法贊 (Da Qin Jingjiao Hymn about the Transfiguration of Our Lord), and the other was the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing* 大秦景教宣元至本經 (Da Qin Jingjiao Scripture on Unveiling the Origin). Lin was responsible for examining the contents of

2 See *Fa cang Dunhuang Xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Dunhuang Manuscripts from the Western Regions in French Collections), Vol. 28 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004), pp. 356–357.

Kojima's manuscripts from the historical and doctrinal points of view, while I took charge of the aspects pertaining to Dunhuang studies, such as the provenance of the manuscripts and their seals and colophons. After a long period of collecting, analysing and discussing materials, we ultimately co-authored an article on the authenticity of these two documents. In this article, in addition to confirming that Li Shengduo had acquired authentic Dunhuang Jingjiao manuscripts, we also revealed our finding that the Dunhuang manuscripts in Li's collection had been sold before he died in 1937, thus it was impossible for Kojima to have obtained them from the Li family in 1943. Also, there were traces of forgery in both Li's seal imprints on the manuscripts and the notes (*ba* 跋) added to their end. Scholars had previously suspected their authenticity on the grounds that the colophons dated from the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741) referred to the Da Qin Temple 大秦寺, the name of which did not exist until the 4th year of the Tianbao 天寶 era (745). Furthermore, the content does not conform to Jingjiao doctrines, with parts even copied from the *Laozi Daode jing* 老子道德經. Our final conclusion was that:

> Kojima's manuscripts were probably forged by one or more antique dealers after Li Shengduo's death. To summarise the doubts we raised in this article, we can at least say that from a strictly scientific point of view, we cannot accept these two manuscripts in Kojima's collection as genuine Tang dynasty Jingjiao manuscripts from the Dunhuang library cave, and we believe that they should not be unconditionally quoted as evidence when doing research on the history of Jingjiao or the history of Dunhuang.

After returning to China in August, I checked the seal imprints and colophons on some of the Song and Yuan rare books in the Peking University Library that were originally in Li Shengduo's collection, and then finalised the paper. It was later published in a special issue of the *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 (Chinese Culture Quarterly) dedicated to Dunhuang studies edited by Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤.[3] This issue of the journal was funded by the Hong Kong Cultural Promotion Center for Chinese Culture, and it was the American professor Cheng Pei-kai 鄭培凱 who organised the reviewing of contributions and the editing. Finally, the journal itself was printed and published in Taiwan. Although

3 Lin Wushu and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Suowei Li shi jiucang Dunhuang Jingjiao wenxian erzhong bianwei" 所謂李氏舊藏敦煌景教文獻二種辨偽 (On the Authenticity of the So-called Two Dunhuang Jingjiao Manuscripts Allegedly from Li Shengduo's Collection), *Jiuzhou xuekan* 九州學刊 (Chinese Culture Quarterly), Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 19–34.

it was not easy for mainland scholars to obtain it, we sent offprints and copies of the journal to researchers in the field of Dunhuang studies, and the article was well-received by scholars such as Jao Tsung-I, Ikeda On 池田温, Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤, Xiang Chu 項楚 and Xu Wenkan 徐文堪. Three or four years later, Bruce Doar founded the English-language journal *China Archaeology and Art Digest* and translated our article into English, publishing it as the first article in the very first issue in May 1996.[4] Bruce Doar told me that when he was translating the article, it read like a detective novel. Many academics agreed with our conclusions,[5] but because we critiqued two scholars who had done research on the Kojima manuscripts (i.e. Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, an authority on oriental historiography in Japan, and Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎, a world-renowned expert on the history of Jingjiao), many Japanese scholars hesitated to express their opinion in public. In the West, there have been some positive responses, introducing our views and giving them full affirmation.[6] Of course, this conclusion has been seen as a serious blow to the field of Jingjiao studies, and some scholars of religious studies, especially those with a focus on Jingjiao, have not been able to accept it.[7]

4 Wushu Lin and Xinjiang Rong, "Doubts concerning the Authenticity of Two Nestorian Christian Documents Unearthed at Dunhuang from the Li Collection" (trans. by Bruce Doar), *China Archaeology and Art Digest*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1996, pp. 5–14.

5 An important addition to this subject is Chen Huaiyu 陳懷宇, "Suowei Tangdai Jingjiao wenxian liangzhong bianwei bushuo" 所謂唐代景教文獻兩種辨偽補說 (Supplementary Discussion of Two Forgeries of the So-called Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Documents), *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 (Journal of Tang Studies), No. 3, 1997, pp. 41–53.

6 Pénélope Riboud, "Tang", in Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 1: *635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 7; Matteo Nicolini-Zani, "Past and Current Research on Tang Jingjiao Documents: A Survey", in Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006), pp. 26–29, and 36.

7 Zeng Yangqing 曾陽晴, "Xiaodao wenshu zhenwei kao: Li Shengduo jiucang Dunhuang Jingjiao wenxian erzhong bianwei zai shangque" 小島文書真偽考 – 李盛鐸氏舊藏敦煌景教文獻二種辨偽再商榷 (On the Authenticity of the Kojima Manuscripts: A Further Deliberation on the Two Dunhuang Jingjiao Texts from Li Shengduo's Former Collection), *Zhongyuan xuebao* 中原學報 (Chung Yuan Journal), Vol. 33, No. 2, 2005, pp. 253–272; Zeng Yangqing, "Xiaodao wenshu zhen yu wei" 小島文書真與偽 (On the Authenticity of the Kojima Manuscripts), in Zeng Yangqing, *Tangchao Hanyu Jingjiao wenxian yanjiu* 唐朝漢語景教文獻研究 (A Study of Chinese Jingjiao Texts from the Tang Dynasty) (Taibei: Hua Mulan wenhua gongzuofang, 2005), pp. 7–38; Stephen Eskildsen, "On the Two Suspect 'Nestorian Documents'", appendix to his "Parallel Themes in Chinese Nestorianism and Medieval Daoist Religion", in Malek and Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, pp. 86–91. However, the rebuttal of these articles is basically hypothetical. See Wang Lanping 王蘭平, "Tangdai Dunhuang Hanwen Jingjiao xiejing yanjiu shuping" 唐代敦煌漢文景教寫經研究述評 (A Review of Research on Chinese Jingjiao

Considering the limited circulation of *Jiuzhou xuekan*, which was suspended soon afterwards, it was not easy for scholars to obtain this article. Lin therefore revised it slightly, appending it to his translation of Hans-Joachim Klimkeit's book on Christianity in Central Asia and East Asia before Vasco Da Gama.[8] Later on, I also included this article in my book on the history and nature of Dunhuang studies, incorporating the appendix into the main body of the paper.[9] When I published the revised edition of that book with a different title, I also slightly adjusted the illustrations.[10]

After August 1991, we went our separate ways. Lin spent some time in Thailand, and contact with him became inconvenient; there was no further opportunity to collaborate again. However, the topic we had worked on that year became one of the subjects that we both researched separately in subsequent years. According to his thinking at the time, Lin scrutinised the Jingjiao manuscripts from Dunhuang one by one, including the *Da Qin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* and *Zunjing* in manuscript P.3847; the *Zhixuan anle jing* 志玄安樂經 (Scripture on the Attainment of Mysterious Peace and Happiness) and *Xuanyuan ben jing* 宣元本經 (Scripture on Unveiling the Origin) formerly in the collection of Li Shengduo; the *Yishen lun* formerly in the collection of Tomioka Kenzō 富岡謙藏; and the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* formerly in the collection of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎. Lin examined the content of these scriptures to determine their authenticity and published a series of papers on them (see below). I focused more on investigating the authenticity of the manuscripts from Li Shengduo's former collection, and published a paper on this subject in 1997. I concluded that the 432 manuscripts listed in Li's catalogue were authentic Dunhuang manuscripts, but there were also many manuscripts

Texts from Tang Dynasty Dunhuang), in Hao Chunwen 郝春文, ed., *2007 Dunhuangxue guoji lianluo weiyuanhui tongxun* 2007 敦煌學國際聯絡委員會通訊 (Communications Bulletin of the International Liaison Committee of Dunhuang Studies in 2007) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), pp. 98–99.

8 Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), translated as Kelimukaite 克里木凱特, *Da Jiama yiqian Zhongya he Dongya de Jidujiao* 達·伽馬以前中亞和東亞的基督教 (Christianity in Central Asia and East Asia before Da Gama) (Taibei: Shuxin chubanshe, 1995), pp. 189–211; the paper was also included in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu* 唐代景教再研究 (Further Studies on Tang Dynasty Jingjiao) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003), pp. 156–174.

9 Rong Xinjiang, *Mingsha ji: Dunhuangxue xueshushi yu fangfalun de tantao* 鳴沙集：敦煌學學術史與方法論的探討 (Singing Sands Collection: The History and Methodology of Dunhuang Studies) (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1999), pp. 65–102.

10 Rong Xinjiang, *Bianwei yu cunzhen: Dunhuangxue lunji* 辨偽與存真 – 敦煌學論集 (Distinguishing the False and Preserving the True: Collection of Papers on Dunhuang Studies) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), pp. 28–46, illustrations on pp. 5–8.

sold by dealers as originating from his collection, and some of those were genuine while others were forgeries, which needed to be distinguished carefully.[11] In 2007, I published another paper on this collection, which summarises my research on the old photographs of Li Shengduo's Dunhuang manuscripts that I discovered in the Haneda Memorial Hall at Kyoto University.[12]

Alas! Looking back at that year in London, it was the time of the "troubles", when the Irish Republican Army was fighting against the British government. Because the Republican Army had detonated a bomb hidden in an underground station, the London Metropolitan Police immediately shut down the underground as soon as they received a telephone threat. Lin, who was born in Chaozhou 潮州 (Guangdong), had little sense of direction when he emerged from the London underground. When he came out of the station, he telephoned me to tell me which road he was on. I then took a bus there to meet him. On the way back, there was plenty of time for our discussion. When I remember this, I feel that those days in London with Lin were a happy time.

2 The Stone Inscription of the *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* 宣元至本經 Newly Excavated in Luoyang

Lin Wushu began his study of the Dunhuang Jingjiao manuscripts with the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing* 大秦景教宣元本經 (Da Qin Jingjiao Scripture on Unveiling the Origin) from the former collection of Li Shengduo. In 1995, he published an article that discussed the length, origin and authorship of this text, based on the photographs in the second volume of *Haneda hakushi*

11 Rong Xinjiang, "Li Shengduo xiejuan de zhen yu wei" 李盛鐸寫卷的真與僞 (On the Authenticity of Li Shengduo's Manuscripts), *Dunhuangxue jikan* 敦煌學輯刊 (Journal of Dunhuang Studies), No. 2, 1997, pp. 1–18; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Bianwei yu cunzhen: Dunhuangxue lunji*, pp. 47–73; then I changed the title to "Li Shengduo Dunhuang xiejuan de zhen yu wei" 李盛鐸敦煌寫卷的真與僞 (On the Authenticity of Li Shengduo's Dunhuang Manuscripts), and an English version was published as X. Rong, "The Li Shengduo Collection: Original or Forged Manuscripts?", in Susan Whitfield, ed., *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries* (The British Library Studies in Conservation Science 3) (London: The British Library, 2002), pp. 62–83, pl. 1.

12 Rong Xinjiang, "Zhuixun zuihou de baozang: Li Shengduo jiucang Dunhuang wenxian diaocha ji" 追尋最後的寶藏 – 李盛鐸舊藏敦煌文獻調查記 (In Search of the Last Treasure: The Examination of the Dunhuang Manuscripts from Li Shengduo's Former Collection), in Liu Jinbao 劉進寶 and Gaotian Shixiong [Takata Tokio] 高田時雄, eds., *Zhuanxingqi de Dunhuangxue* 轉型期的敦煌學 (Dunhuang Studies in Transition) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), pp. 15–32; reprinted in Rong Xinjiang, *Bianwei yu cunzhen: Dunhuangxue lunji*, pp. 74–90.

shigaku ronbunshū 羽田博士史學論文集 (Dr. Haneda's Historical Essays).[13] Probably because of our earlier co-authored article, Lin did not specifically discuss the issue of authenticity in this paper.

The list of Tang translations of Jingjiao texts in the *Zunjing* (P.3847) includes one entitled *Xuanyuan zhiben jing*. Although the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing* from Li's former collection omits the character *zhi* 至 in the title, the content, calligraphic style and format of the scroll indicate that it must be an authentic Dunhuang manuscript. However, Kojima's copy of the *Da Qin Jingjiao xuanyan zhiben jing*, while having the word *zhi* in its title, shows signs of forgery in other respects, indicating that it is not authentic. These two manuscripts are unlikely to be two editions of the same text, one earlier and one later, as some researchers have argued. The difference between them is that one is authentic and the other is not.

What can ultimately confirm the authenticity of the *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* manuscripts is the Tang dynasty Jingjiao pillar excavated in Luoyang 洛陽 in 2006. It was Zhang Naizhu 張乃翥 who had the unique insight to notice a rubbing of the pillar inscription in a Luoyang antique store. After doing some research on it, he wrote an article introducing its academic significance.[14] Later, Luo Zhao 羅炤 also published two successive papers on the inscription.

13 Lin Wushu, "Dunhuang yishu *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing* kaoshi" 敦煌遺書《大秦景教宣元本經》考釋 (Study of the Dunhuang Manuscript of the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing*), originally published in *Jiuzhou xuekan*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1995, pp. 23–30; reprinted as an appendix to Kelimukaite, *Da Jiama yiqian Zhongya he Dongya de Jidujiao*, pp. 212–224. Also reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 175–185; and in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu* 林悟殊敦煌文書與夷教研究 (Lin Wushu's Research on Dunhuang Manuscripts and Foreign Religions) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), pp. 248–258 with the new title, "Dunhuang ben Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing kaoshi" 敦煌本〈大秦景教宣元本經〉考釋 (An Investigation of the Dunhuang edition of *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan ben jing*), and a slightly updated foreword.

14 Zhang Naizhu 張乃翥, "Ba Henan Luoyang xin chutu de yijian Tangdai Jingjiao shike" 跋河南洛陽新出土的一件唐代景教石刻 (Note on a Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Stone Inscription Recently Unearthed in Luoyang), *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 (Studies on the Western Regions), No. 1, 2007, pp. 65–73. Also, Zhang Naizhu, "Buzheng shuoming" 補正說明 (Supplementary Explanation), *Xiyu yanjiu*, No. 2, 2007, p. 132; reprinted in Ge Chengyong 葛承雍, ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu* 景教遺珍 – 洛陽新出土唐代景教經幢研究 (Lost Jingjiao Treasures: A Study of the Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Scripture Inscribed on a Stele Newly Unearthed in Luoyang) (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), p. 516; appended to this is an English translation: "Note on a Nestorian Stone Inscription from the Tang Dynasty Recently Unearthed in Luoyang", in *Jingjiao Yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 17–33. When Zhang was studying the newly excavated text, we exchanged letters, so I knew about the startling discovery of this treasure.

The first raised some questions about the scripture and the accompanying *Pillar Record* 幢記,[15] and the second re-examined the text of the inscription and raised some additional issues about the scripture pillar.[16] After obtaining a copy of the rubbing, Feng Qiyong 馮其庸 wrote an article in which he compared the text of the pillar inscription with the Dunhuang version, concluding that the manuscript in Li Shengduo's collection was genuine, and also pointing out that the *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* obtained by Kojima was a forgery.[17]

We can summarise the results of the research of these three scholars as follows. Only the upper half of this stone inscription survives, containing the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing* on the front side of the pillar, and the memorial *Pillar Record* on the back side. The latter records that in the 9th year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (814) in Emperor Xianzong's 憲宗 reign (805–820) some Sogdian families and Jingjiao priests from the Da Qin Temple in Luoyang erected this pillar with the inscription on the occasion of the burial of a Lady An 安氏太夫人, originally from the state of An 安國 (Bukhara), to obtain blessings for her and to eliminate karmic obstacles for all her relatives. Zhang and Luo had already pointed out that the text of the *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* on the pillar was similar to the Dunhuang manuscript from Li Shengduo's former collection: the text on the pillar was 19 lines long, but was missing the bottom half; while the text in the Dunhuang manuscript preserved only the first 11 lines, but each of these was complete. Therefore, the two versions are complementary; each can be used to fill gaps in the other. If the surviving text in the rubbing represents the complete text of the scripture, we can now read almost the entire *Xuanyuan zhiben jing*. The Luoyang pillar was dug up illegally

15 Luo Zhao 羅炤, "Luoyang xin chutu 'Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing ji chuangji' shichuang de jige wenti" 洛陽新出土《大秦景教宣元至本經及幢記》石幢的幾個問題 (Some Issues Concerning the Jingjiao Stone Inscription *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan Zhiben jing* on the Luoyang Pillar), *Wenwu* 文物 (Cultural Relics), No. 6, 2007, pp. 30–42, 48; reprinted in Ge Chengyong, ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 34–59. I helped Luo proofread the transcription of the text outside the meeting hall of the conference dedicated to this pillar at Renmin University of China.

16 Luo Zhao, "Zaitan Luoyang Sui Tang Jingjiao jingchuang de jige wenti" 再談洛陽隋唐景教經幢的幾個問題 (Further Discussion of Some Issues concerning the Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Stone Inscription from Luoyang), *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (Studies of World Religions), No. 4, 2007, pp. 96–104.

17 "*Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing* quanjing de xianshi ji qita"《大秦景教宣元至本經》全經的現世及其他 (The Appearance of the Full Text of *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* and Other Issues), published in the "Guoxue zhuanlan" 國學專欄 (Chinese Studies column) of the 27 September 2007 issue of *Zhongguo wenhua bao* 中國文化報 (Chinese Culture News), and then reprinted in *Xinhua wenzhai* 新華文摘 (Xinhua Digest), No. 23, 2007; and in Ge Chengyong, ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 60–66.

by grave-robbers, and thereafter rubbings of it entered the antiques market; only then did scholars recognise its value. The stone pillar itself was ultimately reclaimed by the public security authorities, deposited at the Second Cultural Relics Team in Luoyang, and is now displayed in the Silk Road Museum there.

Considering this situation, the tomb robbers who dug up the Luoyang pillar could not have seen the Dunhuang manuscript of *Xuanyuan zhiben jing*, and even if they had seen it, they could not have fabricated the missing bottom portion of the Jingjiao text after the first 11 lines of the Dunhuang version. Moreover, the *Pillar note* that follows the scripture is written entirely in Tang writing style, which later generations would not have been able to imitate. Therefore, there is no doubt whatsoever about the authenticity of the pillar inscription. With this in mind, looking back to Li Shengduo's *Xuanyuan ben jing*, we find that its content is not very different from the text on the stone pillar, revealing that, without doubt, the inscription is also a Tang dynasty text. Compared with the Kojima manuscript called *Xuanyuan zhiben jing*, we find that its content is entirely different, which allows us to confirm that it is a modern forgery.

The authenticity of the Luoyang stone inscription not only confirmed the conclusions that Lin and I had reached in our joint study in London over ten years before, but also provided new materials and insights for the study of Jingjiao in the Tang dynasty. Lin and his student Yin Xiaoping 殷小平 co-wrote a preliminary study on the text of the scripture inscribed on the Luoyang pillar, comparing it to the Li Shengduo text,[18] followed by a second study that focused on the *Pillar Record* that follows the scripture.[19] Later on, Lin wrote a

18 Lin Wushu and Yin Xiaoping 殷小平, "Jingchuang ban 'Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing' kaoshi: Tangdai Luoyang Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu zhi yi" 經幢版景教《大秦景教宣元至本經》考釋 – 唐代洛陽景教經幢研究之一 (An Examination of the Pillar Version of the *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing*: Study of the Tang-dynasty Jingjiao Pillar from Luoyang, Part 1), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Journal of Chinese Literature and History), No. 1, 2008, pp. 325–352; reprinted in Ge Chengyong, *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 68–91; also reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Zhonggu yijiao Huahua congkao* 中古夷教華化叢考 (Studies on the Sinicisation of Medieval Foreign Religions) (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2011), pp. 168–191; and in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 259–283.

19 Yin Xiaoping and Lin Wushu, "'Chuangji' ruogan wenti kaoshi: Tangdai Luoyang Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu zhi er"《幢記》若干問題考釋 – 唐代洛陽景教經幢研究之二 (Some Questions Concerning the *Pillar Record*: Second Study on the Tang-dynasty Jingjiao Pillar from Luoyang), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, No. 2, 2008, pp. 269–292; reprinted in Ge Chengyong, ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 92–108; also in Lin Wushu, *Zhonggu yijiao Huahua congkao*, pp. 192–210.

third study on the invocation of the Trinity at the beginning of the scripture,[20] and a fourth on the names of the Jingjiao priests in this text.[21] These works have considerably deepened our understanding of the doctrine and history of Tang-dynasty Jingjiao.[22]

3 Two Jingjiao Texts from Li Shengduo's Former Collection Recently Published by the Kyōu Shooku 杏雨書屋 Library: Revisiting the Authenticity of the Li Shengduo Manuscripts

Lin Wushu conducted a case study on another Jingjiao document formerly in the collection of Li Shengduo. This was the *Zhixuan anle jing*. In 2001, he published an article on this text, pointing out the unreliability of inserted (i.e. assumed but not present) words in Saeki Yoshirō's transcription, which served as the basis for later scholarship.[23] Ten years later, he published an article arguing, on the basis of photographs of the complete scroll published by the Kyōu Shooku Library, that this was a genuine Tang dynasty manuscript. He analysed

20 Lin Wushu, "Jingchuang ban 'sanwei yiti' kaoshi: Tangdai Luoyang Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu zhi san" 經幢版 "三位一體" 考釋 – 唐代洛陽景教經幢研究之三 (A Study of the "Trinity" in the Scripture Pillar: Third Study of the Tang-dynasty Jingjiao Pillar from Luoyang), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, No. 1, 2009, pp. 257–276; reprinted in Ge Chengyong, ed., *Jingjiao yizhen: Luoyang xin chutu Tangdai Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu*, pp. 109–121; also in Lin Wushu, *Zhonggu yijiao Huahua congkao*, pp. 213–225.

21 Lin Wushu, "Tangdai Jing seng mingzi de Huahua guiji: Tangdai Luoyang Jingjiao jingchuang yanjiu zhi si" 唐代景僧名字的華化軌跡 – 唐代洛陽景教經幢研究之四 (The Chinese Trajectory of the Names of Jingjiao Priests in Tang Dynasty Luoyang: Fourth Study on the Tang-dynasty Jingjiao Pillar from Luoyang), *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, No. 2, 2009, pp. 149–194; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Zhonggu yijiao Huahua congkao*, pp. 226–268.

22 Cf. Matteo Nicolini-Zani, "The Tang Christian Pillar from Luoyang and its Jingjiao Inscription: A Preliminary Study", *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. 57, 2009, pp. 99–140; Li Tang, "A Preliminary Study on the Jingjiao Inscription of Luoyang: Text Analysis, Commentary and English Translation", in D. W. Winkler, ed., *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters: Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (Vienna: Lit, 2009), pp. 109–132.

23 Lin Wushu, "Dunhuang ben Jingjiao *Zhixuan anle jing* Zuobo luwen zhiyi" 敦煌本景教《志玄安樂經》佐伯錄文質疑 (Doubts regarding Saeki Yoshirō's Transcription of the Dunhuang Version of the Jingjiao Text *Zhixuan anle jing*), *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大學學報 (Journal of Sun Yat Sen University), No. 4, 2001, pp. 1–7; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 146–155, and Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 284–293. See Gunner B. Mikkelsen, "Haneda's and Saeki's Editions of the Chinese Nestorian *Zhixuan anle jing*: A Comment on Recent Work by Lin Wushu", in Malek and Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, pp. 143–148.

it from various perspectives, such as the connections of this scripture with other texts, its mention in the *Zunjing*, the length of the manuscript and its contents. Consulting Haneda Tōru's old transcription, he used the photographs of the manuscript to produce a new transcription.[24]

I have written on the authenticity of the manuscripts in Li Shengduo's former collection from other perspectives[25] and, therefore, fully agree with Lin's argument concerning the manuscript of the *Zhixuan anle jing*.

After I published my article on the authenticity of the Li Shengduo collection, there were several other publications related to this collection, most notably the correspondence between Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) and Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927).[26] Below I have transcribed excerpts from the letters related to this subject:

> *No. 602. Luo Zhenyu to Wang Guowei (2 July 1919)*:
> Li Muzhai 李木齋 (i.e. Li Shengduo) collected up to 400–500 scrolls of ancient books from Dunhuang, which were all stolen from among the Ministry of Education's 8,000 scrolls. Before they had been turned over to dealers, he allowed me to copy them, which was both gratifying and terrifying. I set up a printing bureau to print them, but for now I would appreciate if you did not let anyone know about this. (p. 459)
>
> *No. 604. Luo Zhenyu to Wang Guowei (3 July 1919)*:
> I have arranged to read the library cave manuscripts at Muzhai's home. When he brings them out, I will briefly examine all of them. After I have reviewed them, I will find time to outline them for you separately. I have heard that among them are several *juan* of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han Dynasty), one *juan* of a Six Dynasties copy of the *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects of Confucius) without annotations, and countless fragments from works that are unidentified. There are certainly some

24 Lin Wushu, "Jingjiao 'Zhixuan anle jing' Dunhuang xieben zhenwei ji luwen bushuo" 景教《志玄安樂經》敦煌寫本真偽及錄文補說 (On the Authenticity of the Dunhuang Manuscript of the *Zhixuan anle jing* and Further Notes on its Transcription), *Huaxue* 華學 (Chinese Studies), No. 11, 2011; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 294–323.

25 See Rong Xinjiang, "Li Shengduo xiejuan de zhen yu wei".

26 Wang Qingxiang 王慶祥 and Xiao Wenli 蕭文立, eds., (verified by Luo Jizu 羅繼祖), *Luo Zhenyu Wang Guowei wanglai shuxin* 羅振玉王國維往來書信 (Correspondence between Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei) (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000); page numbers are indicated after the quotations.

rare items there. Li asked me not to blame him for what he did, and I have given him my word, so please do not disclose this matter to outsiders. (p. 460)

No. 605. Luo Zhenyu to Wang Guowei (*mid-July 1919*):
There are certainly some rare items in Li Muzhai's collection, it is just that I do not know when I will be able to see them. (p. 461)

No. 617. Luo Zhenyu to Wang Guowei (*17 September 1919*):
I went to see the Li Muzhai collection the day before yesterday. Among the Dunhuang scrolls, I found an annotated fragment on the hexagram *bi* 賁 from the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Book of Changes); there is also the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), the "Didian" 帝典 ("Yaodian" 堯典, or "Canon of Yao") chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents), the *Bencao xulie* 本草序列 (Prefatory Material to the Materia Medica), the *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓 (Essential Teachings for Beginners), the biographies of Zhang Yu 張禹 and Kong Guang 孔光 in the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), the "Rangwang" 讓王 (Ceding the Throne) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, the *Daode jing* 道德經 (The Classic of the Way and the Virtue), and some seven-word librettos (one is *Mulian jiumu* 目連救母 [Mulian Saves His Mother], and the other *Li Ling xianglu* 李陵降虜 [General Li Ling Surrenders to the Xiongnu]). In addition, there are ordination permits (two permits, both dating from the early Northern Song), and a will. Some of the scrolls have seal imprints, including one newly cast imprint of the military commissioner of the Guiyijun 歸義軍 (Return to Allegiance Circuit). There are manuscripts dating from the 2nd year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign period (526, of Gaochang 高昌), the 4th year of the Linjia 麟嘉 reign period (389–403, of Emperor Lü Guang 呂光), and the reign periods of Yanchang 延昌 (512–515), Datong 大統 (535–551), Jingming 景明 (500–504), Kaihuang 開皇 (581–600), Zhenguan 貞觀 (627–649), Xianqing 顯慶 (656–661), Yifeng 儀鳳 (676–679), Shangyuan 上元 (674–676), Zhide 至德 (756–758), Tianbao (742–756), Zhengsheng 證聖 (695), Qianning 乾寧 (894–898) and so forth. Some of these materials can supplement historical sources, including the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Great Nirvana Sūtra) copied by Juqu Tang'er 且渠唐兒, governor of Dunhuang in the 2nd year of the Jianshi 建始 reign period. The *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Huayan Sūtra) includes the *Zhixuan anle jing* and the *Xuanyuan ben jing* (for this name, see *Sanwei mengdu zan* 三威蒙度贊). The above-mentioned works are all in the collection of

> Li Muzhai. He also mentions that Qianlou 潛樓 (i.e. Liu Tingchen 劉廷琛, 1867–1932) owns a copy of the *Liuzi* 劉子. The above books are immensely precious, and I regret that I cannot see them together with you.[27] (p. 470)
>
> *No. 620. Wang Guowei to Luo Zhenyu (20 September 1919)*:
>
> Li's books are indeed a thousand-year-old hidden treasure, and it is fascinating to hear about them. Junchu 君楚 (i.e. Luo Zhenyu's second son Luo Fuchang 羅福萇) suspects that the texts written in the 2nd year of the Ganlu reign period date from the Fu Qin 苻秦 period (i.e. Former Qin, 350–394), which is reasonable. I do not know the two Jingjiao texts, but if they describe doctrinal matters and are also attested [in other sources], they are truly world treasures that cannot be treated simply as ordinary books.[28] (p. 473)

These previously unpublished letters give us much new information.

First, as early as July 1919, Luo Zhenyu and others knew that Li Shengduo had a collection of Dunhuang manuscripts that had been stolen from among the 8,000 volumes held by the Ministry of Education. This was entirely consistent with the conclusion reached by Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎 in an article that compared what the group of scholars from Kyoto University who visited China saw with the catalogue of the Dunhuang manuscripts in Li Shengduo's collection, namely, that "in reality, Li and others took these scrolls after they had been deposited at the Ministry of Education".[29] In particular, when Luo Zhenyu wrote to Wang Guowei, "Li asked me not to blame him for

27 Note that the editors of these letters made some errors: they wrote "Tang'er" 唐兒 as "Tangguang" 唐光; "Zhixuan" 志玄 as "Zhili" 志立; and "Sanwei" 三威 as "Sanzang" 三藏. I have corrected these based on their meaning. There is also something wrong with the phrase "the *Huayan jing* includes the *Zhixuan anle jing*" 其《華嚴經》有《志玄安樂經》, which does not make sense. Perhaps something is missing after *Huayan jing*.

28 Note that in the volume of *Wang Guowei quanji* 王國維全集 (Complete Works of Wang Guowei) containing Wang Guowei's correspondence, this letter is dated 7 July 1919, but it now appears to have been written on 20 September. See *Wang Guowei quanji*, ed. by Xie Weiyang 謝維揚, Fang Xinliang 房鑫亮 and Luo Dan 駱丹 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, and Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009). In the past, when Lin Wushu and I co-authored the article "Suowei Lin shi jiu cang Dunhuang Jingjiao wenxian erzhong bianwei" (see note 3 above), we saw only the last of the above letters by Wang Guowei in his *quanji*. Now that we have seen Luo Zhenyu's letters, we have a much better understanding of what Wang meant.

29 Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎, "Tonkō sekishitsu koshakyō no kenkyū" 敦煌石室古写経の研究, *Geibun* 藝文, Nos. 5–6, 1911.

what he did", this meant that Li Shengduo privately admitted to having stolen the Dunhuang manuscripts from the Ministry of Education. This is also strong evidence that Li's collection of Dunhuang manuscripts came primarily from among the scrolls the Qing government had transported from the Dunhuang library cave, thus their authenticity is beyond doubt. The Kyōu Shooku Library has now published all 432 scrolls from Li Shengduo's catalogue.[30] Of these, only the *Zhixuan anle jing* has Li Shengduo's note that it was brought back from Suzhou 肅州 (present-day Jiuquan 酒泉, Gansu) in the autumn of 1916. This means that this manuscript came from a different source, but it was obtained very early (i.e. in 1916) from Jiuquan, not far from Dunhuang, therefore its authenticity is not in doubt. The photographs of the Li Shengduo manuscripts show that they are very similar in both appearance and content to the "Ministry of Education's 8,000 scrolls" that are currently held at the National Library of China. In reality, the "8,000 scrolls" was only an approximation at the time. Later, as cataloguing proceeded, the National Library of China found many more fragments that came from the Dunhuang library cave. Many years ago, I discovered that a fragment of the *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica) in the National Library (Lin 臨 2371, current pressmark BD12242) could be joined together with the beginning of a Li Shengduo manuscript of the *Xinxiu bencao* shown in Plate 6 of Okanishi Tameto's 岡西為人 *Honzō gaisetsu* 本草概説 (A Survey of Chinese Medicine; Osaka: Sōgensha, 1983). Their headings match perfectly. I told my Japanese friend Iwamoto Atsushi 岩本篤志 about this discovery, and after inspecting the original manuscript carefully, he wrote a paper about it.[31] Now that photographs of both manuscripts have been published,[32] I asked Liu Bo 劉波 from the Rare Books Department of the National Library of China to

30 The Kyōu Shooku's collection of manuscripts excavated in the Western Regions are called *Tonkō hikyū* 敦煌秘笈 (Precious Books from Dunhuang). The publication was compiled and distributed by the Takeda Science Foundation in March 2009.

31 Iwamoto Atsushi 岩本篤志, "Tō *Shinshū honzō* hensan to 'tokō': Chūgoku kokka toshokan zō danpen kō" 唐『新修本草』編纂と「土貢」– 中国国家図書館蔵断片考 (The Compilation of the *Xinxiu bencao* and 'Tribute': A Study of a Fragment in the Collection of the National Library of China), *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報 (Journal of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko), Vol. 90, No. 2, 2008, pp. 113–143, esp. p. 131. See Rong Xinjiang, "Zhuixun zuihou de baocang Li Shengduo jiucang Dunhuang wenxian diaocha ji", pp. 87–88.

32 *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書 (Manuscripts from Dunhuang in the National Library of China), Vol. 110 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2009), p. 344; Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan Kyōu Shooku 武田科学振興財団の杏雨書屋, ed., *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu* 敦煌秘笈: 影片冊 (Precious Books from Dunhuang: Photographs), Vol. 1 (Osaka: Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan, 2009), p. 271.

help combine these two document fragments virtually, by computer, and the results confirm that they are indeed a perfect fit (Fig. 27.1). This example confirms that the manuscripts obtained by Li Shengduo and others were truly from Dunhuang, transported from there by the Ministry of Education. When the Dunhuang manuscripts were divided up, some manuscripts were torn into two parts; the better half was removed and the other, with less writing on it, was left behind to make up the numbers. This is why the *Xinxiu bencao* in the National Library of China contains only half of the line with the title and a little bit of the text.

Second, Luo Zhenyu said that Li Shengduo's collection of Dunhuang manuscripts contained "up to 400–500 volumes", which was the information he received before seeing the collection. We know that Li Shengduo's collection included as many as 432 manuscripts when he finally sold it to a Japanese collector in 1935. From 1919 to 1935, as a private collector, Li would inevitably have given some manuscripts to friends as gifts, thus the number of manuscripts in the collection may have changed. However, these two figures are roughly in accord. Judging from the high value that Li Shengduo placed on his collection during his lifetime, he must generally have been reluctant to give them away.

Third, when Luo Zhenyu went to Li's house to examine his Dunhuang manuscripts on 15 September 1919, Li Shengduo treated him generously and showed him many of the finest pieces in his collection. I have compared the list in Luo Zhenyu's letter with Li Shengduo's own catalogue before his final sale (*Li Muzhai shi jiancang Dunhuang xieben mulu* 李木齋氏鑒藏燉煌寫本目錄 [Catalogue of Li Shengduo's Collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts]) and arrived at the following list of manuscripts Luo must have seen (where there was more than one date, I have chosen the first one given in the catalogue, which might not be accurate):

1. *Moheyan jing* 摩訶衍經 (Moheyan Sūtra), *juan* 8; 8th year of Datong 大統 (542) in the Wei 魏 dynasty
2. *Weimo yiji* 維摩義記 (Record of the Meanings of the Vimalakīrti Sūtra), *juan* 2; 2nd year of Ganlu 甘露
3. *Shijie jing* 十戒經 (Sūtra of the Ten Precepts), complete; 2nd year of Zhide 至德 (757)
4. *Huayan jing* 華嚴經, *juan* 24; 2nd year of Yanchang 延昌, with a blue seal
5. *Weicengyou yinyuan jing* 未曾有因緣經 (Sūtra on Unprecedented Cause and Condition), *juan* 2; 11th year of Kaihuang 開皇 (591), officially produced copy
6. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Lotus Sūtra), *juan* 4; 28th day of the 10th month of the 2nd year of Shangyuan 上元 (675), copied by Gongsun Renyue 公孫仁約, copyist of the Chancellery

7. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, *juan* 5; 1st month of the 2nd year of Yifeng 儀鳳 (677), copied by Tian Xuanhui 田玄徽, copyist of the Palace Library
8. *Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經 (Sūtra of the Explanation of the Profound Secrets), *juan* 7; 22nd year of Zhenguan 貞觀 (648)
10. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, *juan* 1; 5th month of the 1st year of Zhengsheng 證聖 (695)
13. *Jingjiao zhixuan anle jing* 景教志玄安樂經
16. *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*)
18. *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents)
19. *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "Rangwang pian" 讓王篇
24. Household Register of Longle Village, Dunhuang County 燉煌縣龍勒鄉戶冊; 8th year of Tianbao (749)
26. "Sanjiesi Zhunu jiedie" 三界寺住奴戒牒 (Ordination Certificates for Zhunu of the Sanjiesi Temple); 8th year of Taiping xingguo 太平興國
29. *Kaimeng yaoxun* 開蒙要訓 (Essential Teachings for Beginners), *juan* 1
40. *Bencao* 本草 (Materia Medica), with a calendar on the verso
52. *Dayun si die* 大雲寺牒 (Ordination Certificate of the Dayun Monastery); 10th month of the 5th year of Yongxi 雍熙 (988)
71. *Mulian zhuan* 目連傳 (The Story of Mulian), a heptasyllabic narrative text; the verso has a letter by the monk Sengtai 僧太 written to his uncle
179. *Huayan jing*, *juan* 50, complete at end
429. *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Great Nirvana Sūtra), *juan* 34; 2nd year of Jianshi 建始, sponsored by Juqu Tang'er 且渠唐兒, copied by Su Zhongzu 蘇仲祖
431. *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* 宣元至本經, complete at beginning
432. Scroll fragment of the *Hanshu*, avoiding the character 世 (i.e. imperial name taboo).

The other works Luo mentioned in his letter to Wang Guowei as having seen in Li's collection – the *Zhouyi*, *Shiji*, *Daode jing*, the *bianwen* on Li Ling, and manuscripts dating from the Linjia, Jingming, Xianqing and Qianning reign periods are not in the catalogue. However, the scrolls listed above represent the finest pieces in Li Shengduo's collection, including the two Jingjiao texts.

Since March 2009, the Kyōu Shooku Library of the Takeda Science Foundation, where Li Shengduo's former collection is now held, began to compile and publish *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu* 敦煌秘笈: 影片冊 (Precious Collection from Dunhuang: Photographs), including all the manuscripts from Dunhuang and the Western Regions. The first 432 items were an exact match with those listed in Li Shengduo's catalogue, the *Li Muzhai shi jianzang Dunhuang xieben mulu*.

The first volume of *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu*, published in October 2009, contains colour photographs of the entire scroll of the *Zhixuan anle jing* (pp. 129–132). This was the first time the manuscript of this text had been

published in its entirety. In the past, we could only see the text transcribed by Haneda Tōru while he was at Li Shengduo's house in 1928 and photographs of only the beginning and end of the scroll, which were published at the beginning of the second volume of *Haneda hakushi shigaku ronbunshū*. Therefore, the scholarly value of these colour images is self-evident. Lin Wushu immediately wrote about them in his paper on the authenticity of this text mentioned above, providing researchers with the newest transcription.

Vol. 5 of *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu*, published in November 2011, included a colour photo of the *Xuanyuan ben jing* (p. 397). When we compare this to the black and white photo in the second volume of *Haneda ronbunshū*, we find that the two are identical, containing the same 26 lines. Previously, based on the photo published in *Haneda ronbunshū*, it was impossible to know whether the manuscript was longer, but now it can be confirmed that the version in Li's collection had only one sheet of paper. The last line of the manuscript was not copied to the end, which may indicate that it was an unfinished manuscript. In any case, the discovery of the inscription on the Luoyang Jingjiao pillar and the publication of the colour pictures of the Li Shengduo manuscript brought us some reliable information: that this is undoubtedly a Jingjiao manuscript from the Tang dynasty.

4 The Jingjiao Manuscripts in the Collections of Takakusu Junjirō and Tomioka Kenzō, Recently Published by the Kyōu Shooku Library

As for the last two Jingjiao texts mentioned above, Lin Wushu and I discussed them many times when we were in London. When Lin travelled to Paris to do research there, he presented a copy of our joint article [see note 2 above] on the two Jingjiao texts to Wu Qiyu 吳其昱, and asked for his opinion. Wu said that the *Yishen lun* and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* were forgeries. As a result, Lin did a detailed study and published three successive articles: first, one on the authenticity of Tomioka Kenzō's *Yishen lun*,[33] then one on the authenticity of Takakusu Junjirō's *Xu ting Mishisuo jing*,[34] and finally, a supplement to

33 Lin Wushu, "Fugang Qianzang shi cang Jingjiao *Yishen lun* zhenwei cunyi" 富岡謙藏氏藏景教《一神論》真偽存疑 (On the Authenticity of Tomioka Kenzō's Jingjiao Text *Yishen lun*), *Tang yanjiu*, No. 6, 2000, pp. 67–86; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 186–207; and Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 324–346.

34 Lin Wushu, "Gaonan shi cang Jingjiao *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* zhenwei cunyi" 高楠氏藏景教《序聽迷詩所經》真偽存疑 (On the Authenticity of Takakusu Junjirō's Jingjiao

both of these.[35] Lin pointed out that the provenance of these two Jingjiao texts was unknown, but that they were both written by the same person, that the structure of the manuscripts was chaotic, that the headings were not standardised, and that the contents did not correspond to the headings. The writing was very neat, but it was full of errors and omissions. The *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* not only had a mistake in the title, but also used the profane term *yishu* 移鼠 (migrant rat) for the name Jesus. All of these were incredible errors. However, Lin's opinions also changed somewhat during the course of his research. In 2000, when he published his verdict on the *Yishen lun* text from Tomioka Kenzō's collection, he argued:

> The Jingjiao text in Tomioka Kenzō's collection is not an authentic Dunhuang manuscript but a copy made in the early 20th century. However, it is not a total fabrication but a copy that relies on an ancient text. We of course cannot exclude the possibility that this ancient text was composed by the Jesuits in the late Ming or early Qing period. It is more likely, however, that besides the well-known Jingjiao manuscripts, the Dunhuang manuscripts also contained some other Jingjiao scrolls with texts similar to the *Yishen lun*, and when these fell into the hands of antique dealers, due to being heavily decayed and fragmented, they could not fetch a high price. So a skilfull forger copied them out anew as separate manuscripts.[36]

When in 2001 he published the article expressing his doubts about the authenticity of the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* manuscript in Takakusu Junjirō's collection, Lin already suspected that these two scrolls were not authentic Dunhuang manuscripts but may have been high quality forgeries produced in modern

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Text *Xu ting mishisuo jing*), *Wenshi* 文史 (Literature and History), Vol. 55, 2001, pp. 141–154; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Tangdai Jingjiao zai yanjiu*, pp. 208–228; and Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 347–368.

35 Lin Wushu, "Jingjiao Fugang Gaonan wenshu bianwei bushuo" 景教富岡高楠文書辨偽補說 (Additional Notes on the Authenticity of Tomioka Kenzō and Takakusu Junjirō's Jingjiao Manuscripts), *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Dunhuang and Turfan Studies), No. 8, 2005, pp. 35–43; reprinted in Lin Wushu, *Zhonggu sanyijiao bianzheng* 中古三夷教辨證 (Studies on Medieval China's Three Foreign Religions) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 215–226; and Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 369–380. Cf. Wushu Lin, "Additional Notes on the Authenticity of Tomioka's and Takakusu's Manuscripts", in Malek and Hofrichter, *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, pp. 134–142.

36 Lin Wushu, "Fugang Qianzang shi cang Jingjiao *Yishen lun* zhenwei cunyi", in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, pp. 342–343.

times. He no longer mentioned the possibility that they had been copied from ancient Dunhuang manuscripts. His final conclusion was that "the academic community must adopt a more cautious attitude toward these two manuscripts, and refrain from using them until we can provide a reasonable explanation for their dubious authenticity".[37] He thus excluded these two manuscripts from Jingjiao studies. In 2005, when Lin published his supplementary study on the two documents, he concluded: "At the moment, we can only say that the provenance of these two manuscripts is not clear. The manuscripts themselves give rise to many suspicions, suggesting that they are forgeries". He pointed out that these were not necessarily copies of ancient Dunhuang manuscripts but may have been partly based on the Chinese works of the Jesuits who came to China in the Ming and Qing periods.[38] As a historian of religions, Lin adopted an extremely rigorous attitude, analysing the contents of the two Jingjiao manuscripts line by line for any suspicious elements, and pointing out that they were probably modern forgeries. Regarding Lin's conclusions as stated above, some Jingjiao researchers remain doubtful,[39] some are unwilling to accept his views,[40] and some turn a deaf ear to the problem and continue to use the manuscripts in their study of Tang-dynasty Jingjiao.[41]

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37 Lin Wushu, "Gaonan shi cang Jingjiao *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* zhenwei cunyi", in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, p. 364.

38 Lin Wushu, "Gaonan shi cang Jingjiao *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* zhenwei cunyi", p. 378.

39 Max Deeg, "Towards a New Translation of the Chinese Jingjiao Documents from the Tang Dynasty", in Malek and Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, pp. 115–131.

40 See Wang Lanping 王蘭平, "Yi 'shiyuan' 'shiguan' wei li kan Tangdai Jingjiao yu Fojiao de jiaoshe ronghe" 以"十願" "十觀"為例看唐代景教與佛教的交涉融合 (Using the 'Ten Vows' and the 'Ten Levels of Discernment' to Examine the Syncretism of Jingjiao and Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty), in Li Jinqiang 李金強, Wu Ziming 吳梓明 and Xing Fuzeng 邢福增, eds., *Zi xi cu dong: Jidujiao lai Hua erbai nian lunji* 自西徂東：基督教來華二百年論集 (From West to East: Papers on 200 Years of Christianity in China) (Hong Kong: Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe, 2009), pp. 145–159; Lanping Wang, "Review of *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ, Volume I*", *Jindai Zhongguo Jidujiao shi yanjiu jikan* 近代中國基督教史研究集刊 (Journal of Research on the History of Christianity in Modern China), 2004/2005, No. 6, pp. 87–88.

41 Li Tang, *A Study of the History of Nestorian Christianity in China and Its Literature in Chinese: Together with a New English Translation of the Dunhuang Nestorian Documents* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002); Tang Li 唐莉, "Tangdai Jingjiao Aluoben wenxian: *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* ji *Yishen lun*" 唐代景教阿羅本文獻 – 《序聽迷詩所經》及《一神論》 (Tang Dynasty Jingjiao Texts of Aluoben: The *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* and *Yishen lun*), in Liu Chuhua 劉楚華, ed., *Tangdai wenxue yu zongjiao* 唐代文學與宗教 (Tang Dynasty Literature and Religion) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 665–682; Huang Xianian 黃夏年, "Jingjing *Yishen lun* zhi 'hunpo' chutan" 景經《一神論》之"魂魄"初探 (Preliminary Investigation of the "Soul" in the Jingjiao Scripture *Yishen lun*),

I agree entirely with Lin's viewpoint and, based on his arguments, I would like to emphasise the following three points:

First, in the Tang dynasty, there was a strict procedure for translating foreign scriptures, which can be seen from the colophons to some Dunhuang Buddhist manuscripts that list the names and roles of personnel participating in the translation. For example, the colophon to the *Fodi jing* 佛地經 (Sūtra of the Buddha-stage) in manuscript P.3709 (Fig. 27.2) reads as follows:[42]

> Copied by Xi Xuanshuang 郗玄爽, head of the copy office, on the 19th day of the 8th month of the 22nd year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (648)
> 5,502 characters in total
> Dyed and mounted by Fu Wenkai 輔文開
> Text recorded by Bianji 辯機, *śramaṇa* of the Zongchi 總持 Monastery
> Text verified by Xingyou 行友, *śramaṇa* of the Pujiu 普救 Monastery in Puzhou 蒲州
> Text verified by Xuanze 玄賾, *śramaṇa* of the Xuanfa 玄法 Monastery
> Characters corrected by Xuanying 玄應, *śramaṇa* of the Zongchi Monastery
> Meaning verified by Lingrun 靈閏, *śramaṇa* of the Hongfu 弘福 Monastery
> Meaning verified by Lingfan 靈範, *śramaṇa* of the Hongfu Monastery
> Meaning verified by Huiming 惠明, *śramaṇa* of the Hongfu Monastery
> Meaning verified by Sengsheng 僧勝, *śramaṇa* of the Hongfu Monastery
> Translated by *śramaṇa* Xuanzang 玄裝（奘）
> Translation supervised by Xu Jingzong 許敬宗, grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting assistant to the heir apparent, dynasty-founding baron of Gaoyang county 銀青光祿大夫行太子左庶子高陽縣開國男

This colophon reveals a strict procedure, according to which the formal translation of scriptures involved individuals who recorded the text, verified it,

in Huang Xianian, *Xilai dongqu: Zhongwai gudai Fojiao shi lunji* 西來東去：中外古代佛教史論集 (From West to East: Papers on the Pre-modern History of Buddhism in China and Beyond) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 359–373; Wang Lanping, *Tangdai Dunhuang Hanwen Jingjiao xiejing yanjiu* 唐代敦煌漢文景教寫經研究 (Studies of Tang Dynasty Chinese Jingjiao Scriptures from Dunhuang), Ph.D thesis, Dunhuang Studies Institute, Lanzhou University, 2006.

42 Ikeda On 池田温, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku* 中國古代寫本識語集録 (Colophons from Ancient Chinese Manuscripts) (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1990), p. 191.

corrected the characters and verified the meaning. The final text of many scriptures was polished by scholars of high literary accomplishment, as is stated in the colophon to *juan* 1 of the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (Mahāyāna Sūtra on Contemplating the Mind-Ground of the Buddha's Life) dated the 6th year of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (811):[43]

> On the 3rd day of the 7th month of the 5th year of Yuanhe (810), the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* was taken out of the palace and ordered to be sent to the Liquan 醴泉 Monastery in Chang'an 長安, on the 27th of the month. The translation was presented on the 8th day of the 3rd month of the 6th year (811).
> Sanskrit text recited by Tripitaka *śramaṇa* and recipient of the purple robe, Prajñā from Kophen
> Text recorded and words translated by Lingxian 靈仙 (J. Reisen), a Japanese *śramaṇa* of the Liquan 醴泉 Monastery
> Text polished 潤文 by Lingmo 令謩, *śramaṇa* of the Jingxing 經行 Monastery
> Text re-arranged 廻文 by Shaoyin 少諲, *śramaṇa* of the Liquan Monastery
> Text polished by Zangying 藏英, *śramaṇa* of the Jifa 濟法 Monastery
> Text re-arranged by Hengji 恆濟, *śramaṇa* of the Fushou 福壽 Monastery
> Meaning verified by Dabian 大辨, *śramaṇa* of the Zongchi Monastery
> Thorough editing by the virtuous *śramaṇa* Yiwei 一微, right avenue chief manager 右街都勾當 of the Zhuangyan 莊嚴 Monastery
> Supervised by Li Ba 李霸, Administrative clerk on duty at the translation office for Buddhist scriptures, commissioner of irregular troops, concurrently regular general, gentleman for court discussion, former acting administrative supervisor of personnel of Long prefecture 隴州, supreme pillar of state, recipient of crimson and the fish tally bag
> Thorough editing by Xiao Fu 蕭俛, Supervising secretary of the chancellery, holding the office of right rectifier of omissions, commandant of the cloud-like cavalry, in line to succeed as Duke of Xu 徐國公
> Thorough editing by Gui Deng 歸登, grand master of imperial entertainments with silver seal and blue ribbon, acting attendant gentleman for the Minister of Works, reader in waiting for the crown prince and various princes, supreme pillar of state and dynasty-founding baron of Changzhou 長洲 county

43 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, p. 335.

Thorough editing by Liu Bochu 劉伯蒭, grand master for court audiences, acting supervising secretary of the Chancellery, supervisor for the affairs of the scholars in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies
Thorough editing by Meng Jian 孟簡, gentleman for court discussion, acting grand master of remonstrance, petition box commissioner, supreme pillar of state, recipient of crimson and the fish tally bag
Thorough editing by Diwu Congzhi 第五從直, protector-in-chief of the right army of divine stratagems, concurrently commissioner for the cultivation of merit for the right half of Chang'an, specially advanced acting grand general of the right militant guard, supervising the affairs of the [eunuch] palace domestic service, supreme pillar of state, Duke of Shan 剡國公 with a nominal fief of 3,000 households.

Among them, Liu Bochu 劉伯蒭 can be identified as Liu Bochu 劉伯芻 whose self-authored epitaph was excavated in recent years. It says: "The following year, Buddhist monks from India translated the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* in ten *juan* and the emperor ordered Liu to polish their translation and the imperial preface".[44] Thus the role of "thorough editing" (*xiangding* 詳定) in the colophon must mean that he was responsible for polishing the text and finalising the translation. Moreover, those high officials who were responsible for reviewing the translation – Xiao Fu, Gui Deng, Liu Bochu and Meng Jian – were all influential ministers, showing that Emperor Xianzong attached great importance to the translation of Buddhist sutras. According to Chen Huaiyu's 陳懷宇 research, this Buddhist sutra was closely related to the Jingjiao scriptures.[45]

There was a standard process for copying scriptures, which can be seen in the colophon to *juan* 4 of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* in manuscript S.312 (Fig. 27.3):[46]

44 Hu Ji 胡戟 and Rong Xinjiang, eds., *Da Tang Xishi bowuguan cang muzhi* 大唐西市博物館藏墓志 (Tang Dynasty Tomb Inscriptions in the West Market Museum) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2012), pp. 792–794, No. 368.

45 Chen Huaiyu, "The Connection between Jingjiao and Buddhist Texts in Late Tang China", in Malek and Hofrichter, eds., *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, pp. 93–113; Chen Huaiyu, "Cong bijiao yuyanxue kan *Sanwei mengdu zan* yu *Dasheng bensheng xindi duan jing* de lianxi" 從比較語言學看《三威蒙度贊》與《大乘本生心地觀經》的聯繫 (Examining the Relationship between the *Sanwei mengdu zan* and the *Dasheng bensheng xindi duan jing* from the Perspective of Comparative Linguistics), *Xiyu wenshi* 西域文史 (Literature and History of the Western Regions), No. 1, 2006, pp. 111–119.

46 Ikeda On, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, pp. 217–218.

Copied by Feng Anchang 封安昌, copyist in the Chancellery, on the 21st day of the 9th month of the 4th year of the Xianheng 咸亨 reign period (673)
22 sheets of paper were used 用紙廿二張
Mounted and dyed by Xie Ji 解集
First proofreading by Huaifu 懷福, monk of the Great Zhuangyan 大莊嚴 Monastery
Second proofreading by Xuanzhen 玄真, monk of the Ximing 西明 Monastery
Third proofreading by Xuanzhen 玄真, monk of the Ximing Monastery
Thorough reading by Shenfu 神符, virtuous monk of the Taiyuan 太原 Monastery
Thorough reading by Jiashang 嘉尚, virtuous monk of the Taiyuan Monastery
Thorough reading by Huili 慧立, abbot of the Taiyuan Monastery
Thorough reading by Daocheng 道成, rector of the Taiyuan Monastery
Supervised by Li De 李德, office of the administrative assistant to the commissioners of the State Finance Commission, director of the Office of Imperial Parks under the Court of the Imperial Granaries
Supervised by Yu Chang 虞昶, superior grand master of the palace, acting attendant gentleman of the Ministry of Works, acting attendant gentleman of the Ministry of War, dynasty-founding Duke of Yongxing 永興 county

After the scripture was copied, there were three rounds of proofreading and several rounds of thorough reading by eminent monks. Whether a text was translated or copied, the process would ultimately be supervised by officials in all cases, and the manuscript could be circulated only if it passed inspection. Of course, the above was an example of a scroll commissioned by the Tang court, produced under the most stringent standards. Most manuscripts would not have been subject to all of these procedures. However, the state placed great importance on the management and supervision of translating and copying scriptures.

If the *Yishen lun* and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* were, as has been claimed, indeed the earliest translations of Jingjiao texts from the Zhenguan era (627–649), the Tang court must have been involved in their translation. Given that they were foreign religious scriptures, they must have been supervised and proofread with extra care, especially since Jingjiao had only just entered Chang'an for the first time in the 9th year of Zhenguan (635), and only in 638 was

it allowed to set up its own churches and ordain twenty-one Jingjiao priests.[47] At this time, if such long scriptures as the *Yishen lun* and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* had been translated, this would have been done as carefully as the *Fodi jing* mentioned above, which was also rendered into Chinese in the Zhenguan reign period. The deficiencies that Lin pointed out in the two Jingjiao scriptures – chaotic structure, inconsistency between text and headings, errors and omissions – make it entirely impossible to see them as standard Tang dynasty Jingjiao scriptures.

Second, due to the strict control of the translation of foreign scriptures in the Tang dynasty, and the rigour of the translation process, some specialised terms were often highly standardised. This was the case with the Buddhist scriptures when they were newly translated in the Tang period, and also with the translation of other foreign religious scriptures; of course, Jingjiao texts were no exception. For example, the term for the saviour Meshiha (Messiah) can be found in Jingjiao literature of the Tang period, whether in the "Stele Commemorating the Propagation of the Da Qin Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom" 大秦景教流行中國碑 (Jingjiao Stele) of 781, the inscription on the Luoyang pillar from 814, or the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Da Qin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan*, *Zunjing*, *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* and *Zhixuan anle jing*, they all use the same term *Mishihe* 彌施訶.[48] Moreover, it is also used in *juan* 2 of the Tang dynasty Daoist scripture *Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡經 (Laozi's Conversion of the Barbarians).[49]

We know that the *Laozi huahu jing* is a quasi-official Daoist scripture. Although it had been prohibited several times, there were also occasions when rulers actively promoted it. During the first year of the Wansui tongtian 萬歲通天 reign period (696) of Wu Zetian 武則天 (690–705), the monk Huicheng 惠澄 proposed that the *Huahu jing* be destroyed. Empress Wu issued an edict asking the Vice Minister of Justice Liu Ruxuan 劉如璇 to discuss the matter with

47 *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Essential Documents of the Tang), *juan* 49, entry on "Da Qin si" 大秦寺 (The Da Qin Church) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 1011–1012.

48 Lin Wushu, "Jingjiao 'Zhixuan anle jing' Dunhuang xieben zhenwei ji luwen bushuo" 景教〈志玄安樂經〉敦煌寫本真偽及錄文補說, in Lin Wushu, *Lin Wushu Dunhuang wenshu yu yijiao yanjiu*, p. 302.

49 Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zuroku hen* 敦煌道經: 圖錄篇 (Daoist Scriptures from Dunhuang: Illustrated Catalogue) (Tokyo: Fukutake shoten, 1979), p. 662. See Ei Shinkyō [Rong Xinjiang] 榮新江, "Tōdai no butsu-dō nikyō kara mita gedō: Keikyōto" 唐代の佛·道二教から見た外道 – 景教徒 (Jingjiao Disciples as Heretics, Seen from the Perspective of Buddhism and Daoism in the Tang Dynasty), trans. by Takata Tokio 高田時雄, in Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所, ed., *Chūgoku shūkyo bunken kenkyū* 中國宗教文獻研究 (Studies on Chinese Religious Texts) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007), p. 436.

the other officials,[50] with the result that Liu Ruxuan and the others suggested that it not be destroyed.[51] The following words appear underneath the title at the beginning of *juan* 8 of the *Laozi huahu jing* in manuscript P.3404: "collated by imperial order" 奉 敕對定經本.[52] Liu Yi 劉屹 had previously pointed out that this *juan* must have been edited in the 1st year of the Wansui tongtian reign period (696) when Empress Wu Zetian issued the edict for its collation.[53] I have formerly speculated that *juan* 2, which contains the term *Mishihe* 彌施訶, must have been written after the 1st year of Wansui tongtian, or it may have been produced when the Kaiyuan edition of the Daoist Canon was compiled during Emperor Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 713–756) reign.[54] For this reason we can say that the term *Mishihe* in the *Huahu jing* was the standard term used in Tang dynasty official texts. The various Jingjiao texts in what today can be verified as authentic manuscripts, whether from Chang'an, Luoyang or Dunhuang in the west, all adopted this way of writing the term, suggesting that these texts had an official background. In other words, the *Da Qin Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan*, *Zunjing*, *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* and *Zhixuan anle jing* were all officially approved translations of Jingjiao scriptures. The Jingjiao Stele was erected in Chang'an with strong court support after Yisi 伊斯 assisted the Northern Army in putting down the An Lushan rebellion (755–763).[55] Although the 814 erection of the pillar containing the *Da Qin*

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50 *Yi Huahu jing zhuang* 議化胡經狀 (Discussions on the *Huahu jing*) in one *juan*, is listed in the note underneath the title in the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 (Bibliographical Treatise) in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New Tang History), *juan* 59, under the category "Shenxian jia lei" 神仙家類 (Spirits and Immortals) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), p. 1521.

51 For a partial record of the discussions, see "Hunyuan shengji" 混元聖紀 (Sagely Record of the Primordial Chaos), *juan* 8, *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), Vol. 17 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian; Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe; Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1994), pp. 859–60; *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete Tang Prose), *juan* 165 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 1686.

52 Ōfuchi Ninji, *Tonkō dōkyō: Zuroku hen*, p. 668.

53 Liu Yi 劉屹, "Dunhuang shijuan ben *Laozi huahu jing* canjuan xintan" 敦煌十卷本《老子化胡經》殘卷新探 (A New Investigation of the Scroll Fragment of the Ten-*juan* Edition of the *Scripture on Laozi Converting the Barbarians* found in Dunhuang), *Tang yanjiu*, No. 2, 1996, p. 106.

54 See Rong Xinjiang, "Tōdai no butsu-dō nikyō kara mita gedō: Keikyōto", pp. 431–433.

55 See Rong Xinjiang, "*Lidai fabaoji* zhong de Momanni he Mishihe: Jian tan Tubo wenxian zhong de Monijiao he Jingjiao yinsu de laili"《歷代法寶記》中的末曼尼和彌師訶 – 兼談吐蕃文獻中的摩尼教和景教因素的來歷 (Momanni and Mishihe in the *Lidai fabaoji*: Also Discussing the Origin of the Manichaean and Jingjiao Elements in Tibetan Documents), in Rong Xinjiang, *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001), pp. 364–365.

Jingjiao xuanyuan zhiben jing was a private effort, many officials from the same clan, both Chinese and non-Chinese, participated. Therefore, the *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* must also have come from an official text.

Soon after the 9th year of the Dali 大曆 reign period (774), the names of two heretics that the Chan patriarch had destroyed were given as Momanni 末曼尼 and Mishihe 彌師訶 in the *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Ages), a text compiled by Chan monks in Sichuan. Although Mishihe here is a name entirely invented by Chan monks as a character in the plot, it must have been borrowed from the story of the conversion of heretics in the *Laozi huahu jing*. When the name Mishihe was copied from the *Huahu jing*, one character was miswritten (i.e. Mishihe 彌施訶 > Mishihe 彌師訶), but this was entirely different from how it was written in the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* (i.e. Mishisuo 迷詩所).

I speculate that the reason why the transliteration Mishisuo 迷詩所 is used is probably because it was the best approximation of the sound Mishisuo 迷失所, rather than another transliteration of Mishihe 彌施訶. The goal of the creator of this term was to write the name of the Christian Messiah as Mishisuo 迷失所, meaning "the site of delusion and loss", only euphemistically changing *shi* 失 (loss) to *shi* 詩 (poem or hymn). We can say that Mishihe 彌施訶 was the official Tang dynasty transliteration of the Jingjiao term, which could not have been changed to Mishisuo 迷詩所 in any officially approved text. This point significantly reduces the credibility of the authenticity of the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing*.

If we look again at the use of the term *yishu* 移鼠 (migrant rat) in the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing*, and the term *yishu* 翳數 (concealed technique) in the *Yishen lun* to transliterate the name of Jesus, these also would not be acceptable. Although we have not seen the transliteration of the name of Jesus in genuine Tang-dynasty Jingjiao texts, the Chinese translations of Manichaean texts transliterate Jesus as Yishu 夷數 (i.e. *Monijiao canjing* 摩尼教殘經 [Manichaean Traité, National Library of China, Yu 宇 56, new pressmark BD00256], and the *Xiabu zan* 下部贊 [Manichaean Hymn Scroll, British Library, S.2659]). Thus I speculate that the same must be true of the text *Moni guang fo jiaofa yilüe* 摩尼光佛教法儀略 (Compendium of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light, S.3969 + P.3884). The latter *Yilüe* (Compendium) was translated on the 8th day of the 6th month of the 19th year of the Kaiyuan era (731) at the Jixianyuan 集賢院 (Academy of Scholarly Worthies) under an imperial order given to a Manichaean bishop (*fuduodan* 拂多誕). From the standard terminology of the other two scriptures, we can infer that they too were translated under official auspices. Given that the same terms were used in the *Laozi huahu*

jing as in the Jingjiao literature, the most likely transliteration of the name of Jesus in Tang Jingjiao scriptures would have been Yishu 夷數, as opposed to Yishu 翳數 (concealed technique) or the even less sophisticated Yishu 移鼠 (migrant rat).

Therefore, given the practice of standardising terms used in the translation of foreign scriptures in the Tang, the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* and *Yishen lun* must not be regarded as Tang dynasty Jingjiao texts.

Third, the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* and *Yishen lun* were published by Haneda Tōru in a facsimile edition as early as 1931.[56] It was an exquisite edition, but unfortunately only in black and white, and many of the features of the originals were not reproduced clearly. After Haneda's publication, it was uncertain whether these two texts were still in the possession of Tomioka Kenzō and Takakusu Junjirō, or whether they had been passed on to someone else. During my stay in Japan from 1990 to 1991, I made an effort to locate them but could not find out their whereabouts. Now we have finally learned from the *Tonkō hikyū* volumes that they later ended up in the possession of Haneda Tōru, and ultimately came to the Kyōu Shooku Library of the Takeda Science Foundation in Osaka, where they were catalogued as Hane 459 and Hane 460. In 2012, colour reproductions of these two manuscripts were published in volume 6 of the *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu*. The *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* appears on pages 84–87, and the *Yishen lun* on pages 89–96. Both are exquisite manuscripts on yellow hemp paper.

What is regrettable is that we now have no way of seeing the original manuscripts, so we cannot compare the paper to that used in Dunhuang. According to the account of the editors of the *Tonkō hikyū*, the first sheet of the *Yishen lun* manuscript was made of coarse paper of light brown colour, which was different from the high-quality hemp paper of golden oak colour used for the following sheets.[57] This too is not something that would happen with officially copied scriptures. In normal circumstances, the same type of paper would be used throughout the entire scroll, and the first page especially should be a high quality hemp paper. How could one first use coarse paper and then use top quality paper? It could only be explained if it were a modern forgery. If the forger started out using plain paper that had originally come from Dunhuang,

56 Haneda Tōru, *Isshinron maki dai san; Jotei meishisho kyō ikkan* 一神論卷第三；序聽迷詩所經一卷 (*Yishen lun, juan* 3, and the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* Scroll) (Kyoto: Tōhō bunka gakuin Kyōto kenkyūjo, 1931).

57 Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan no Kyōu Shooku, ed., *Tonkō hikyū: Eihen satsu*, Vol. 6 (Osaka: Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan, 2012), p. 88.

and then exhausted his supply, he might have used coarse paper instead. If he had used modern manufactured paper, he might have accidentally started with lower quality paper first, and then later switched to good paper. While Lin Wushu was assessing the authors' religious attitudes when he looked at these texts to determine their authenticity, I examined the paper they were written on. Only if the manufacturer lacked respect for the sacred scriptures would he so casually use coarse paper, which is rarely seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts. Tang dynasty monks treated their scriptures as equivalent to the Three Treasures, and it would be unthinkable for them to be so careless.

The above three points raise further doubts about the *Yishen lun* and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing*. I am inclined toward the opinion that these two manuscripts were cobbled together from scattered Chinese Christian texts of the Ming and Qing periods by forgers who were not familiar with Christian doctrine. In order to deceive their readers, they fabricated some terms that had never existed before to replace specialised terms. This makes it very difficult to find the texts they used as a basis for these forgeries. However, these doubts have already been sufficient to cast suspicion on the authenticity of these two allegedly Tang dynasty Jingjiao scriptures. I agree with Lin Wushu's view that until these doubts can be fully explained, it is best not to rely on these texts as Jingjiao scriptures from the Tang dynasty.

5 Conclusion: "Stepping Back" and Rewriting the History of Tang Dynasty Jingjiao

In sum, building on Lin Wushu's research, I have presented some new evidence and would like to emphasize the following conclusions:

First, the manuscript with the *Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* and *Zunjing* (P.3847), acquired by Pelliot from the Dunhuang library cave, is without a doubt a genuine Dunhuang manuscript. Li Shengduo had obtained the *Zhixuan anle jing* and *Xuanyuan zhiben jing* for his collection from the Qing Ministry of Education, which had transported them to the capital directly from the Dunhuang library cave, so there is also no problem with the authenticity of these.

Second, the manuscripts of the *Yishen lun* from Tomioka Kenzō's collection and the *Xu ting Mishisuo jing* from Takakusu Junjirō's collection do not have a clear line of transmission. Many doubts arise from their content and vocabulary, and they may be modern forgeries imitating Christian documents of the Ming and Qing periods.

Third, the manuscripts of the *Da Qin Jingjiao dasheng tongzhen guifa zan* and *Da Qin Jingjiao Xuanyuan zhiben jing* that Kojima Yasushi allegedly obtained from Li Shengduo are complete forgeries and have no scholarly value.

Before now, what we knew about the history of Jingjiao in the Tang dynasty, the history of ancient Chinese Christianity, and even the history of Christianity in Asia, whether in China or other countries, was all based on those eight Jingjiao manuscripts mentioned above, edited and translated by Saeki Yoshirō. Now we need to remove four of them from consideration, including the relatively long *Yishen lun* and *Xu ting Mishisuo jing*, which were previously seen as the first translations of Jingjiao texts in China. This will be a massive blow to historians of religion. However, if the history of a religion is to convince people and imbue them with the sacred, it should certainly be based on authentic materials. Therefore, however painful it is to accept, the history of Jingjiao in the Tang dynasty must "take a step back" and be rewritten.

This reminds me of Chen Danqing's 陳丹青 *Tuibu ji xubian* 退步集續編 (Sequel to the Anthology of Regression), which says on the dust jacket: "Why should we keep stepping back? We must go back to the depths of history and look with a new pair of eyes, to invite a clearer look at the cultural phenomena of today". In my opinion, research on Tang dynasty Jingjiao today should go through a phase of regression. We should take a step back from the "perfect" Jingjiao history of Saeki Yoshirō's era to a historical depth where the culture of Jingjiao in the Tang dynasty can be seen more clearly. It would show us the true historical situation, no matter how broken the picture is.

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FIGURE 27.1 Two texts of *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 (Newly Revised Materia Medica) patched together: BD12242 and Hane 040

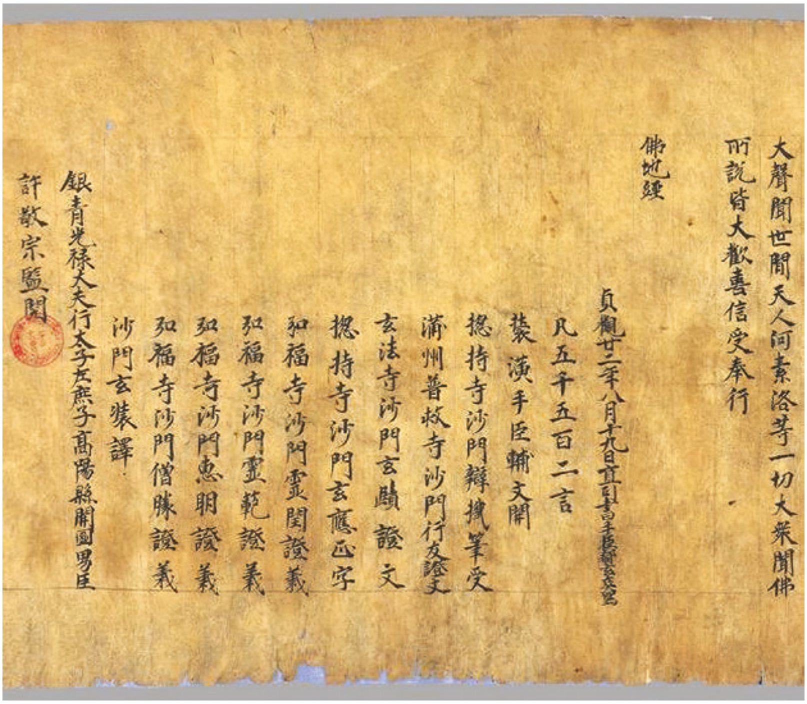

FIGURE 27.2 Colophon to the *Fodi jing* 佛地經 (Sutra of the Buddha-stage) (P.3709)

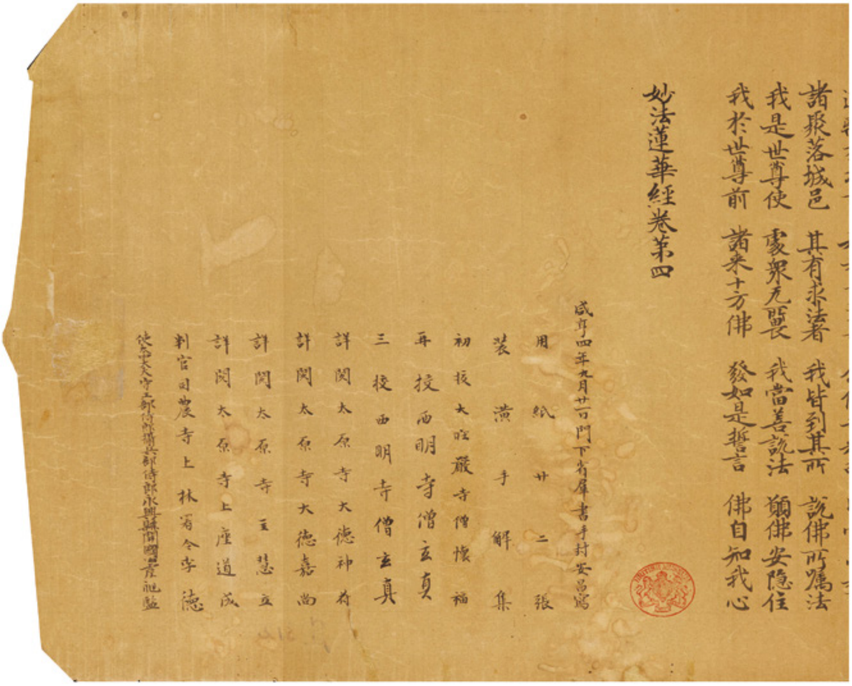

FIGURE 27.3 Colophon to the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Lotus Sutra), *juan* 4 (S.312)

CHAPTER 28

The Western Regions: The Last Paradise of Manichaeism

Translated by Sally K. Church

The Western Regions 西域 (here with its narrow meaning, referring to Xinjiang 新疆) was the conduit for the transmission of Buddhism from India, probably from the end of the Eastern Han period. For the next thousand years Buddhism spread widely throughout the Western Regions. Almost all the large and small oasis kingdoms, such as Shule 疏勒 (Kashgar), Khotan (Yutian 于闐, present-day Hetian 和田), Kucha (Qiuci 龜茲, present-day Kuche 庫車), Yanqi 焉耆 (Karashahr), Gaochang 高昌 (present-day Turfan 吐魯番), Loulan 樓蘭 (present-day Ruoqiang 若羌), and so on, had already become Buddhist kingdoms. Buddhist cities of varying sizes were dotted along the Silk Road from east to west along the northern and southern rims of the Tarim basin. From time to time, Buddhist believers in this region sent out groups of Central Asian and Indian monks to transmit scriptures to the East, while also welcoming monks from Central China heading west in search of Buddhist learning.

However, ever since ancient times, the Western Regions was a crossroads of cultures, an important channel for contact between Eastern and Western civilisations. Therefore, apart from Buddhism, other religions spread into this territory in succession, such as Zoroastrianism (also called Baihuojiao 拜火教 and Xianjiao 祆教 in Chinese), Jingjiao 景教 (Church of the East), Manichaeism 摩尼教, which originated in Persia (present-day Iran), and other religions from Western Asia, which won their own followers. Among them, Manichaeism was the latest to enter the Western Regions. Having reached its ascendance in the 9th and 10th centuries in the Turfan region, it became the state religion of the Gaochang Uighur Qaghanate (ca. 860–1284), to the point that for a time it transformed the Buddhist caves at the Bezeklik Grottoes into a centre of worship for the Manichaean religion. What was originally a venue for eminent Buddhist monks to expound their teachings also became an education centre for the Manichaean kingdoms run by the možak or high priest.

Today, not only when we visit the ancient city of Gaochang, but also when we explore the Bezeklik Grottoes, we find it difficult to sense the splendour of the Manichaean era. The Manichaean temple in the city of Gaochang was buried under thick layers of loess soil a long time ago, and the Manichaean

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mural paintings in the Bezeklik Grottoes were later painted over with Buddhist devotional images. Even though some fragments of paintings and inscriptions show through, they still tell us very little about the history of Manichaeism in Gaochang.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935) and Albert von Le Coq (1860–1930) from the Ethnological Museum of Berlin led archaeological expeditions to Turfan three times. Large quantities of fragments of Manichaean documents and paintings were excavated at the two ruined Manichaean temples, numbered α and K (Fig. 28.1), at the ruins of Gaochang and at the Bezeklik and Toyuq caves. Among them were Manichaean religious texts, including scriptures and hymns, written in Middle Persian or Parthian employing the Manichaean script that was used specifically by Manichaeans. There were also Manichaean texts written in the Sogdian language with the Sogdian script, the latter as commonly used by Sogdians of Central Asia. In addition, there were hymns, prayers, devotional inscriptions, and the like written in the Old Uighur language by the Uighurs of the Gaochang Uighur kingdom, and even some Manichaean documents copied in Chinese by local Chinese residents.

Because most of these documents exist only as tiny fragments, and also because they are written in ancient languages and scripts, it is very difficult

FIGURE 28.1 The Manichaean temple at site K in Gaochang
PHOTOGRAPHED BY THE AUTHOR IN 1996

to recover their meaning. However, due to the efforts of both Chinese and foreign scholars in the last century, these thousands of Manichaean documents and painting fragments discovered in Turfan are gradually being deciphered. The Western Regions, as perceived by the Gaochang Uighurs and Manichaean disciples at the time, and especially the history of the Manichaean faith of the Gaochang Uighurs, are like a mural painting sealed over with mud, which is gradually being peeled off, revealing what is underneath to the world.

We know that the Manichaean religion was founded by a Persian named Mani (216–276). After a short time of open transmission, the religion was quickly banned by the Sasanian emperor for denying the existence of the real world, and Mani himself was executed. Later, the Manichaean disciples, following his instructions, quickly spread the religion to the rest of the world. They were not limited to using Aramaic, the original Manichaean language, to spread these teachings; they could use any local language and script. Because Manichaeism was suppressed by both the Church and the ruling powers, its disciples were expelled from the Roman Empire in the 6th century. In the East, residents of Central Asia (not including the "Western Regions" in the narrow meaning of the term) belonged to many ethnic groups and came from many different cultural backgrounds. Because most of them had been influenced by Zoroastrianism, which like Manichaeism was based on a dualistic doctrine, it was relatively easy for them to accept Manichaean teachings. For this reason, thanks to the hard work of the great teacher Mar Ammō (3rd century) when Mani was alive, the Manichaean religion had already spread from Persia to the region of Khorasan, and Mar Ammō became the founder and head of the Eastern [Manichaean] Church. By the end of the 3rd century, Merv and Abharshahr had probably already become centres of that Eastern Church. From the 4th to the 7th centuries, Manichaeism spread and developed in Sogdiana and Tokharistan. By approximately 600, Sogdian had already replaced Parthian as the most common language used in Manichaeism.

However, from the perspective of all of Central Asia, Manichaeism was still unable to compete with Zoroastrianism or Indian Buddhism. These orthodox religions in Sogdiana and Tokharistan undoubtedly had solid foundations and therefore had the upper hand. Manichaeism could only expand by establishing a foothold, building churches, or winning the appreciation of a particular ruler. For example, the Chinese historical source *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature) says: "In the 7th year of the Kaiyuan 開元 era (719) of Tang Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–756), the prince of Zhihanna 支汗那 in Tokharistan, named Dishe 帝賒, presented a memorial introducing the great možak who understands astronomy" 唐玄

宗開元七年，吐火羅國支汗那王帝賒上表獻解天文人大慕闍 (“Waichen bu” 外臣部 [Section on Foreign Envoys] in “Chaogong si” 朝貢四 [Tribute 4], *juan* 971). Thus this prince supported Manichaeism at the time, and also presented the Manichaean možak, who was knowledgeable about astronomy, to the Tang court.

However, regarding the religious situation in Central Asia between the early 7th century and the middle of the 8th, it is clear from Xuanzang’s 玄奘 (602–664) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Records of the Western Regions of the Great Tang) and Hyecho’s 慧超 (704–787) *Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 (On Travelling to the Five Indias) that the influence of Manichaeism was minimal. As for the Western Regions, Buddhism was most influential in the eastern part of Central Asia. Although Manichaean disciples must have passed through this region on their way to China, they resembled those who gradually transmitted Buddhism eastward to China in the Han period: the Manichaean disciples who came first into Central China seem not to have settled in any one place in the Western Regions. Yet, from the year 640, when Tang troops entered the area and destroyed the kingdom of Gaochang, until 692, when the Tang troops defeated the Tibetans, recaptured the Four Garrisons of Anxi, and restored their rule in the Tarim basin, there was half a century when the Western Regions was the object of contention among the Tang empire, the Tibetans and the remaining tribes of the Western Turks. The turmoil and chaos of war in these regions must have been an obstacle to the eastward spread of Manichaeism through the Western Regions.

However, when the Tang regained control over the Four Garrisons in 692, and sent 30,000 troops to strengthen its defences, this not only brought a century of stability to the Western Regions, but also cleared the way for the formal introduction of Manichaeism into Central China. There are references to this event in the historical sources. For example, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (Complete Chronicle of the Buddha and Patriarchs), *juan* 39, includes the following record: “In the first year of the Yanzai 延載 reign period (694), the Persian *fuduodan* 拂多誕 (MP & Pth. *hpt’d’n*, Sogd. *’ft’δ’n*) brought the heretical religious text *Erzong jing* 二宗經 (Scripture of the Two Principles) to court”. It is called heretical here because it was recorded in a Buddhist source. However, the event it records marks the formal introduction of Manichaeism into Central China. (Its informal introduction can perhaps be traced back to the reign of Emperor Gaozong.) The *fuduodan* was just below the možak in status. The scripture he brought records the basic teaching of Manichaeism, which is “erzong sanji” 二宗三際 (the two principles and three moments). Manichaeism was accepted by Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705) because of its emphasis on light, which appealed to her because of its association with Maitreya. Thus she

permitted its spread. In the 7th year of the Kaiyuan era, someone with an even higher status, a možak, arrived from Tokharistan.

However, not long after that, in the 20th year of the Kaiyuan era (732), Manichaeism was banned by an order of the Tang court. Although its beliefs were not prohibited, this ban resulted in significantly limiting Manichaean disciples' activities. Hardly any trace of Manichaeism appears in the historical documents after this. This situation persisted until the An Lushan rebellion (755–763), when the Uighur Qaghan from the region north of the Gobi desert came with his troops to help recapture Luoyang 洛陽 for the Tang. The Manichaean monk Ruixi 睿息 (fl. 762) and others seized this opportunity to preach their religion to the Qaghan, and in a very short time were able to convert the Qaghan to Manichaeism. Then Ruixi and other monks were brought back to the region north of the Gobi to teach the religion to the Uighurs, and it soon became the state religion of the Uighur Qaghanate (744–840). Thus Manichaeism, which had repeatedly suffered oppression and persecution, was finally able to come into its own and find a home in the Uighur Qaghanate north of the Gobi.

The conversion of the Uighur Qaghan to Manichaeism was undoubtedly an important event in the history of the religion. Among the Manichaean documents discovered in Turfan, there is one written in Old Uighur concerning the conversion of Bögü Qaghan (U72+U73; 759–780), which records this historical event in detail. It also emphasises the use of illustrations by Manichaean preachers to propagate their faith. It employs highly skilled techniques and rich, bright colours to freeze forever the moment of the Uighur Qaghan's conversion. In the collection of the Museum of Indian Art in Berlin is a fragment obtained by the German Turfan Expedition Team of one of the larger extant Manichaean illustrated codices (MIK III 4979 a, b; Fig. 28.2), with illustrations on both sides. In the centre of the recto is depicted a high level "elect" (*wcydg*) person with a halo on his head wearing a white robe, probably a high priest. He is reaching out with his right hand, holding onto both hands of the Uighur Qaghan, who is dressed in a complete suit of armour and kneeling on both knees. Here, his "right hand" represents "the right hand of salvation", symbolising the power of Manichaeism to save souls. In particular, it illustrates the conversion of Bögü Qaghan to Manichaeism in 762. To the right of the high priest are two high-level "elect" and one commoner of a relatively high position. There are three warriors following behind the Qaghan. In the lower part of the illustration is a god who is witnessing this solemn, sacred scene of salvation. According to the Manichaean text above and below the illustration, the two fully-visible winged angels on the left-hand side are the souls of the Qaghan and high priest depicted above. There were probably one or two images of gods

FIGURE 28.2 Illustration showing the conversion of the Uighur Qaghan to Manichaeism

to their left, but these have not been preserved. On the right-hand side are images of four deities, which from right to left seem to be the Hindu deities of Śiva, Brahmā, Vishnu and Ganesha. In Persian Manichaean documents a tetrad of Iranian gods appear, representing the four divine attributes of the Father of Greatness: Spirit / God, Light, Great Power and Wisdom (Pth. bg, rwšn, z'wr, jyryft). The spiritual power of these gods protects the newly converted Qaghan and the vast territory of the Uighur Qaghanate that he rules.

The An Lushan rebellion was put down, but the vitality of the Tang dynasty was badly damaged. The strongest forces previously stationed throughout the Western Regions were withdrawn to the interior to rescue the dynasty. The garrison guards left behind in the Western Regions held on with difficulty for several decades, but around the turn of the 9th century, Beiting 北庭 (present-day Jimsar county) and Xizhou 西州 (Turfan) were the first to be attacked violently from the east by the Tibetans. The Tang forces were unable to defend themselves from such attacks, so their best option was to seek help from the Uighur Qaghan north of the Gobi. Although the Uighur troops helped the Tang army push back the Tibetan advance, not long afterwards they themselves brought Beiting, Gaochang, and even Yanqi, Kucha, Bohuan 撥換 (Aksu), Shule and other places into their own sphere of influence. Together with the Tibetan kingdom, which occupied Khotan, Qiemo 且末 (Charchan), Shanshan 鄯善 (Charkliq) on the southern rim of the Tarim basin, the Uighurs divided up what had formerly been the western frontier of the Tang empire. After the main force of the Tang army evacuated the Western Regions due to the An Lushan rebellion, this inevitably caused the Buddhist monasteries in

the Western Regions to lose a significant amount of their financial support and economic vitality. The east-west routes were cut off, which in turn made it difficult for Buddhism in the Western Regions to obtain new sources of support. Central China, where Buddhism was then at its highpoint, was cut off from the Western Regions by the Tibetan occupation of the Hexi 河西 corridor, and neither new texts nor new talent could get through. Because the Uighurs of the Gobi region were not Buddhists, the Buddhist monks felt threatened by them. The monk Wukong 悟空 (b. 730) did not even dare transport the Buddhist texts he brought back from India through Uighur territory on his way back to Tang China at the beginning of the Zhenyuan 貞元 reign period (785–805). Instead, he left the scriptures in Beiting. Thus Buddhism gradually declined in the Western Regions. Yet this provided opportunities for other religions to enter the region.

From the rich body of extant Turfan documents (including those written in Turfan but preserved in Dunhuang 敦煌), it is clear that they date up to the 19th year of the Zhenyuan reign period (803) of the Tang dynasty. It just so happens that in this very year, based on a document written in Old Uighur and excavated in Turfan (T II K Bundel Nr. D. 173), Huaixin 懷信 Qaghan of the Uighurs north of the Gobi coincidently visited Gaochang in person, and discussed the problems of the Manichaean community with the možak. This shows that before this date, a možak had already been stationed in Gaochang. He had headed a community of Manichaean monks that had been looking after a considerable number of believers in this region.

Further evidence of Manichaean presence in Gaochang is provided by the colophon to the collection of Manichaean hymns of praise known as *Mahrnāmag* (and in modern Chinese scholarship as *Monijiao zanmeishi ji* 摩尼教贊美詩集), which was written in Middle Persian with Parthian *incipits* and numbered M1 in the collection of documents recovered by the German Expedition Team. According to the colophon, this hymn collection began to be copied out after the 546th birthday of the Envoy of Light (*prystgrwšn*) (i.e. Mani, who was born in the year 216), which was the year 762/763. The copying process could not be completed and the collection was sealed up in a monastery in Yanqi. Then, when Baoyi 保義 Qaghan (r. 808–821) was on the Uighur throne, the copy of this long hymnal (of which only two pages are now extant) was finally finished with the help of some eminent Manichaean monks. This shows that after the Tang army withdrew to Central China to put down the rebellion in 756, there had already been Manichaean disciples active in the region. However, the true transmission of Manichaeism to the northern rim of the Tarim basin probably began in the early 9th century, when the

Uighur Qaghanate was in firm control of this region. After praising the Uighur Qaghan and his family members, the colophon to the Manichaean hymn collection lists the Manichaean supporters and "Hearers" (*nywš'g'n*, Auditors) of Beiting, Gaochang, Kucha, Qusha 佉沙 (Shule/Kashgar), Bohuan, Yanqi, Wushu 于術 and other garrison cities. Included among them must have been the newly arrived Uighur rulers and the Tang officials who had stayed behind, as well as the local Persian and Sogdian Manichaean believers, thus showing that Manichaeism came in along the northern route of the Western Regions with the Uighur political forces when they quickly expanded from the area north of the Gobi. The Uighur Qaghanate, which had been protected by the Manichaean deities, was naturally grateful to Manichaeism. It is worth noting that this long list of names seems to contain no local names, which shows that these Manichaean believers were mostly outsiders. Even though some Sogdians among them may have come from the local area, they still could not be considered local Yanqi, Kucha and Gaochang people. From another perspective, this tells us that the strong influence of Buddhism on the northern route of the Silk Road could not have retreated from the stage of history on account of the distant political influence of the Uighur Qaghanate north of the Gobi.

However, for the true zenith of Manichaeism in the Western Regions, we must still wait a little longer. In 840 the Uighur Qaghanate experienced internal disorder. The prominent general Julu Mohe 句祿莫賀 (Külüg Bagha, fl. 840) enticed the Uighurs' enemies, the Kyrgyz, to attack the Uighur capital. They killed the Qaghan, and the Uighur Qaghanate, which had dominated the region north of the Gobi desert and controlled the northern route of the Western Regions, collapsed. The Uighur tribes scattered and fled. Among them were thirteen tribes, who established Teqin Wujie 特勤烏介 as Qaghan. They moved south and submitted to the Tang court. Another fifteen tribes, under the leadership of the Uighur minister Sazhi 馺職, supporting the Qaghan's nephew Pang Teqin 龐特勤, moved west to the eastern Tianshan 天山 region, hoping to survive and develop in this corner of the Uighur Qaghanate. In 866 the Uighur leader Pugu Jun 僕固俊 attacked Xizhou, Beiting, Luntai 輪臺, Qingzhen 清鎮 and other cities and established the Gaochang Uighur kingdom, also known as the Xizhou Uighur kingdom.

Just as the eminent monks of Hexi had followed the fleeing royal family of the Northern Liang into Gaochang in the middle of the 4th century, and the eminent monks of Wuwei 武威 and Tankuang 曇曠 (ca. 700–788), student of the great master Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) of the Ci'en Monastery 慈恩寺 in Chang'an 長安, had followed the troops of the Hexi Military Commissioner 河西節度使 when they retreated to Dunhuang in the second half of the 8th

century, there must have been quite a few Manichaean believers, and even some highly trained clergy, who accompanied the large numbers of Uighur tribes on their westward migration. They not only transferred the powerful influence of Manichaeism from the region north of the Gobi to Gaochang, but also, with the support of the Gaochang Uighur Qaghanate, swiftly began the gradual process of converting the common people of Gaochang to these quite different beliefs. Within the scope of the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom, there were Manichaean believers up to the level of the Qaghan, and down to the level of the common people, including both men and women (Fig. 28.3), and members of all ethnic groups, such as Uighurs, Sogdians and Chinese.

Since the beginning of the 20th century a large number of Manichaean documents have been excavated at Turfan. Their existence itself is a testimony to the heights reached by Manichaeism during the Gaochang Uighur period in the 9th and 10th centuries. Within this rich assemblage of documents, there are all sorts of hymns of praise, written in Middle Persian and Parthian, such as "For the Father, the God of Light" (Pth. *pydr bg r'štygr*), "For the Kingdom of Light" (Pth. *zmyg rwšn*), "For Paradise" (Pth. *whyšt'w*), "For the Creation of the World" (MP *'pryd*), "For the Living Soul" (Pth. *gryw jywndg*), for "the Third Messenger" (Pth. *nrysf yzd*), "For Luminous Jesus" (*yyšw'zyw'*), "For Mani" (MP & Pth. *m'ny*), and also two hymn-cycles in Parthian: the *Huyadagmān* and the *Angād Rōšnān*. There are also confessionals and liturgical prayers used for recitation in various religious services, and hymns for all kinds of religious holy days, such as those sung during the Bema Festival (MP & Pth. *mhr 'y g'h̠*), including hymns for this most important holy day in Manichaeism. Apart from these, there are also religious allegories, discussions of theories of the universe, references to the end of the world, rules of discipline, sermons, works on the history of the religion, tables of specialised terms, charms and spells, astrological works, almanacs, funerary rites, and so forth.

Apart from purely religious texts, there are also some documents discovered in Turfan concerning the operation of Manichaean monasteries, as well as some internal correspondence of the religious community. In the 1920s, Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, during his investigation in Turfan, obtained an extremely valuable document concerning Manichaean temple regulations. On it is an official seal that says: "Precious Seal of the Xieyujiasi (ilugasi) [sovereign of the beneficiary] and the various prime ministers under the Secretariat of the Greatly Blessed Great Uighur Kingdom" 大福大回鶻國中書省門下頡于迦思諸宰相之寶印. The document, which is a long scroll containing 125 lines in Old Uighur, describes in great detail the various aspects of Manichaean temple management, including details about the management system and the disciplinary

FIGURE 28.3 Female Manichaean disciples in the Gaochang Uighur Qaghanate
FROM THE BERLIN COLLECTION OF PAINTINGS EXCAVATED IN TURFAN

rules, and provides many details about the social organisation and economic life of Manichaean religious communities. From this document it is not difficult to see that under the protection of the Gaochang Uighur Qaghan, the Manichaean monks of this region moved from the ascetic life they had before to a more comfortable secularised life.

Another set of unusually valuable Manichaean documents are the three Sogdian letters excavated in the Bezeklik Grottoes in 1980. Two of them are letters sent from a *fuduodan* in a certain location in Gaochang Uighur territory to the možak, the religious community's highest leader. This možak, whose name was Mār Aryāmān Puhr (early 11th century), must have been the highest Manichaean monastic leader in the Gaochang Uighur Kingdom. Both letters from the *fuduodan* inquired after the health of the možak during the Manichaean month of fasting. They are full of pious formulae, but it is especially valuable that the second letter (B) reveals details about the life of Manichaean believers during their fasting month from the end of one year to the beginning of the next. Some of them had to "chant four hymns and repeatedly recite and sing 20 religious rules and 300 songs, and read a special religious text called the *Šābuhragān* (Sogd. š'pwxrk'n). Others chanted twice a hymn of praise in Sogdian called 'Without fault' (Sogd. pwym'ny), and repeatedly recited and sang 40 religious rules and 300 songs"... These descriptions show their pious attitude and relatively regulated religious life. We can also speculate on how these hymns and rules of discipline texts, which have now disintegrated into fragments, were used in real life.

The holy day of Bema was undoubtedly the most important holiday in Manichaean monasteries. An annual holiday, it occurred at the end of the fasting month, which was the 12th month of the year. It was held to remember Mani and to celebrate the religious community's commitment to Mani's teachings. On the holy day, the disciples would sing hymns to Mani, read scriptures, recite the church rules from memory, enjoy a holy meal and worship the image of Mani. All these rituals would be performed in front of an altar where an image of Mani was hung. On the back of the illustrated Manichaean document about the conversion of the Uighur Qaghan, discussed above, is a picture of the Bema holy day celebrations (Fig. 28.4). There was an image on the sacrificial altar, which although damaged, is speculated by scholars to be a picture of Mani, the religion's founder. Below this image are depicted offerings of fruit and pastries, and alongside are many "elect" of all levels. Some seem to be reciting from holy books they are holding in their hands. All the "elect" have their names written in Manichaean script on their bodies in red ink. These names are, in the centre, Mānī Yišō and Radn-frazend; on the left, Yāwad-yāwax (?), Šahriyār-puhr,

FIGURE 28.4 Celebrations for the Manichaean Bema Festival

Rāymast-yazad; and on the right, Radn-xwarxšēd and Rām-frazend. Through this illustration, we can almost hear the faint sound of the hymn they are chanting:

> We bend our knees in deep veneration, we worship and praise the mighty God, the praised King and Lord of the Worlds of Light, worthy of honor, according to whose wish and will you (Mani), our exalted God, did come to us.

(Originally published in *Xungen* 尋根 [Searching for Our Roots], Vol. 1, 2006, pp. 4–9.)

Epilogue

Translated by Sally K. Church

This is my third book on the history of Sino-foreign relations. The first two were *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu wailai wenming* 中古中國與外來文明 (Medieval China and External Cultural Influences) published in 2001 and *Zhonggu Zhongguo yu Sute wenming* 中古中國與粟特文明 (Medieval China and Sogdian Culture) published in 2014. They tended to concentrate on Iranian cultures, especially the influence of Sogdian culture on China. Because I have been engaged in research and teaching in the history of Sino-foreign relations for many years, I have also written articles on some other subjects of mixed content, covering geographical areas from Arabia, Persia and India to Silla and Japan, all to some extent related to the history of China's external contacts. However, my main focus has been on overland cultural exchanges that have passed through the Western Regions. Therefore, the title of this book, *The Silk Road and Cultural Exchanges between East and West*, broadly encompasses the entire scope of these essays.

Due to the limitations of the sources, the history of Sino-foreign relations is itself an unsystematic field of inquiry. Therefore, when working in this field, the information in each source provides only a small piece of the puzzle. Building on the foundations of previous research, I have been devoting my attention to newly excavated manuscripts, funerary inscriptions and archaeological materials, and most of the articles in this volume are stand-alone case studies. In order to offer readers a broader understanding of the subject, I have specially composed an introduction to this collection that aims to articulate to a general audience my views on the Silk Road and the cultural exchanges between East and West.

Readers should be aware that the essays in this book include both academic articles and the text of lectures presented at various occasions. Some are written for exhibition catalogues, and some for popular publications. Therefore, the writing and annotation styles may differ, but, for the sake of academic consistency, I have made almost no changes to their content. At the end of each article I have noted the context of its composition and where it was first published in order to help readers understand its original context.

Generally when I write articles, I am not particular about where they are published, which is why most of them are not in easy-to-find journals, and

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some are published in Japanese only. This collection of articles aims to make them more accessible, and I hope others will point out any errors I might have made.

In the process of editing this book, my students Li Danjie 李丹婕, Tian Weiwei 田衛衛, Luo Shuai 羅帥, Liu Zifan 劉子凡, Zheng Yanyan 鄭燕燕, Shen Chen 沈琛, Bao Xiaoyue 包曉悅 and Li Yun 李昀 have helped by checking sources and editing the drafts. In addition, Xu Wenyue 徐文躍 of the China National Silk Museum, who was a visiting scholar at our Centre, volunteered his time to read some of the proofs. Lu Yang 陸揚 helped edit the English Table of Contents, and Shi Rui 史睿 also proofread the typeset version. I would like to express my gratitude to all of them.

I remember that once on Teacher's Day, my students gave me a hand-drawn map of the Silk Road as a greeting card. Next to the name of each important place on the map was written the name of a different student; this was the place on which that student was conducting research. This creative idea left a deep impression on me, inspiring me to pay more attention to the history of the Silk Road and the culture of Silk Road cities. The implications of the Silk Road and the history of cultural exchange between East and West are extremely rich and multi-faceted, and I hope to continue exploring these mysteries with my students in the future....

Rong Xinjiang 榮新江
23 July 2015 at Langrun Park 朗潤園

APPENDIX

Converting Chinese Dates into Western Dates

This is an attempt to explain in a simple way the complicated means by which Chinese dates before 1911 can be converted into Western dates. In this book it has seemed too cumbersome to convert every date mentioned in the text into its Western equivalent, especially because the Western year dates have almost universally been provided by the author. It has therefore not seemed necessary to convert the month and day dates, except in a few rare instances where knowledge of the precise date is important.

There are two main points to remember about Chinese dates. First, they are based on a lunar calendar. Second, the dates of the year are expressed in terms of the reign period of the emperor of the dynasty in question.

I shall divide this discussion of Chinese dates into two parts: 1. Determining the Years, and 2. Determining the Months and Days. Part 2 includes an introduction to the Sexagenary Cycle.

1 Determining the Years

The fullest expression of a year in the Chinese calendar gives four pieces of information: (1) the name of the dynasty, (2) the name of the emperor on the throne at the time, (3) the name of the reign period in the emperor's reign, and (4) the number of the year in the reign period being referred to.

For example, we have this date:

the 3rd year of the Xianqing 顯慶 reign period of Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 reign in the Tang dynasty.

If you know Chinese, there are quite a few sources you can use to determine the Western date. Otherwise, the number of sources is more limited. The internet is a great help. If you type "Xianqing reign period" into the search box, you will find that it was a reign period in the rule of Emperor Gaozong of the Tang dynasty, and that it lasted from 656 to 661. You can also find that Emperor Gaozong reigned from 649 to 683, and that the Tang dynasty lasted from 618 to 907. The 3rd year of that reign period would be 658. However, one has to remember that, because it is a lunar calendar, the 3rd year extends into the following year in the Western calendar, or 659, and the beginning of the next year occurs in January or February 659, depending in part on the cycle of the moon for that year.

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This calendar, nowadays called the agricultural calendar (*nongli* 農曆), is still in use today. It is used, for example, for determining when the Chinese New Year falls each year, which, again, is lunar. Normally a Chinese year consists of 12 months, with the Chinese New Year marking the beginning of the first month. However, each month is either 29 or 30 days long, thus the number of days in a year does not reach 365. To compensate, an extra month, called an "intercalary month" (*runyue* 閏月), is inserted every few years, thus some years consist of 13 months.

Various resource books list the dynasties, emperors and reign periods throughout Chinese history, and one can also find such tables on the internet. These tables are usually organised chronologically by dynasty, listing each emperor with the corresponding reign dates, and then each reign period of that emperor's rule. For instance, in the Tang dynasty, the first emperor, Gaozu, had only one reign period, while others had several. Emperors tended to change the reign period if something was going wrong, such as natural disasters or rebellions, and they wanted to make a fresh start. The reign names have auspicious meanings, such as Lasting Glory, Military Virtue and Heavenly Peace. In the Ming and Qing periods each emperor had only one reign period.

The four pieces of essential information mentioned above may not be given in the date itself but can be known from the context.

2 Determining the Months and Days

Many dates provide the month and day as well as the year. For example, a fragment is dated "the 5th day of the 1st month of the 3rd year of the Yongtai 永泰 reign period (767)". The author has given us the year date. Since it is the first month, we need to find out the date of the beginning of the first month in that year.

For this information we need either a chronological table in the form of a physical reference book, or an online or electronic resource. Neither of these tend to be user friendly if one does not know Chinese. A standard chronological table available in most Sinological libraries is *Liang qian nian Zhong-Xi li duizhao biao* 兩千年中西曆對照表 (A Sino-Western Calendar for Two Thousand Years, 1–2000 AD) [Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1961]). A similar, more recent chronological table is *Zhonghua wu qiannian changli* 中華五千年長曆 [Beijing: Qixiang chubanshe, 2002]. Both of these works give 4 February as the date for the 1st day of the 1st month of 767, thus the 5th day is 8 February 767.

This process is fairly easy because the number of the day is given as an Arabic numeral. It is more complicated if the number of the day is given in cyclical characters.

I shall explain the cyclical characters, as used in what is called the Sexagenary Cycle, in the following section.

2.1 *The Sexagenary Cycle*

This cycle is made up of 60 “numbers”, written in Chinese characters. Each number is a combination of two cyclical characters, one stem character and one branch character, with the stem coming first. The characters of the Ten Heavenly Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches are given below. In the following table, letters of the alphabet are assigned to the stems, and Arabic numerals to the branches, to show how the stems and branches are combined to make the 60 “numbers” of the cycle.

Ten Heavenly Stems

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
甲 jia	乙 yi	丙 bing	丁 ding	戊 wu	己 ji	庚 geng	辛 xin	壬 ren	癸 gui

Twelve Earthly Branches

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
子 zi	丑 chou	寅 yin	卯 mao	辰 chen	巳 si	午 wu	未 wei	申 shen	酉 you	戌 xu	亥 hai

If the Ten Heavenly Stems are represented as the letters A through J, and the Twelve earthly Branches are represented as the numerals 1 through 12, the first “number” in the cycle is A1 (*jiazi*), the second is B2 (*yichou*), the third is C3 (*bingyin*), and so forth. Thus we can say that the cycle is formed by pairing each successive stem with each successive branch.

However, because there are 10 stems and 12 branches, when one comes to the end of the list of stems, with item J10 (*guiyou*), one has not yet finished the list of branches. Thus, the series of stems restarts, while the series of branches continues. The next combination is therefore A11 (*jiaxu*) and then B12 (*yihai*). Now we have come to the end of the list of branches, so the series of stems continues while the series of branches

restarts. The next numbers are C1 (*bingzi*), D2 (*dingchou*), and so forth. After continuing in this way, one eventually reaches the end of the cycle with J12 (*guihai*), which is the 60th item in the cycle. The cycle then starts again from the beginning.

Here is a representation of this sequence using the letters and numbers familiar to English speakers. When the A–J series runs out, the 1–12 series continues:

A1	B2	C3	D4	E5	F6	G7	H8	I9	J10
A11	B12	C1	D2	E3	F4	G5	H6	I7	J8
A9	B10	C11	D12	E1	F2	G3	H4	I5	J6
A7	B8	C9	D10	E11	F12	G1	H2	I3	J4
A5	B6	C7	D8	E9	F10	G11	H12	I1	J2
A3	B4	C5	D6	E7	F8	G9	H10	I11	J12

This is what it looks like in Chinese using the Chinese cyclical characters:

1 甲子	2 乙丑	3 丙寅	4 丁卯	5 戊辰	6 己巳	7 庚午	8 辛未	9 壬申	10 癸酉
11 甲戌	12 乙亥	13 丙子	14 丁丑	15 戊寅	16 己卯	17 庚辰	18 辛巳	19 壬午	20 癸未
21 甲申	22 乙酉	23 丙戌	24 丁亥	25 戊子	26 己丑	27 庚寅	28 辛卯	29 壬辰	30 癸巳
31 甲午	32 乙未	33 丙申	34 丁酉	35 戊戌	36 己亥	37 庚子	38 辛丑	39 壬寅	40 癸卯
41 甲辰	42 乙巳	43 丙午	44 丁未	45 戊申	46 己酉	47 庚戌	48 辛亥	49 壬子	50 癸丑
51 甲寅	52 乙卯	53 丙辰	54 丁巳	55 戊午	56 己未	57 庚申	58 辛酉	59 壬戌	60 癸亥

The Arabic numerals in the above chart are used to number each combination in the cycle of 60. For instance, the cyclical character combination 乙巳 is the 42nd number in the cycle. These Arabic numerals are used for convenience in calculation as shown in the example below. In this translation of Rong Xinjiang's work, these binary stem-branch combinations are used primarily to number the days. In other contexts they are also used to number years, months and other phenomena, but these do not concern us here.

3 Example

Suppose we have "the *renzi* day of the 9th month of the 1st year of the Huangxing 皇興 reign period (467)". The context and the year date (467), with the aid of the internet, tell us that this is a reign period in the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). The internet further tells us that the Huangxing reign period spanned the years 467–471, and that it occurred during the reign of Emperor Xianwen 獻文 (r. 466–471). The date is in the 9th month, so we have to look up the 9th month of 467 in one of the chronological tables mentioned above. These tables provide the cyclical number 45 for the 9th month. This means that the cyclical character number 45 (*wushen* 戊申) corresponds to **the day before** the first day of the 9th month of the Chinese calendar. The first day of that month would be number 46, or *jiyou* 己酉. The chronological tables also tell us that the first day of the 9th month is the 14th of October 467, so *jiyou* is the 14th of October in that year.

However, we need to find the *renzi* day of that month. The *renzi* day is number 49 in the chart. There are two ways to find the Western equivalent. First, we can subtract the cyclical character number given in the table for the 9th month (45) from the *renzi* number (49), which yields 4. Then we need to count four days from the 14th, including the 14th, which gives us 17 October 467, the final answer. Another way is to look at the chart and count ahead from the first day of the month (*jiyou*). Since *jiyou* is the 14th of October, *gengxu* is the 15th, *xinhai* is the 16th, and *renzi* is the 17th.

We can also find the date by using the Academia Sinica (Taiwan) online resource, which can be found here:

中央研究院 兩千年中西曆轉換 (sinica.edu.tw)

In the top section of the page is a form with two rows to fill in.

Row 1:

For *guohao* 國號 (name of dynasty) pull down and select Beiwei 北魏 (Northern Wei).
For *dihao* 帝號 (name of emperor), select Xianwen di 獻文帝 (Emperor Xianwen)
For *nianhao* 年號 (reign period), select Huangxing 皇興

Row 2:

For the year (*nian* 年), type the number of years of the reign period (1) in the box on the left

For the month (*yue* 月), without ticking the box for intercalary month, type 9 in the box on the right.
For the day (*ri* 日), pull down the menu on the right and select *renzi* 壬子.
When everything is filled in, choose *zhixing* 執行, which means “go”.

A box appears at the bottom of the screen giving the answer in words and showing a table of the entire year of the reign period (or part of the year, if the reign period began mid-way in the year). The day is highlighted in a different colour. The Chinese months are on the left-hand side, reading down, and the Chinese days of those months are on the top, reading across. The Western dates are provided inside the box. The designation 10/1 is for the 1st of October; number 17 is highlighted, so the day is 17 October 467. It is also written out in words above the box at the bottom of the screen (black letters on white background) like this 西元 467 年 10 月 17 日(星期二), telling us it was a Tuesday.

The bottom section of the same web page,

中央研究院 兩千年中西曆轉換 (sinica.edu.tw),

gives the means for converting the Western date back into the Chinese date, which is not only a useful tool in itself, but also a means of checking your answer. There are other such electronic tools available on the internet for converting dates between Chinese and Western calendars as well.

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